English Pedagogy.

EDUCATION,

THE SCHOOL, AND THE TEACHER,

IN

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

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PREFACE.

In the following chapters, prepared originally as articles for "*The American Journal of Education*," the editor does not profess to give a connected or exhaustive view of English Pedagogy, but simply to contribute material for such a development of the subject, and at the same time to bring together a large amount of suggestive thoughts on the principles and methods of education from the successive publications of eminent teachers and writers of England, from Roger Ascham to Herbert Spencer.

To give variety and interest to these articles, we have introduced the portraitures of the school and the teacher, which some of the most admired writers in the English Language have drawn in prose and verse, as reflecting the popular estimate in which education and its disciples have been and are still held, and as helping to perpetuate that estimate, both in England and in this country.

In a subsequent volume, we hope to make another contribution to the material for a History of Education in England, drawn from authors omitted in this collection.

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HARTFORD, *Connecticut.*

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT IS EDUCATION?

WHAT IS EDUCATION?

It has been held that *education*, according to its etymology, means a *drawing out* of the faculties of the mind, not a mere accumulation of things in the memory; and this is probably substantially true; but yet the etymology of *education* is not, directly at least, *educere*, but *educare*. Again, *education* has been distinguished from *information*; which may well be done, as the word *information* is now used; but yet the word *informare*, at first, implied as fundamental an operation on the mind as *educare;* the forming and giving a defined form and scheme to a mere rude susceptibility of thought in the human mind. Again, we use the term *learn*, both of the teacher and the scholar. (Thus we have, Psalm cxix. 66 and 71, *Learn me true understanding and knowledge; and I will learn thy laws.*) But the German distinguishes these two aspects of the same fundamental notion by different forms—*lehren* and *lernen;* and in a more exact stage of English, one of these is replaced by another word, to *teach;* which, though it is not the representative of a word used in this sense in German, is connected with the German verb *zeigen*, to show, and *zeichen*, a sign or mark; and thus directs us to the French and other daughters of the Latin language, in which the same notion is expressed by *enseigner*, *insegnare*, *ensenar;* which come from the Latin *insignire*, and are connected with *signum*. W. WHEWELL.

Education is the process of making individual men participators in the best attainments of the human mind in general: namely, in that which is most rational, true, beautiful, and good . . . the several steps by which man is admitted, from the sphere of his narrow individuality, into the great sphere of humanity; by which, from being merely a conscious animal, he becomes conscious of rationality; by which, from being merely a creature of sense, he becomes a creature of intellect; by which, from being merely a seeker of pleasurable sensations, he becomes an admirer of what is beautiful; by which, from being merely the slave of impulse, he becomes a reverencer of what is right and good. W. WHEWELL.

What is a man
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed?—a beast, no more.
Sure, He that made us with such large discourse.
Looking before and after. gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To rust in us unused. SHAKSPEARE.

In the bringing up of youth, there are three special points—truth of religion, honesty of living, and right order in learning. In which three ways, I pray God my poor children may walk.

ASCHAM. *Preface to Schoolmaster.*

Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body; therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavor to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years; this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see in languages, the tone is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth than afterwards; for it is true, the late learners can not so well take up the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but the force of custom, copulate and conjoined, and collegiate, is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation.

LORD BACON. *Essays. Custom and Education.*

I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war . . . inflamed with a study of learning, and the admiration of virtue; stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages.

JOHN MILTON.

The end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents, by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest, by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. JOHN MILTON.

First, there must precede a way how to discern the natural inclinations and capacities of children. Secondly, next must ensue the culture and furnishment of the mind. Thirdly, the molding of behavior and decent forms. Fourthly, the tempering of affections. Fifthly, the quickening and exciting of observations and practical judgment. Sixthly, and the last in order, but the principal in value, being that which must knit and consolidate all the rest, is the timely instilling of conscientious principles and seeds of religion. SIR HENRY WALTON.

How great soever a genius may be, and how much soever he may acquire new light and heat, as he proceeds in his rapid course, certain it is, that he will never shine in his full luster, nor shed the full influence he is capable of, unless to his own experience he adds of other men and other ages. BOLINGBROKE.

We are born under a law: it is our wisdom to find it out, and our safety to comply with it. DR. WHICHCOTE.

Since the time that God did first proclaim the edicts of his law upon the world, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labor hath been to do his will. "He made a law for the rain;" he gave his "decree unto the sea, that the waters should not pass his commandment." Now, if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether, though it were for a while, the observation of her own laws, if these principal and mother elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, should lose the qualities which they now have; if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads, should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it may happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now, as a giant, doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were, through a languishing faintness, begin to stand, and to rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of her heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away, as children at the withered breasts of their mother no longer able to yield them relief; what would become of man himself, whom these things do now all serve? See we not plainly, that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world.

Of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power; both angels, and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy. RICHARD HOOKER.

The knowledge of Languages, Sciences, Histories, &c., is not innate to us; it doth not of itself spring in our minds; it is not any ways incident by chance, or infused by grace (except rarely by miracle); common observation doth not produce it; it can not be purchased at any rate, except by that for which, it was said of old, the gods sell all things, that is, for pains; without which the best wit and the greatest capacity may not render a man learned, as the best soil will not yield good fruit or grain, if they be not planted nor sown therein. BR. BARROW.

Powers act but weakly and irregularly till they are hightened and perfected by their habits. DR. SOUTH.

As this life is a preparation for eternity, so is education a preparation for this life; and that education alone is valuable which answers these great primary objects. BISHOP SHORT.

Forasmuch as all knowledge beginneth from experience, therefore also new experience is the beginning of new knowledge, and the increase of experience the beginning of the increase of knowledge. Whatsoever, therefore, happeneth new to a man, giveth him matter of hope of knowing somewhat that he knew not before. And this hope and expectation of future knowledge from any thing that happeneth new and strange, is that passion which we commonly call admiration; and the same considered as appetite, is called curiosity; which is appetite of knowledge. * * And from this beginning is derived all philosophy, as astronomy from the admiration of the course of heaven; natural philosophy from the strange effects of the elements and other bodies. And from the degrees of curiosity, proceed also the degrees of knowledge among men.

THOMAS HOBBES.

A sound mind in a sound body, is a short but full description of a happy state in this world.

Of all the men we meet with, nine parts often are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind. The little, or almost insensible, impressions on our tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences: and there it is, as in the fountains of some rivers where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters in channels, that make them take quite contrary courses; and by this little direction, given them at first, in the source, they receive different tendencies, and arrive at least at very remote and distant places.

That which every gentleman, that takes any care of his education, desires for his son, is contained in these four things: Virtue, Wisdom, Good-breeding and Learning. I place virtue as the first and most necessary of these endowments that belong to a man or a gentleman, as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himself. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this nor the other world.

It is virtue, direct virtue, which is the head and valuable part to be aimed at in education. All other considerations and accomplishments should give way, and be postponed, to this. This is the solid and substantial good, which tutors should not only read lectures, and talk of; but the labor and art of education should furnish the mind with, and fasten there, and never cease till the young man had a true relish of it, and placed his strength, his glory, and his pleasure in it.

As the strength of the body lies chiefly in being able to endure hardships, so also does that of the mind. And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth lies in this, that a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations, and purely follow what reason directs as best, though the appetite lean the other way.

JOHN LOCKE. *Thoughts on Education.*

Tis education forms the common mind,
Just as the twig is bent the tree is inclined. POPE.

Dr. Johnson and I [Boswell] took a sculler at the Temple Stairs, and set out for Greenwich. I asked him if he really thought a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages an essential requisite to a good education. Johnson.—"Most certainly, sir; for those who know them have a very great advantage over those who do not. Nay, sir, it is wonderful what a difference learning makes upon people, even in the common intercourse of life, which does not appear to be much connected with it." And yet, said I, people go through the world very well, and carry on the business of life to good advantage without learning. Johnson.—"Why, sir, that may be true in cases where learning can not possibly be of any use; for instance, this boy rows us as well without learning as if he could sing the song of Orpheus to the Argonauts, who were the first sailors." He then called to the boy, "What would you give my lad to know about the Argonauts?" "Sir," said the boy, "I would give what I have." Johnson was much pleased with his answer, and we gave him a double fare. Dr. Johnson then turning to me, "Sir," said he "a desire of knowledge is the natural feeling of mankind; and every human being, whose mind is not debauched, will be willing to give all that he has to get knowledge." DR. JOHNSON. *Boswell's Life.*

If you love learning you will have learning. GREEK PROVERB.

Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next is an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with these examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions.

Those authors, therefore, are to be read at school, that supply most axioms or prudence, most principles of moral truth and most materials for conversation; and these purposes are best served by poets, orators, and historians. DR. JOHNSON. *Life of Milton.*

Education in the most extensive sense of the word, may comprehend every preparation that is made in our youth for the sequel of our lives; and in this sense I use it. Some such preparation is necessary for all conditions, because without it they must be miserable, and probably will be vicious, when they grow up, either from the want of the means of subsistence, or from want of rational and inoffensive occupation. In civilized life, every thing is effected by art and skill. Whence, a person who is provided with neither (and neither can be acquired without exercise and instruction) will be useless; and he that is useless, will generally be at the same time mischievous to the community. So that to send an uneducated child into the world, is injurious to the rest of mankind: it is little better than to turn out a mad dog or a wild beast into the streets.

PALEY.

The primary principle of education is the determination of the pupil to self-activity—the doing nothing for him which he is able to do for himself. SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON. *Lecture on Metaphysics.*

I consider a human soul without education like marble in the quarry, which shows none of its inherent beauties, until the skill of the polisher fetches out the colors, makes the surface shine, and discovers every ornamental cloud, spot, and vein, that runs through the body of it.

Education, after the same manner, when it works upon a noble mind, draws out to view every latent virtue and perfection, which, without such helps, are never able to make their appearance.

If my reader will give me leave to change the allusion so soon upon him, I shall make use of the same instance to illustrate the force of education, which Aristotle has brought to explain his doctrine of substantial forms, when he tells us that a statue lies hid in a block of marble; and that the art of the statuary only clears away superfluous matter, and removes the rubbish. The figure is in the stone, and the sculptor only finds it. What sculpture is to the block of marble, education is to a human soul. The philosopher, the saint or the hero, the wise, the good or the great man, very often lie hid and concealed in a plebeian, which a proper education might have disinterred, and have brought to light. * * Those who have had the advantages of a more liberal education, rise above one another by several different degrees of perfection. For to return to our statue in the block of marble, we see it sometimes only begun to be chipped, sometimes rough hewn, and but just sketched into a human figure; sometimes we see the man appearing distinctly in all his limbs and features; sometimes we find the figure wrought up to great elegancy, but seldom meet with any to which the hand of a Phidias or a Praxiletes could not give several nice touches and finishings.

JOSEPH ADDISON.

Nothing is more absurd than the common notion of instruction; as if science were to be poured into the mind like water into a cistern, that passively waits to receive all that comes. The growth of knowledge resembles the growth of fruit: however external causes may in some degree coöperate, it is the internal vigor and virtue of the tree that must ripen the juices to their just maturity. JAMES HARRIS. *Hermes.*

Human creatures, from the constitution of their nature, and the circumstances in which they are placed, can not but acquire habits during their childhood, by the impressions which are given them and their own customary actions; and long before they arrive at mature age these habits form a general settled character. And the observation of the text—"Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it"—that the most early habits are generally the most lasting, is likewise every one's observation.

BISHOP BUTLER.

Organic structure, temperament, things affecting the senses or bodily functions, are as closely linked with a right play of the faculties, as the material and condition of an instrument of music with that wonderful result called melody. W. B. CLULOW.

The general principles of education are the same, or nearly the same in all ages, and at all times. They are fixed unalterably in the natural and moral constitution of man. They are to be found in our affections and passions, some of which must be controlled and some cherished in every state of manners, and under every form of society. From the right apprehensions of them, we discover "the way in which a child ought to go," and by the right use of them "when he is young," we shall qualify him, "when old," for not departing from it.

In promoting the happiness of our species, much is effected by authority of legal restraint, and much by public instruction from the pulpit. But education, in its large and proper sense, [of not merely the inculcation of moral precepts and religious doctrine, but a system of discipline applied to the hearts and lives of young persons,] may boast even of superior usefulness. It comes home directly to "the bosoms and business of" young persons, it rectifies every principle and controls every action; it prevents their attention from being relaxed by amusement, dissipated by levity, or overwhelmed by vice; it preserves them from falling a prey to the wicked examples of the world when they are in company, and from becoming slaves to their own turbulent appetites when they are in solitude. It is not occasional or desultory in its operation; on the contrary, it heaps "line upon line, and precept upon precept;" it binds the commands of religion, for a "sign upon the hands of young men, and frontlets between their eyes;" it is calculated to purify their desires and to regulate their conduct, when they "sit in the house, and when they walk in the way;" when they "lie down in peace to take their rest," and when they "rise up" to "go forth to their labor." DR. PARR.

What is the education of the generality of the world? Reading a parcel of books? No. Restraint of discipline, emulation, examples of virtue and justice, form the education of the world. EDMUND BURKE.

The heart of a nation comes by priests, by lawyers, by philosophers, by schools, by education, by the nurse's care, the mother's anxiety, the father's severe brow. It comes by letters, by silence, by every art, by sculpture, painting, and poetry; by the song on war, on peace, on domestic virtue, on a beloved and magnanimous king; by the Iliad, by the Odyssey, by tragedy, by comedy. It comes by sympathy, by love, by the marriage union, by friendship, generosity, meekness, temperance; by virtue and example of virtue. It comes by sentiments of chivalry, by romance, by music, by decorations and magnificence of buildings; by the culture of the body, by comfortable clothing, by fashions in dress, by luxury and commerce. It comes by the severity, the melancholy, the benignity of countenance; by rules of politeness, ceremonies, formalities, solemnities. It comes by rights attendant on law, by religion, by the oath of office, by the venerable assembly, by the judge's procession and trumpets, by the disgrace and punishment of crimes, by public fasts, public prayer, by meditation, by the Bible, by the consecration of churches, by the sacred festival, by the cathedral's gloom and choir.

 PROF. RAMSDEN.

Education may be compared to the grafting of a tree. Every gardener knows that the younger the wilding-stock that is to be grafted is, the easier and the more effectual is the operation, because, then, one scion put on just above the root, will become the main stem of the tree, and all the branches it puts forth will be of the right sort. When, on the other hand, a tree is to be grafted at a considerable age, (which may be very successfully done,) you have to put on twenty or thirty grafts on the several branches; and afterwards you will have to be watching, from time to time, for the wilding shoots which the stock will be putting forth, and pruning them off. And even so, one whose character is to be reformed at mature age, will find it necessary not merely to implant a right principle once for all, but also to bestow a distinct attention on the correction of this, that, and the other bad habit.

But it must not be forgotten that education resembles the grafting of a tree in this point, also, that there must be some affinity between the stock and the graft, though a very important practical difference may exist; for example, between a worthless crab and a fine apple. Even so, the new nature, as it may be called, superinduced by education, must always retain some relation to the original one, though differing in most important points. You can not, by any kind of artificial training, make any thing of any one, and obliterate all trace of the natural character. Those who hold that this is possible, and attempt to effect it, resemble Virgil, who (whether in ignorance or, as some think, by way of poetical license) talks of grafting an oak on an elm: *glandesque sues fregere sub ulmis.*

ARCHBISHOP WHATELY. *Annotations on Bacon's Essays.*

What a man has learnt is of importance, but what he is, what he can do, what he will become, are more significant things. Finally, it may be remarked, that to make education a great work, we must have the educators great; that book learning is mainly good, as it gives us a chance of coming into the company of greater and better minds than the average of men around us; and that individual greatness and goodness are the things to be aimed at, rather than the successful cultivation of those talents which go to form some eminent membership of society. Each man is a drama in himself: has to play all the parts in it; is to be king and rebel, successful and vanquished, free and slave; and needs a bringing up fit for the universal creature that he is.

A. HELPS. *Friends in Council.*

Education is the placing of the growing human creature in such circumstances of direction and restraint, as shall make the most of him, or enable him to make the most of himself. JOHN GROTE.

A liberal education is an education in which the individual is cultivated, not as an instrument towards some ulterior end, but as an end unto himself alone; in other words, an education in which his absolute perfection as a man, and not merely his relative dexterity as a professional man, is the scope immediately in view. SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

Education does not commence with the alphabet; it begins with a mother's look, with a father's nod of approbation, or sign of reproof; with a sister's gentle pressure of the hand; a brother's noble act of forbearance; with handful of flowers in green dells, or hills, and daisy meadows; with birdsnest admired, but not touched; with creeping ants and almost imperceptible emmets; with humming bees, and glass bee-hives; with pleasant walks in shady lands, and with thoughts devoted, in sweet and kindly tones and words, to nature, to beauty, to acts of benevolence, to deeds of virtue, and to the source of all good—to God himself.

DR. RAMSDEN.

He [man] would look round upon the world without, and the thought would arise in his mind—"*Where* am I?" He would contemplate himself, his form so curious, his feelings so strange and various; he would ask—"*What* am I?" Then reflection would begin to stir within him, and reviewing the world without and within, and pondering upon the mystery of existence, he would exclaim—"*Why* am I?" And the replies to these three questions compose the entire circle of human knowledge, developed in its natural order.

W. COX. *The Advocate, his Training.*

I believe, that what it is most honorable to know, it is also most profitable to learn; and that the science which it is the highest power to possess, it is also the best exercise to acquire.

And if this be so, the question as to what should be the material of education, becomes singularly simplified. It might be matter of dispute what processes have the greatest effect in developing the intellect; but it can hardly be disputed what facts it is most advisable that a man entering into life should accurately know.

I believe, in brief, that he ought to know three things:

First. Where he is.

Secondly. Where he is going.

Thirdly. What he had best do under those circumstances.

First. Where he is.—That is to say, what sort of a world he has got into; how large it is; what kind of creatures live in it, and how; what it is made of, and what may be made of it.

Secondly. Where he is going.—That is to say, what chances or reports there are of any other world besides this; what seems to be the nature of that other world; and whether, for information respecting it, he had better consult the Bible, Koran, or Council of Trent.

Thirdly. What he had best do under those circumstances.—That is to say, what kind of faculties he possesses; what are the present state and wants of mankind; what is his place in society; and what are the readiest means in his power of attaining happiness and diffusing it. The man who knows these things, and who has had his will so subdued in the learning them, that he is ready to do what he knows he ought, I should call educated; and the man who knows them not, uneducated, though he could talk all the tongues of Babel. RUSKIN.

Education does not mean merely reading and writing, nor any degree, however considerable, of mere intellectual instruction. It is, in its largest sense, a process which extends from the commencement to the termination of existence. A child comes into the world, and at once his education begins. Often at his birth the seeds of disease or deformity are sown in his constitution—and while he hangs at his mother's breast, he is imbibing impressions which will remain with him through life. During the first period of infancy, the physical frame expands and strengthens; but its delicate structure is influenced for good or evil by all surrounding circumstances—cleanliness, light, air, food, warmth. By and by, the young being within shows itself more. The senses become quicker. The desires and affections assume a more definite shape. Every object which gives a sensation; every desire gratified or denied; every act, word, or look of affection or of unkindness, has its effect, sometimes slight and imperceptible, sometimes obvious and permanent, in building up the human being; or, rather, in determining the direction in which it will shoot up and unfold itself. Through the different states of the infant, the child, the boy, the youth, the man, the development of his physical, intellectual, and moral nature goes on, the various circumstances of his condition incessantly acting upon him—the healthfulness or unhealthfulness of the air he breathes; the kind, and the sufficiency of his food and clothing; the degree in which his physical powers are exerted; the freedom with which his senses are allowed or encouraged to exercise themselves upon external objects; the extent to which his faculties of remembering, comparing, reasoning, are tasked; the sounds and sights of home; the moral example of parents; the discipline of school; the nature and degree of his studies, rewards and punishments; the personal qualities of his companions; the opinions and practices of the society, juvenile and advanced, in which he moves; and the character of the public institutions under which he lives. The successive operation of all these circumstances upon a human being from earliest childhood, constitutes his education;—an education which does not terminate with the arrival of manhood, but continues through life,—which is itself, upon the concurrent testimony of revelation and reason, a state of probation or education for a subsequent and more glorious existence.

JOHN LALOR. *Prize Essay.*

The appropriate and attainable ends of a good education are the possession of gentle and kindly sympathies; the sense of self-respect and of the respect of fellow-men; the free exercises of the intellectual faculties; the gratification of a curiosity that "grows by what it feeds on," and yet finds food forever; the power of regulating the habits and the business of life, so as to extract the greatest possible portion of comfort out of small means; the refining and tranquilizing enjoyment of the beautiful in nature and art, and the kindred perception of the beauty and nobility of virtue; the strengthening consciousness of duty fulfilled, and, to crown all, "the peace which passeth all understanding."

SARAH AUSTIN.

PART II.

TREATISES AND THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION.

BIOGRAPHY OF ROGER ASCHAM.

We shall commence in our next number the publication of Roger Ascham's great work—"The Schoolmaster;" one of the earliest and most valuable contributions to the educational literature of our language. As an appropriate introduction, we give a sketch of the author's life drawn mainly from Hartley Coleridge's "Northern Worthies," and the "*Biographical Dictionary*" commenced by the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.*

Roger Ascham was the third son of John and Margaret Ascham, and was born in the year 1515, at Kirby Wiske, near Northallerton in Yorkshire, where his father resided as steward to the noble family of Scroope. His parents, who were highly esteemed in their station, after living together for forty-seven years, both died on the same day and nearly at the same hour. Their son Roger displayed from his childhood a taste for learning, and was received into the family of Sir Anthony Wingfield, who caused him to be educated with his own sons, under the care of their tutor, Mr. Robert Bond;* and in the year 1530, placed him at St. John's College, Cambridge, then the most flourishing† in the University. Ascham applied himself particularly to the study of Greek, to which a great impulse had recently been given by the dispersion of the learned Greeks throughout Europe, in consequence of the taking of Constantinople. He made great proficiency in Greek as well as Latin, and he read Greek lectures, while yet a youth, to students still younger than himself. He took the degree of A. B. in February, 1534, and on the 23d of the next month was elected‡ fellow of his college, through the influence of

* "To conclude, let this, amongst other motives, make schoolmasters careful in their place, that the eminences of their scholars have commended their schoolmasters to posterity, which otherwise in obscurity had been altogether forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. Bond in Lancashire, but for the breeding of learned Roger Ascham, his scholar?" *Fuller's Holy and Profane States—The Good Schoolmaster.*

† Dr. Grant in his "*Oratio de vita et obitu Rogeri Ascham*" thus compliments Sir John's College:—"Yea, surely, in that one college, which at that season, for number of most learned doctors, for multitude of erudite philosophers, for abundance of elegant orators, all in their kind superlative, might rival or outvie all mansions of literature on earth, were exceedingly many men, most excellent in all politer letters, and in knowledge of languages."

‡ "Dr. Nicholas Medcalf"—writes Ascham later in life, "was a man meanly learned himself, but not meanly affectioned to set forth learning in others. He was partial to none, but indifferent to all; a master of the whole, a father to every one in that college. There was none so poor, if he had either will to goodness, or wit to learning, that could lack being there,

the master, Dr. Medcalf, himself a northern man, who privately exerted himself in Ascham's favor, notwithstanding he had exhibited a leaning toward the new doctrines of protestantism, and had even been exposed to public censure for speaking against the pope. He took the degree of A. M. in 1536, at the age of twenty-one, and began to take pupils, in whose instruction he was very successful. He also read Greek publicly in the university, and privately in his own college.

In 1544, on the resignation of Sir John Cheke, he was chosen University Orator,* an office which he filled with general approbation.

In the following year, (1545,) appeared his "Toxophilus, or, the Schole of Shootinge," a treatise on archery, which he composed with a double view; in the first place, to exhibit a specimen of English prose composition in a purer taste than then prevailed, and in the second, to attract the attention of King Henry VIII., then on the point of setting out on his Boulogne expedition, and to obtain the means of visiting Italy, which he much desired. He succeeded perfectly in the first object, and partially in the second; for the king was so well pleased, that he settled on the author a pension of 10*l.* per annum—at that time a considerable sum, especially to a poor scholar. Ascham about this time acquired other great patrons. He enjoyed a pension from Archbishop Lee, acted for some time as tutor to Henry and Charles Brandon, the two sons of the Duchess of Suffolk, and attracted the friendly regards of the Chancellor Wriothesly, and other eminent men.

In 1548, on occasion of the death of William Grindal, who had been his pupil at Cambridge, Ascham was appointed instructor in the learned languages to the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards Queen, a situation which he filled for some time with great credit to himself and satisfaction to his pupil.

Of Ascham's own attachments, as well as methods of study and teaching, we have the best record in his letters and the Schoolmaster. He held fast the truth, that it is only by its own free agency that the intellect can either be enriched or invigorated;—that true knowledge is an act, a continuous immanent act, and at the same time an operation of the reflective faculty on its own objects. How he applied

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or should depart thence for any need. * * This good man's goodness shall never be out of my remembrance all the days of my life. For next to God's Providence, surely that day was, by that good father's means, *dies natalis* unto me for the whole foundation of the poor learning I have, and of all furthermore that hitherto elsewhere I have obtained." The human heart is capable of no more generous feeling than the genuine gratitude of a scholar to his instructor. It is twice blessed; honorable alike to the youth and to the elder; and never can exist when it is not just.

* Public Orator is Spokesman on public occasions, and corresponding Secretary of the University. It is an office of great honor and high precedency.

this idea to the purposes of education, his "Schoolmaster," written in the maturity of his powers, and out of the fullness of his experience, sufficiently shows. But the idea, though undeveloped, wrought in him from his earliest youth; his favorite maxim was *Docendo disces.* The affectionate wish and strenuous effort to impart knowledge is the best possible condition for receiving it. The necessity of being intelligible to others brings with it an obligation to understand ourselves; to find words apt to our ideas, and ideas commensurate to our words; to seek out just analogies and happy illustrations. But, above all, by teaching, or more properly by reciprocal intercommunication of instruction, we gain a practical acquaintance with the universal laws of thought, and with the process of perception, abstracted from the actions of the individual constitution: for it is only by a sympathetic intercourse with other minds that we gain any true knowledge of our own. Of course we speak of free and friendly *teaching*, not of despotic *dictation*, than which there is no habit more likely to perpetuate presumptuous ignorance.

The study of the Greek language was at that time new in western Europe, and in England a mere novelty. To Ascham it was as "the trouble of a new delight;" every lesson which he gained he was eager to impart; he taught Greek, he wrote Greek, he talked Greek, no wonder if he dreamed in Greek. There might be a little vanity in this: but whatever vanity he possessed, (and he certainly loved to talk of himself,) was so tempered by modesty, and blended with such candor, such glad acknowledgment of other's merits, that the sternest judgments could hardly call it a foible. By this industrious communication and daily practice, he acquired, at a very early period, such a command of the Greek vocabulary, and so vernacular a turn of phrase, that his senior, Robert Pember, to whom he had addressed an epistle in that tongue, assures him that his letter might have been written at Athens. But the critical nicety of modern scholarship was then unknown, and it was very unlikely that Pember himself felt or understood that perfect *atticism* upon which he compliments his young friend. Pember's epistle of course is in Latin, interspersed with Greek, and curious enough to be worthy of translation. It is to this effect:—"Dearly beloved Roger,—I render thee thanks for thy Greek epistle, which might seem to have been indited at ancient Athens, so exactly hast thou attained the propriety of Greek phrase: of exquisite penmanship it is, as are all thine. *Use diligence, that thou may'st be perfect, not according to the stoical, but to lyrical perfection, that thou mays't touch the harp aright.* Continue to read Greek with the boys, for thou wilt profit more by one little fable of

Æsop, read and explained by thyself, than if thou shouldst hear the whole Iliad expounded in Latin by the learnedest man now living. Peruse Pliny, in which author is the greatest knowledge of things, along with the most florid opulence of Latin speech."*

In this letter we may notice, first, the testimonial to the beauty of Ascham's penmanship,† which proved a principal means of his advancement: secondly, a proof that he was actually engaged in the tuition of *boys*: thirdly, that in his plans, both for his own improvement, and for that of his pupils, he diverged from the common routine of lectures: fourthly, that his friend, well discerning the bent and purpose of his genius, urged him to proceed with those humane and elegant studies, on which some austerer judgments looked with an evil eye. From one passage of this epistle, a biographer has observed that "Mr. Robert Pember advised him to learn instrumental music, which would prove a very agreeable entertainment to him after his severer studies, and was easy to be attained by him, as he was already a great master of vocal music." It is certainly very possible, that Pember may have given him such advice, but it is nevertheless certain, that he does not give it in the letter in question. There is no allusion at recreation at all. The whole drift of the writer is an exhortation to perseverance in a course of study already commenced.‡

* I wish young scholars paid attention to this recommendation. Pliny is never read at school, and very seldom at college; yet I have the high authority of Southey for saying, that he is the most instructive of all the Roman authors. The extent of his knowledge is almost marvelous; his veracity, where he speaks from personal observation, is daily approved by modern experiment and discovery; and even his credulity adds to his value, by disclosing more fully the actual state of physical science in his age and country. It is surely quite as interesting to know what properties the passions or the imaginations of men have ascribed to a plant or animal, as to count its stamina and petals, or ascertain the number of its vertebræ. Both are very useful. But the highest recommendation of Pliny is his moral wisdom, his almost Christian piety, his intelligent humanity. Of all the Romans he was the least of a Roman, and approximated nearest to the pure idea of man.

† The importance of good penmanship is still appreciated by the English government. In 1854, Viscount Palmerston, then Home Secretary, caused a letter to be addressed to the Secretary of the Privy Council on Education, in which he submits "for their Lordships consideration that one great fault in the system of instruction in the schools of the country lies in the want of proper teaching in the art of writing. The great bulk of the middle and lower orders write hands too small and indistinct, and do not form their letters; or they sometimes form them by alternate broad and fine strokes, which makes the words difficult to read. The hand writing which was generally practised in the early part and middle of the last century was far better than that now in common use; and Lord Palmerston would suggest that it would be very desirable that the attention of schoolmasters should be directed to this subject, and that their pupils should be taught rather to imitate broad printing than fine copper-plate engraving."

‡ The words of the original are—"Da operam, ut sis perfectus, non Stoicus, ἀλλὰ Λυρικός, ut belle pulses lyram." No doubt in the same sense that Socrates was commanded by the Oracle to make music; or, to appeal to a far higher authority, as David "shewed a dark speech on the harp," i. e. opened and exalted the understanding by the aid of the imagination. S. T. Coleridge remarks on this note of his son Hartley,—neither has Hartley caught the true meaning of the words ἀλλὰ Λυρικός, as opposed to Stoicus. The Stoicus—the sovereignty of the highest by the sacrifice of the inferior; Lyricus, the whole as a beautiful *one*, by harmonious subordination.

So far was Ascham from devoting himself to music with that intensity which Pember has been supposed to recommend, that he appears to have had no manner of taste, but rather a platonic antipathy for it, even as an amusement. Nor would he be well pleased with the present course of education in his University, if we judge by the sentiments which he expresses in his Schoolmaster, and Toxophilus.

"Some wits, moderate enough by nature, be many times marred by over much study and use of some sciences, namely, music, arithmetic, and geometry. These sciences, as they sharpen men's wits over much, so they charge men's manners over sore, if they be not moderately mingled, and wisely applied to some good use of life. Mark all mathematical heads, which be wholly and only bent to those sciences, how solitary they be themselves, how unapt to serve in the world. This is not only known by common experience, but uttered long before by wise men's judgment and sentence. Galen saith, much music marreth men's manners, and Plato hath a notable place of the same thing, and excellently translated by Tully himself. Of this matter I wrote once more at large, twenty years ago, in my book of shooting." The passage of the Toxophilus referred to, is as follows:—"Whatsoever ye judge, this I am sure, that lutes, harps, barbitons, sambukes, and other instruments, every one which standeth by quick and fine fingering, be condemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in and used among them, which study for learning and virtue. Much music marreth men's manners, saith Galen. Although some men will say that it doth not so, but rather recreateth and maketh quick a man's mind, yet methinks, by reason it doth, as honey doth to a man's stomach, which at the first receiveth it well; but afterwards it maketh it unfit to abide any strong nourishing meat, or else any wholesome sharp and quick drink; and, even so in a manner, these instruments make a man's wit so soft and smooth, so tender and queasy, that they be less able to brook strong and rough study. Wits be not sharpened, but rather made blunt, with such soft sweetness, even as good edges be blunted, which men whet upon soft chalk-stones."

These opinions require considerable limitation. Music is so high a delight to such as are really capable of enjoying it, that there is some danger of its encroaching too much upon the student's time, and it is frequently a passport to very undesirable company; but if these evils be avoided, its effects on the mind are extremely salutary and refreshing. Nothing calms the spirit more sweetly than sad music; nothing quickens cogitation like a lively air. But the truth was, that honest Roger had no ear, and like a true Englishman of an age when Kings

were wrestlers, and queens not only presided at tournaments, but "rained influence" upon bear baitings, delighted rather in muscular exertion than in fine fingering. That the practice of music no way impairs the faculty of severe thought, is sufficiently evinced by the fact that Milton was a skillful musician,* and that most of the German philosophers of the present day, who in mental industry excel the whole world, play on some instrument. Mathematical pursuits are so far from disqualifying men for business, that of all others they are most necessary to such as are intended for public life. Be it as it may, with music and mathematics, it is certain that Ascham did teach Greek and Latin with eminent success.

It must be an affair of delicate management to teach Greek to a princess; but Ascham had a love and a genius for teaching, and Elizabeth possessed in an extraordinary degree the facility of her sex in learning languages. She had then little or no expectation of reigning. Her situation was one of peculiar difficulty: she needed a spirit at once firm and yielding; and displayed in earliest youth a circumspection and self-control in which her latter years were deficient. Ascham found her a most agreeable pupil; and the diligence, docility, modest affection, and self-respective deference of the royal maiden, endeared an office which the shy scholar had not undertaken without fears and misgivings. His epistles to his friends are full of the princess' commendations and his own satisfaction; and in his later works he refers to this part of his life with honest pride. In this happy strain he writes to John Sturmius, of Strasburg:—"If you wish to know how I am thriving at Court, you may assure yourself that I had never more blessed leisure in my college than now in the palace. The Lady Elizabeth and I are studying together, in the original Greek, the crown orations of Demosthenes and Æschines. She reads her lessons to me, and at one glance so completely comprehends, not only the idiom of the language and the sense of the orator, but the exact bearings of the cause, and the public acts, manners, and usages of the Athenian people, that you would marvel to behold her." In like temper he told Aylmer, afterward Bishop of London, that he learned more of the Lady Elizabeth than she did of him. "I teach her words," said he, "and she teaches me things. I teach her the tongues to speak, and her modest and maidenly looks teach me works to do; for I think she is the best disposed of any in Europe." In several of his Latin epistles, and also in his "Schoolmaster," he explains and recommends his mode of instructing the princess with evident exultation at

* Much music is Galen's phrase, and see the last lines of Milton's sonnet—

He who of these delights can judge, and spare
To interpose them oft, is not unwise.

his success. It was the same method of double translation pursued with such distinguished results in the tuition of the young sovereign, by Sir John Cheke, from whom Ascham adopted it: and, indeed, like many of the best discoveries, it seems so simple that we wonder how it ever could be missed, and so excellent, that we know not why it is so little practiced. It had, indeed, been suggested by the younger Pliny, in an epistle to Fuscus, and by Cicero, in his Dialogue de Oratore. "Pliny," saith Roger, "expresses many good ways for order in study, but beginneth with translation, and preferreth it to all the rest. But a better and nearer example herein may be our noble Queen Elizabeth, who never yet took Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand after the first declining of a noun and a verb; but only by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates daily without missing, every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance in the Latin, and that with such a judgment, as they be few in number in both Universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable to her Majesty." And so in an epistle to Sturmius:—"It is almost incredible to how excellent an understanding both of Greek and Latin I myself conducted our sacred Lady Elizabeth by this same double translation, constantly and in brief time delivered in writing." In the same letter he insists upon the pupil making the translations with his or her own hand, *proprio, non alieno stylo*, whence it may be concluded that Elizabeth was her own amanuensis on these occasions.

We may well allow a teacher to be a little rapturous about the proficiency of a lady, a queen, and his own pupil; but after all due abatements, the testimony remains unshaken both to the talent of the learner, and the efficiency of the system of instruction.

For two years the most perfect harmony subsisted between Elizabeth and her preceptor. The intervals of study were occasionally *relieved* with chess, at which Ascham is said to have been an adept. It is to be hoped that he had too much prudence and gallantry to beat the Lady oftener than was necessary to convince her that he *always* played his best. True, the royal virgin was not then Queen, or even presumptive heir; but no wise man would take the conceit out of a chess-player, that stood within the hundredth degree of relationship to the throne. Elizabeth was not the only distinguished female whose classical studies were assisted by our author; he taught Latin to Anne, Countess of Pembroke, to whom he addressed two letters in that language, still extant.

The court of the young Edward was filled with lovers of learning,

in whose society and patronage Ascham enjoyed himself fully, as Sir John Cheke his old friend, Lord Paget, Sir William Cecil, and the Chancellor Wriothesly. He had a share in the education of the two Brandons, and he partook the favor of the youthful King, who honoring knowledge, and all its professors, must have especially esteemed it in the instructor of his *Lady Temper*, as the amiable boy used to call his favorite sister. It was at this period that he became acquainted with the lovely Jane Grey, a creature whose memory should singly put to rout the vulgar prejudice against female erudition.

At the end of two years, however, upon a disgust he felt at the conduct of some of the princes's attendants, he suddenly threw up his appointment, and retired to his college. He afterward had reason to regret the precipitancy of his conduct, which was, perhaps, never entirely forgotten, though he succeeded in a great measure in regaining the favor of Elizabeth.

Returning to his duties, as public orator at Cambridge, he still retained his pension, and the confidence of the worthiest persons about court. His interest must have been very considerable, if, as Lloyd quaintly expresses it, "he hindered those who had *dined* on the church from *supping* on the universities;" He was certainly esteemed by Elizabeth, and of her he spoke with enthusiasm to his latest day, not without a pleasing consciousness of his own services in making her what she was. Thus, in the "Schoolmaster," his latest work, he makes her perfections a reproach to all her male subjects. "It is your shame, (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England,) that one maid should go beyond ye all in excellency of learning, and knowledge of divers tongues. Point out six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together show not so much good will, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the queen's Majesty herself. Yes, I believe that besides her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth now at Windsor more Greek every day than some prebendary of this church doth Latin in a whole week. Amongst all the benefits which God hath blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward there excellent gifts of learning."

In excuse, however, of "the six best given gentlemen," it should be stated, that the learning of languages is emphatically a female talent, bearing a much larger ratio to general ability in woman than in man. Yet who can but admire the indefatigable intellect of the renowned queen, harassed in youth with peril and persecution, and

burdened in early maturity with public cares, which could yet attain a proficiency in polite learning, such as few professional scholars have excelled. The bare titles of the works which she translated evince the variety of her philological attainments, and justify the praises of her eulogists.* When no more than eleven years of age she translated out of French verse into English prose, "The Mirror, or Glass, of the Sinful Soul," dedicated to Queen Catherine Parr, 1544. At twelve, she rendered out of English into Latin, French, and Italian, "Prayers or Meditations, by which the soul may be encouraged to bear with patience all the Miseries of Life, to despise the vain happiness of this world, and assiduously provide for eternal fecility, collected out of prime writers by the most noble and religious Queen Catherine Par, dedicated by the Princess Elizabeth to King Henry VIII.," dated at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, December 30. Much about the same time she translated a treatise originally written by Marguerite of Navarre, in the French language, and entitled the "Godly Meditation of the Inward Love of the Soul toward Christ the Lord," printed in the "Monument of Matrons, containing seven several Lamps of Virginity." These were the works of the "tender and maidenly years" of her childhood. At a riper age she turned from Greek into Latin, portions of Xenophon, Isocrates, and Euripides; from Greek to English, Boethius, Sallust's Jugurthine war, and part of Horace's Art of Poetry. From Italian she translated certain sermons of Bernardine Ochine, an Italian protestant divine. It is hard to say what assistance she may have had in these labors, nor can we speak of their merits from personal inspection; but if she produced any considerable part of them, they must evince extreme activity, and a laudable love of literary employment. What teacher would not be proud of such a scholar? But we must return to her preceptor.

In 1550, while on a visit to his friends in Yorkshire, he was recalled to court by a letter, informing him that he had been appointed to accompany Sir Richard Morysine† on his embassy to the court of the

* The praises of Elizabeth were not confined to her own subjects. Scaliger declared that she knew more than all the great men of her time. Serranus honored her with the dedication of his Plato, in terms flattering enough, but only a learned Queen could be so flattered. Dedicators and panegyrists dabble much in prophecy; but it is not often that they prophecy truly. Serranus, however, was right for one, when he foretold the future fame of "good Queen Bess," and "Eliza's Golden-days." "Quemadmodum Salomonis vel Augusti felix imperium, notabile fuit ad designandum civilem felicitatem; ita et tuum, regina, illustre, sit futurum, tuaque insula non amplius Albion sed Olbia et vere fortunata sit porro nuncupanda. Qüidenim? In regno tuo vera illa regnant philosophia cujus vix ac ne vix quidem umbram vidit Plato."

† Sir Richard Morysine, [or Morison,]—son of Thomas Morysine, of Essex, was educated at Eaton and Cambridge,—traveled in Italy, and studied in Padua,—made prebendary in Salis-

Emperor Charles V. It was on his way to London on this occasion, that he had his well-known interview with Lady Jane Grey, at her father's seat at Brodegate, in Leicestershire, where he found her, a young lady of fifteen, reading the "Phædon" of Plato in the original Greek, while the members of her family were hunting in the park. Ascham's beautiful relation of the scene is given in his "Schoolmaster."

"Before I went in Germany I came to Brodegate, in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceedingly much beholding. Her parents, the Duke and Duchess, with all the house, old gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I found her in the chamber alone, reading Phædo Platonis in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale of Boecace. After salutation, and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her why she should lose such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me, "I wist all their sport in the park is but a shadow of that pleasure I find in Plato. Alas, good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant." "And how came you, madam," quoth I, "to this knowledge of pleasure? And what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, and but very few men, have attained thereunto?" "I will tell you," quoth she, "and tell you a truth which perchance ye may marvel at. One of the greater benefits God ever gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster.* For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it as it were in such weight, number, and measure, even so perfectly, as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently, sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways, (which I will not name for the honor I bear them,) so without measure misordered that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer,† who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him. And when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else beside learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily more pleasure and more; that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto

bury Cathedral, and sent Ambassador to Emperor Charles V., by Henry VIII.,—was knighted by Edward VI.,—and died in 1556.

* Mr. Elmer, or Ælmer, or Aylmer, as the name is variously written, was born as 1521, studied both at Oxford and Cambridge at the cost of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, by whom he was made tutor to his own daughters, of whom the Lady Jane Grey was the eldest,—was made Archdeacon of Stowe, in 1553,—and Bishop of London, in 1576, and died in 1594.

me." I remember this talk gladly, both because it is worthy of memory and because also it was the last talk I had, and the last time that I ever saw that noble and worthy lady."

The interview, simple in incident as it was, has assumed the dignity of a piece of history, and its illustration has been a favorite subject both for the author* and the artist.

Before leave-taking, Ascham obtained a promise of the Lady Jane to write to him in Greek, on condition that she should first write to her, as soon as he arrived in the Emperor's court.† His epistle is extant in choice Latin. Alluding to the circumstances of their last interview, he declares her happier in her love of good books, than in her descent from kings and queens. No doubt he spoke sincerely; but he knew not *then* how truly. Her studious quietude of spirit was her indefeasible blessing, while her royal pedigree‡ was like an hereditary curse, afflicting her humility with unwilling greatness, and her innocence with unmerited distress.

Ascham embarked for Germany in the following September. He accompanied Morysine as a kind of secretary, though some of his duties resembled those of a tutor, comprising, as they did, the reading of "all Herodotus, five tragedies of Sophocles, most of Euripides, the orations of Isocrates, and twenty-one orations of Demosthenes," during the ambassador's stay at Augsburg, as we are informed by Ascham himself, in a letter to a college friend at home. But besides these literary labors, he took a share in the diplomatic correspondence, and is said to have been consulted on all affairs of importance by his principal. He also occupied himself in preparing a "Report on the affairs of Germany," which was printed.

His urbanity, readiness, and general information, recommended him

* We append to this article, an "Imaginary Conversation" between Roger Ascham and Lady Jane Grey, by Walter Savage Landor.

† These particulars we learn from a letter of Roger's to Sturminus, dated 14th December, 1550, in which he promises to show Jane's epistle to the German scholar, when it should arrive. It appears, too, that the Lady was requested to correspond with Sturmius in Greek.

‡ Lady Jane Grey was the daughter of Frances Brandon, the daughter of Mary Queen Dowager of France, and sister of Henry VIII., by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Her father was Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, descended from Elizabeth, Queen to Edward IV., by her former marriage, through her son, Thomas Grey, who married the King's niece. The father of Lady Jane was created Duke of Suffolk, on the failure of the male line of the Brandons.

Lady Jane Grey, or to speak more correctly, Lady Guilford Dudley, (for she perished in her honeymoon,) wrote her last letter to her sister Catharine in the blank pages of her Greek Testament; and when she saw her bridegroom led to execution under her prison window, she wrote three several sentences in her tablets in as many languages. The first in Greek, to this effect:—If his slain body shall give testimony against me before men, his blessed soul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence before God. The second in Latin:—The justice of men took away his body, but the divine mercy has preserved his spirit. The third in English:—If my fault deserved punishment, my youth and my imprudence were worthy of excuse: God and posterity will show me favor.

not less to Princes and Ministers, than his Greek, Latin, logic, and divinity, to John Sturmius and Jerome Wolfius. The courtiers thought it a pity he was not always attached to an embassy, and the learned regretted that he should ever leave the schools. Whatever he was doing seemed his *forte*, and so rife were his praises in every mouth, that he was in peril of the woe denounced against those whom "all men speak well of."

During his absence abroad, his friends in England procured not only the restoration of his pension, which had ceased at the death of Henry VIII., but the place of Latin secretary to Edward VI. For these favors he was indebted, as appears by a letter of Ascham preserved in the Lansdowne MSS., to the interference of Sir William Cecil, the Ambassador Morysine, and Sir John Cheke.

The death of King Edward in 1553, led to the immediate recall of the ambassador, with whom Ascham returned to England. By this event he lost both his recent preferments, and the accession of the Catholic Queen Mary held out such dismal prospects for the future, that Ascham retired to his college almost in despair. Matters however took an unexpected turn. Sir William Paget, whose recommendation of the "Toxophilus" to King Henry had procured his pension from that king, now exerted his influence in his favor with Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who, notwithstanding Ascham's staunch protestantism was often represented to him, proved his steady patron. The "Toxophilus" was produced by the bishop at the council, and was considered so useful a work, that the objections to the author's advancement were removed. Ascham's pension was not only restored, but doubled, and he was appointed Latin secretary to king Philip and the queen. He was so diligent in his office, that at its commencement he is recorded to have written in three days no less than forty-seven letters to princes and great personages, the lowest in rank being a cardinal. These of course were all written with his own hand, one of his principal qualifications, in addition to his learning, being the excellence of his penmanship, for which he had been celebrated from his college days. By the influence of Gardiner he was also enabled to retain his fellowship and his post of public orator at the university—when by strict statute he might have been deprived of them, till they were vacated by his marriage. The object of his choice was Mistress Margaret Howe, a lady of some fortune and good family, to whom he was united on the 1st of June, 1554. A letter from the "German Cicero," Sturmius, who corresponded with our author with all the warmth and frequency of school friendship, dated the 24th of the same month, jocosely reproaches him with omitting to communi-

cate such an important piece of business. "But what is it I hear? Would you keep your engagement close, for fear I should send you a High-Dutch epithalamium? I am informed that your intended is niece to the wife of Mr. Walop, that was governor of Guisnes when I was at Calais. Ah! but she was an honest madam, a fair and comely dame! If it be so, that you are going to make her your spouse, or if you have any other in your eye, do let me know, and tell me when the day is to be, that if I can not myself be present at the espousals, I may send Thalassius* to make my compliments to your love in my stead." Ascham replied,—"As for my wife, she is the picture of her aunt Walop, and all that John Sturmius could wish the wife of Roger Ascham to be."

The singular good fortune of Ascham in not only escaping persecution, but receiving favor, throughout the troubles of Mary's reign, while his contemporaries at college were either led to the stake, or compelled to recant, is a problem which it would now be difficult to solve. Johnson is willing to attribute it to chance; other biographers imagine that his services were of sufficient importance to protect his life; while all allow that his immunity was at any rate not purchased by any sacrifice of his principles.

On the death of Queen Mary, in 1558, Ascham was soon distinguished by the notice of her successor. He had long before taken pains to erase from Elizabeth's mind any unfavorable impression that might have been produced by his abrupt departure from her service, and his excuses had been favorably received. He was now appointed Latin secretary and tutor in Greek to her Majesty, and during the rest of his life was a constant resident at court. He spent some hours every day in reading Greek and Latin authors with the queen, and often enjoyed the more envied honor of being her partner or opponent in games of chance. He obtained from her several pieces of preferment, the principal of which was the prebend of Wetwang in the cathedral of York, which he received in 1559.

He had the opportunity of frequent interviews with her Majesty, and had the favor to talk Greek and Latin, and play chess with her,—openings which a more artful and ambitious man might easily have improved. But the pride or modesty of Roger would not suffer him to ask any thing for himself or others. Indeed he used to boast of his backwardness in this particular, often averring in conversation, that during all the happy hours that he had enjoyed his Lady Sovereign's presence, he never opened his mouth to enrich himself or any that belonged to him; that to serve his mistress well was his best reward;

* Thalassius was the Roman nuptial god, as Hymen was the Greek. A song was sung at weddings, in which "Io Thalassie" was perpetually repeated like a burden.

that he had rather freely win her good opinion than be dressed out in her munificence. The Lord Treasurer, who was his friend and well-wisher, often admonished him to take less pains, and urge more requests. But Ascham was slow even to receive what was offered, and thoroughly content with his condition, which, though moderate, was never, as Anthony à Wood states broadly, and a hundred others have copied from him, miserably poor. He had always sufficient for the day, and was not one of those that lay up store for the morrow. He was extremely indignant when any one offered him presents to purchase his interest with the Queen, saying, that God had not given him the use of his tongue that it might be venal and subservient to his profit.

His income was narrow, he was neither importunate to get, nor provident to save—his purse and house were always open to the distressed scholar, and whatever was his, was his friends' also. He delighted much in an epigram of Martial—

> Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis;
> Quas solas dederis, semper habebis opes.
>
> The friendly boon from fate itself secures,
> And what you give, shall be for ever yours.

This is not the way to grow rich. Roger Ascham was generous, and it may be imprudent; but there is no just cause for supposing him viciously extravagant.

There is little more to relate of the last ten years of his life. Finding his health injured by night-studies, he for a time discontinued them, and became an early riser; but toward the close of 1568 he sat up several nights successively in order to finish a poem addressed to the Queen on the new year. That new year he was never to see. Long subject to fever, and latterly to a lingering hectic, his over-exertion brought on a violent attack which his weakened constitution was unable to withstand. Sleep, which he had too long rejected, could not be persuaded to visit him again, though he was rocked in a cradle; all opiates failed, and in less than a week, exhausted nature gave way to the slumber, from which there is no waking on this side of the grave. He took to his bed on the 28th of December, and expired on the 30th of the same month, 1568, aged fifty-three. He was attended to the last by Dr. Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, who, on the ensuing fourth of January, preached his funeral sermon, in which he declares that "he never knew man live more honestly nor die more christianly." As he had many friends, and no enemies, his death was a common sorrow, and Queen Elizabeth is reported to have said, that "she would rather have thrown ten thousand pounds into the sea, than have lost her Ascham."

Notwithstanding his preferments, Ascham died poor. He left a

widow, to whom he had been married in 1554, and several children, one of whom, Giles, was in after-life fellow of St. John's, (or Trinity, according to other authorities,) and celebrated, like his father, for the elegance of his Latin epistles. Ascham's greatest work, "The Schole-master," was not published until after his death. The occasion of its composition is told in the beginning of the book. After a conversation among a number of eminent men, Sir William Cecil at their head, on the merits of severity and its opposite in school discipline, in which Ascham warmly attacked the former, Sir Richard Sackville took him aside, and avowing that his own education had been marred by the severity of his tutor, proposed that Ascham should draw up a plan of instruction, and recommend a person under whom it could be put in practice, having for his scholars Sir Richard's grandson, and Ascham's eldest boy, Giles. Ascham set about his task with delight; but the death of Sir Richard in 1566, before it was completed, put an end to the proposed scheme, and caused the author to finish his work with a sorrow and heaviness in sad contrast to the high hopes with which he entered upon it. He left the book completed for the press, when he died, and it was published by his widow, with a dedication to Sir William Cecil, and with a view, not altogether disappointed, of attracting his attention in behalf of her son Giles to whom it was thus, after all, of some benefit, although in a far different manner from what the author could have anticipated. The principal object of the work besides the reprehension of severity on the part of teachers and parents, is the introduction of a new system of teaching the Latin language, a system which has been partially revived of late years. Ascham proposes, after teaching the rudiments of grammar, to commence a course of double translation, first from Latin into English, and shortly after from English into Latin, correcting the mistakes of the student, and leading to the formation of a classic style, by pointing out the differences between the re-translation and the original, and explaining their reasons. His whole system is built upon this principle of dispensing as much as possible with the details of grammar, and he supports his theory by a triumphant reference to its practical effects, especially as displayed in the case of Queen Elizabeth, whose well-known proficiency in Latin he declares to have been attained without any grammatical rules after the very simplest had been mastered.

The excellence of Ascham's epistolary style has been referred to. He was in correspondence with most of the learned men of his time, both in England and on the continent, especially with Sturmius, whose name he gave to one of his three sons. After his death, a collection,

of his Latin letters was published by his friend Edward Grant, master of Westminster School, together with a few poems, for the benefit of Giles Ascham, who was then under Grant's tuition. To this collection was prefixed a panegyric on Ascham, which is the principal source for his life, though his letters, and numerous allusions scattered through his works, contribute to a knowledge of his personal history.

A writer in the *Retrospective Review*, (Vol. iv. p. 76,) in an interesting notice of Toxophilus remarks: "Ascham is a great name in our national literature. He was one of the founders of a true English style in prose composition, and one of the most respectable and useful of our scholars. He was amongst the first to reject the use of foreign words and idioms, a fashion, which in the reign of Henry the VIII., began to be so prevalent, that the authors of that day, by "using straunge wordes, as Latine, Frenche, and Italian, did make all thinges darke and harde." It required some virtue moreover in Ascham, attached as he was to the study of the learned languages, to abstain from mingling them with his English compositions, especially when the public taste countenanced such innovations. But Ascham's mind was too patriotic to permit him to think, that his native tongue could be improved by this admixture of foreign phrases, an opinion which he illustrates by this comparison;—"but if you put malvesye and sacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and all in one pot, you shall make a drincke not easye to be known nor yet holsome for the bodye." In obedience to the precept of Aristotle,—to think like the wise, but to speak like the common people; Ascham set a successful example of a simple and pure taste in writing, and we question whether we do not owe more to him on this account, than even for the zeal which he displayed in the cultivation of the Greek, language, during its infancy amongst us."

Ascham's character is well summed up in a passage of his life by Mr. Hartley Coleridge: "There was a primitive honesty, a kindly innocence, about this good old scholar, which gave a personal interest to the homeliest details of his life. He had the rare felicity of passing through the worst of times without persecution and without dishonor. He lived with princes and princesses, prelates and diplomatists, without offence and without ambition. Though he enjoyed the smiles of royalty, his heart was none the worse, and his fortunes little the better."

TOXOPHILUS; THE SCHOLE OF SHOOTINGE.*

BY ROGER ASCHAM, WRITTEN IN 1554.

BEFORE introducing to our readers "the Schole Master" of Queen Elizabeth, or "the plaine and perfite way" in which Roger Ascham led his royal pupil up the sublime heights of ancient learning, we will devote a few pages to a brief notice and a few specimens of his *Toxophilus.*

TOXOPHILUS was written in 1554, during Ascham's residence at the University of Cambridge, and seems, in addition to other ends, to have been intended as an apology for the zeal with which he studied and practiced the ancient, but now forgotten art of archery as a means of recreation. His great attachment to the exercise, and the time spent upon it were considered unbecoming the character of a grave scholar and teacher.

From this imputation, he endeavors in the character of *Toxophilus*, (a lover of archery,) to free himself, by showing in a dialogue with *Philologus*, (a student,) the honor and dignity of the art, in all nations and in all times. He asserts truly that much of the success of English arms at Cressy, Poictiers, Agincourt, and Flodden, was due to their strength of arm and accuracy of eye, with which the bold yeomen of England "drew their arrows to the head," and discharged the "iron sleet" against their discomfited enemies. To realize the part which the practice of archery played in the pastimes of peace, we have only to recall its frequent introduction into the rural poetry of England, and the traditionary stories of the Strongbows and Robin Hoods of ancient days. It was the national practice of shooting for pleasure or prizes, by which every man was inured to archery from his infancy, that gave the English yeomen an insuperable advantage in the use of the bow over all foreign troops, and made them formidable even to foes armed with the clumsy muskets of the times of Queen Elizabeth. We do not propose to set forth Ascham's encomiums on the utility of archery in matters of war, or the minute practical details which he gives for choosing and using the bow, even to the species of goose, from the wing of which the best feathers are to be plucked for the shaft, but to present his views of the fitness and utility of manly sports, and recreating amusements for those who lead a sedentary life. A writer in the Retrospective Review, (Vol. IV., p. 79,) in commenting on this work of Ascham justly observes:

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* The following is the title in Bennett's Edition of Roger Ascham's Works:

TOXOPHILUS: The Schole, or Partitions of Shooting. Contayned in II Bookes. Written by ROGER ASCHAM, 1554. And now newly perused. Pleasant for all Gentlemen and Yomen of Englande. For theyr pastime to reade, and profitable for theyr use to followe in warre and peace. Anno, 1571. Imprinted at LONDON, in Fletestreate, near to Saint Dunstones Churche by Thomas Marshe.

"A scholar seldom takes much delight in active amusements. The body is always postponed to the mind; and provided the latter has exercise enough, he is too apt to be negligent of the health and comfort of the former. On this account the amusements of literary men have frequently a degree of mental labor combined with them, which generally defeats the ends they ought to attain; or, as Fuller says, 'they cozen their mind in setting it to do a double task under pretense of giving it a play day, as in the labyrinth of chess, and other tedious and studious games.' It is difficult to cheat the brain into idleness. Kirk White could not help repeating Greek verses as he took his daily walk. Mere exercise is rather painful than pleasant to studious men, and accordingly we find they often hasten over it like a disagreeable task. Swift used to run up and down hill some half a dozen times by way of compressing as much exercise as possible into a given space of time,—a mode of recreation for which we have the authority of Galen, whose catalogue of amusements for the studious, we give in our author's words, strongly recommending them to the attention of our modern literati.

"To run up and down hill, to climb up a long pole or a rope, and there hang awhile, to hold a man by his arms, and wave with his heels, much like the pastime the boys used in the church when their master was away, to swing and totter in a bell-rope, to make a fist and stretch out both his arms, and so stand like a rood. To go on a man's tip-toes stretching out the one of his arms forward, the other backward, which if he bleared out his tongue also, might be thought to dance antic very properly. To tumble over and over, to top over tail, to set back to back and see who can heave another's heels highest, with other much like."

If we might rely on the word of Sir Phillip Sidney, the exercise of riding on horseback is a very fitting relaxation. He gives a very fascinating account of the zeal with which he and his friend, 'the right virtuous E. W.,' when at the Emperor's court studied this science. This too was an amusement which met with the approbation of Bishop Stillingfleet. Moreover, Erasmus seems to have been attached to it, who, as Ascham tells us, 'when he was here in Cambridge, and when he had been sore at his book, (as Garret our book-binder has often told me,) for lack of better exercise would take his horse, and ride about the market hill and come again.' Field sports seldom take the fancy of literary men, and, nothwithstanding the praise of honest Piscator, Isaac Walton, we are rather inclined to think with another old writer, that 'fishing with an angle is rather a torture than a pleasure, to stand an hour as mute as the fish they mean to take.' After all, the soberest and the fittest exercise, is a quiet and refreshing walk in the field, where the eye enjoys a pleasant change of scene, just sufficient to attract the attention of the mind without fatiguing it. But in this opinion we run completely counter to our author, who speaks of this mode of exercise in a very contemptuous manner.—'Walking alone in the field hath no token of courage in it, a pastime like a single man that is neither flesh nor fish.'"

The following is the opening of the discourse between Toxophilus and Philologus, in which the former endeavors to prove that some relaxation

and pastime are to be mingled with study and the serious business of life.

Philologus.—You study too sore, Toxophilus.

Toxophilus.—I will not hurt myself overmuch, I warrant you.

Phil.—Take heed you do not, for we physicians say that it is neither good for the eyes in so clear a sun, nor yet wholesome for the body, so soon after meat to look upon a man's book.

Tox.—In eating and studying I will never follow any physician, for if I did I am sure I should have small pleasure in the one, and less courage in the other. But what news drove you hither, I pray you?

Phil.—Small news, truly, but that as I came on walking, I fortuned to come with three, or four that went to shoot at the pricks; [*mark,*] and when I saw not you among them, but at last espied you looking on your book here so sadly, [*seriously,*] I thought to come and hold you with some communication, lest your book should run away with you. For methought, by your wavering pace and earnest looking, your book led you, not you it.

Tox.—Indeed, as it chanced, my mind went faster than my feet, for I happened here to read in Phedro Platonis, a place that treats wonderfully of the nature of souls; which place, whether it were for the passing eloquence of Plato and the Greek tongue, or for the high and goodlye description of the matter, kept my mind so occupied, that it had no leisure to look to my feet. For I was reading how some souls being well feathered, flew always about heaven and heavenly matters: other some having their feathers mouted away and dropping, sank down into earthly things.

Phil.—I remember the place very well, and it is wonderfully said of Plato: and now I see it was no marvel though your feet failed you, seeing your mind flew so fast.

Tox.—I am glad now that you letted [*interrupted*] me, for my head aches with looking on it, and because you tell me so, I am very sorry that I was not with those good fellows you spake upon, for it is a very fair day for a man to shoot in.

Phil.—And methinks you were a great deal better occupied, and in better company, for it is a very fair day for a man to go to his book in.

Tox.—All days and weathers will serve for that purpose, and surely this occasion was ill lost.

Phil.—Yes, but clear weather makes clear minds, and it is best, as I suppose, to spend the best time upon the best things, and methought you shot very well, and at that mark at which every good scholar should most busily shoot at. And I suppose it be a great deal more pleasure to see a soul fly in Plato, than a shaft fly at the pricks. I grant you shooting is not the worst thing in the world, yet if we shoot, and time shoot, we are not apt to be great winners at the length. And you know also, that we scholars have more earnest and weighty matters in hand, nor we be not born to pastime and play, as you know well enough who sayeth.

Tox.—Yet the same man, [*Cicero de officiis,*] in the same place, Philologe, by your leave, doth admit, wholesome, honest, and manly pastimes, to be as necessary to be mingled with sad matters of the mind, as eating and sleeping is for the health of the body, and yet we be born for neither of both. And Aristotle himself, [*Ethics, Book* 10, *chap.* 6.] sayeth although it were a fond and a childish thing to be too earnest in pastime and play, yet doth he affirm, by the authority of the old poet, Epicharmus, that a man may use play for earnest matters sake. And in another place, [*Politics,* V. 61, 6,] that, as rest is for labor, and medicines for health, so is pastime, at times, for sad and weighty study.

Phil.—How much in this matter is to be given to the authority of Aristotle or Tully, I can not tell, seeing sad [*serious*] men may well enough speak merrily for a mere matter: this I am sure, which thing this fair wheat, (God save it,) maketh me remember, that those husbandmen which rise earliest, and come latest home, and are content to have their dinner and other drinkings brought into the field to them, for fear of losing time, have fatter barns in the harvest, than they which will either sleep at noontime of the day, or else make merry with their neighbors at the ale. And so a good scholar, that purposeth to be a

good husband, and desireth to reap and enjoy much fruit of learning, must till and sow thereafter, [in order to it.] Our best seed time, which be scholars, as it is very timely, and when we be young: so it endureth not over long, and therefore it may not be let slip one hour; our ground is very hard and full of weeds, our horse wherewith we be drawn very wild, as Plato saith. [*Phœdro.*] And infinite other mo lets, [*hindrances*] which will make a thrifty scholar take heed how he spendeth his time in sport and play.

Tox.—That Aristotle and Tully spake earnestly, and as they thought, the earnest matter which they treat upon, doth plainly prove. And as for your husbandry, it was more [*speciously*] told with apt words, proper to the thing, than thoroughly proved with reasons belonging to our matter. For contrarywise, I heard myself a good husband at his book once say, that to omit study for sometime of the day, and sometime of the year, made as much for the increase of learning, as to let the land lie sometime fallow, maketh for the better increase of corn.

Thus we see, if the land be ploughed every year, the corn cometh thin up; the ear is short, the grain is small, and when it is brought into the barn and threshed, giveth very evil faule. [*produce.*] So those which never leave pouring on their books, have oftentimes as thin inventions as other poor men have, and as small wit and weight in it as other men's. And thus your husbandry, methink is more like the life of a covetous snudge, that oft very evil proves, than the labor of a good husband, that knoweth well what he doth. And surely the best wits to learning must needs have much recreation, and cease from their books, or else they mar themselves: when base and dumpish wits can never be hurt with continual study; as ye see in luting, that a treble minikin string must always be let down, but at such a time as when a man must needs play; when the base and dull string needeth never to be moved out of his place. The same reason I find true in two bowes that I have, whereof the one is quick of cast, tricke [*neat*] and trim, both for pleasure and profit; the other is a lugge, [*strong and heavy,*] slow of cast, following the string, more sure for to last than pleasant for use. Now, sir, it chanced the other night, one in my chamber would needs bend them to prove their strength, but, (I can not tell how,) they were both left bent till the next day after dinner; and when I came to them, purposing to have gone on shooting, I found my good bow clean cast [*warped*] on the one side, and as weak as water, that surely, if I was a rich man, I would rather have spent a crown; and as for my lugge it was not one whit the worse, but shot by and by as well and as far as it ever did. And even so, I am sure that good wits except they be let down like a treble string and unbent like a good casting bow, they will never last and be able to continue in study. And I know where I speak this, Philologus, for I would not not say thus much afore young men, for they will take soon occasion to study little enough. But I say it therefore, because I know, as little study getteth little learning, or none at all, so the most study getteth not the most learning of all. For a man's wit fore-occupied in earnest study, must be as well recreated with some honest pastime, as the body, fore-laboured must be refreshed with sleep and quietness, or else it can not endure very long, as the noble poet [*Ovid*] saith:—

> "What thing wants quiet and merry rest, endures but a small while."

Philologus was not disposed to yield up readily his objections to shooting, and so challenges Toxophilus to a discussion of the subject, upon which the latter enters right heartily. He traces its origin, according to various authorities among the poets and historians to Jupiter, and Apollo, and cites its use among the Medes and Persians, Greeks and Romans, by wise lawgivers, and eminent princes, by poets and physicians. He cites the authority of Lycurgus to show that "the Lacedemonians never ordained anything for the bringing up of youths which was not joined with labor; and that labor which is in shooting of all other is best, both because it increaseth strength, and preserveth health most, being not vehement, but moderate, not overlaying any one part with weariness, but softly exercising every part with equalness; as the arms and breast

with drawing, the other parts with giving, being also pleasant for the pastime, which exercise by the judgment of the best physicians is most allowable."

"By shooting also is the mind honestly exercised, where a man always desireth to be best, and that by the same way, that virtue itself doth, coveting to come nighest a most perfect end, or mean standing betwixt two extremes, eschewing sport, or gone [too far] on either side, for which causes *Aristotle* himself saith, that shooting and virtue be very like. Moreover that shooting of all others, is the most honest pastime, and that least occasion to naughtiness is joined with it, two things do very plainly prove, which be, as a man would say, the tutors and overseers to shooting; daylight and open place where every man doth come, the maintainers and keepers of shooting from all unhonest doing."

Philologus urges, that if scholars must have pastime and recreation for their minds, "let them use music and playing on instruments, as more seemly for scholars, and most regarded always of Apollo and the Muses." Toxophilus adds, even as I can not deny but some music is for learning, so I trust you can not choose but grant that shooting is fit also, as Callemarchas does signify in this verse.

"*Both merry song and good shooting delighteth Apollo.*"

He then proceeds to criticise the effect of music on the those who devote much time to it, as being much more suitable to women than men. *Philologus*, however, dwells on the humanizing influence on the manners which would follow, if the whole people were taught to sing and enjoy good music, and also on the uses which lawyers and preachers would find in a proper culture of the voice. He therefore concludes that as singing is an aid to good speaking, and to making men better, "as daily experience doth teach, the example of wise men doth allow, authority of learned men doth approve," it should be part of the education and pastime of every youth. But as for shooting, he can not think that "a man can be in earnest in it, and earnest at his book to."

In defending his favorite pastime, Toxophilus grants that shooting should be "a waiter upon learning, not a mistress over it." "A pastime must be wholesome, and equal for every part of the body, pleasant, and full of courage for the mind, not vile and dishonest to give ill example to other men, not kept in gardens and corners, not lurking into the night and in holes, but evermore in the face of men."

In the above views expressed by Toxophilus, Ascham is sustained by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, who in his *Holy State* expresses himself in this quaint way. "Recreation is a second creation, when weariness hath almost annihilated one's spirits. It is the breathing of the soul, which otherwise would be stifled with continual business.

"Take heed of boisterous and over-violent exercises. Ringing has oftentimes made good music on the bells, and put men's bodies out of tune, so that by over-heating themselves, they have rung their own passing bells.

"Refresh that part of thyself which is most wearied. If thy life be sedentary, exercise thy body; if stirring and active, recreate thy mind. But take heed of cozening thy mind, in setting it to a double task, under pretense of giving it a play-day, as in the labyrinth of chess and other tedious and studious games.

"Yet recreations distasteful to some dispositions, relish best to others. Fishing with an angle is to some rather a torture than a pleasure, to stand an hour as mute as a fish they mean to take. Yet herewithal Dr. Whitaker was much delighted. When some noblemen had gotten William Cecil, Lord Burleigh and

the Treasurer of England, to ride with them a hunting, and the sport began to be cold, 'what call you this?' said the Treasurer. 'O, now,' said they, 'the dogs are at fault.' 'Yea,' quoth the Treasurer, 'take me again in such a fault, and I'll give you leave to punish me.' Thus as soon may the same meat please all palates, as the same sports suit all dispositions.

"Running, leaping, and dancing, the descants on the plain song of walking, are all excellent exercises. And yet those are best recreations, which beside refreshing, enable, at least dispose men to some other good ends. Bowling teaches men's hands and eyes mathematics, and the rules of proportion; swimming hath saved many a man's life, when himself hath been both the waves and the ship; tilting and fencing is war without anger; and manly sports are the grammar of military performance.

"But above all, shooting is a noble recreation, and a half liberal art. A rich man told a poor man that he walked to get a stomach for his meat. 'And I,' said the poor man, 'walk to get meat for my stomach.' Now shooting would have fitted both their turns; it provides food when men are hungry, and helps digestion when they are full.

"Recreation, rightly taken, shall both strengthen labor, and sweeten rest, and we may expect God's blessing and protection on us in following them, as well as in doing our work; for he that saith grace for his meat, in it also prays God to bless the sauce unto him. As for those that will not take lawful pleasure, I am afraid they will take unlawful pleasure, and by lacing themselves too hard, grow awry on one side."

We have confined our notice of Toxophilus to the description of archery as a recreation. The book is full of maxims of profound practical wisdom, of exquisitely touched pictures of manners, and of delightful tributes to learning. The discourse concludes in this manner:

Tox.—This communication handled of me, Philogue, as I know well not perfectly, yet as I suppose truly, you must take in good worth, wherein, if divers things do not altogether please you, thank yourself, which would rather have me faulte in mere folly, to take that thing in hand, which I was not able to perform, than by any honest shamefacedness with-saye your request and mind, which I know well I have not satisfied. But yet I will think this labor of mine better bestowed, if to-morrow, or some other day when you have leisure, you will spend as much time with me here in this same place, in entreating the question, *de origine animæ*, and the joining of it with the body that I may know how far Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoicans, have waded in it.

Phil.—How you have handled this matter, Toxophile, I may not tell you myself now, but for your gentleness and good will toward learning and shooting, I will be content to show you any pleasure whensoever you will; now the sun is down, therefore if it please you, we will go home and drink in my chamber, and then I will tell you plainly what I think of this communication, and also what day we will appoint, at your request, for the other matter to meet here again.

THE SCHOOLMASTER,

OR A PLAIN AND PERFECT WAY OF TEACHING CHILDREN TO UNDERSTAND, WRITE AND SPEAK THE LATIN TONGUE.*

BY ROGER ASCHAM.

Written in 1563–4, and first printed in 1571.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

WHEN the great plague was at London, the year 1563, the Queen's Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, lay at her Castle of Windsor; where, upon the tenth day of December, it fortuned, that in Sir William Cecil's chamber, her Highness's principal Secretary, there dined together these personages, M. Secretary himself,[1] Sir William Peter,[2] Sir J. Mason,[3] D. Wotton,[4] Sir Richard Sackville,[5] Treasurer of the Exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay,[6] Chancellor of Exchequer, M. Haddon,[7] Master of Requests, M. John Astely,[8] Master of the Jewel House, M. Bernard Hampton,[9] M. Nicasius,[10] and I.[11] Of which number, the most part were of her Majesty's most honorable Privy Council, and the rest serving her in very good place. I was glad then, and do rejoice yet to remember, that my chance was so happy to be there that day, in the company of so many wise and good men together, as hardly then could have been picked out again, out of all England beside.

M. Secretary hath this accustomed manner; though his head be never so full of most weighty affairs of the realm, yet at dinner time he doth seem to lay them always aside; and findeth ever fit occasion to talk pleasantly of other matters, but most gladly of some matter of learning, wherein he will courteously hear the mind of the meanest at his table.

Not long after our sitting down, "I have strange news brought me, saith M. Secretary, this morning, that divers scholars of Eaton run

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* The following is the original title of the work, as given by UPTON.

THE
SCHOLE MASTER;
Or plaine and perfite Way of teaching Children, to understand, writ, and speake, the LATIN TONGUE, *but specially purposed for the private bringing up of Youth in Jentlemen and Noblemens Houses, and commodious also for all such as have forgot the* LATIN TONGUE, *and would, by themselves, without a Scholemaster, in short Tyme, and with small Paines, recover a sufficient Habilitie, to understand, write, and speake* LATIN.
By ROGER ASCHAM,
Anno 1571.
AT LONDON,
Printed by JOHN DAYE, dwelling over ALDERSGATE.
Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis, per Decennium.

1, 2, &c. The Numerals refer to Annotations on pages 161—166.

away from the school for fear of a beating."[12] Whereupon M. Secretary took occasion to wish, that some more discretion were in many schoolmasters, in using correction, than commonly there is; who many times punish rather the weakness of nature, than the fault of the scholar; whereby many scholars, that might else prove well, be driven to hate learning before they know what learning meaneth; and so are made willing to forsake their book, and be glad to be put to any other kind of living.

M. Peter, as one somewhat severe of nature, said plainly, that the rod only was the sword, that must keep the school in obedience, and the scholar in good order. Mr. Wotton, a man mild of nature, with soft voice and few words, inclined to M. Secretary's judgment, and said, "In mine opinion the school-house should be in deed, as it is called by name, the house of play and pleasure, and not of fear and bondage; and as I do remember, so saith* Socrates in one place of Plato. And therefore if a rod carry the fear of a sword, it is no marvel if those that be fearful of nature, choose rather to forsake the play, than to stand always within the fear of a sword in a fond (*foolish*) man's handling."

M. Mason, after his manner, was very merry with both parties, pleasantly playing both with the shrewd touches of many curst† boys, and with the small discretion of many lewd† schoolmasters. M. Haddon was fully of M. Peter's opinion, and said, that the best schoolmaster of our time was the ‡ greatest beater, and named the person. "Though, quoth I, it was his good fortune, to send from his school into the University§ one of the best scholars indeed of all our time, yet wise men do think, that that came to pass, rather by the great towardness of the scholar, than by the great beating of the master; and whether this be true or no, you yourself are best witness." I said somewhat further in the matter, how, and why young children were sooner allured by love than driven by beating, to attain good learning; wherein I was the bolder to say my mind, because M. Secretary courteously provoked me thereunto; or else in such a company

* The passage, to which the Dean of *Canterbury* refers, is in *Plato's* 7th Book of *Repub.*, Chap. 16. and is afterward cited by Mr. *Ascham*. Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν λογισμῶν τε καὶ γεωμετριῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς προπαιδείας, ἣν τῆς Διαλεκτικῆς δεῖ προπαιδευθῆναι, παισὶν ὄσι χρὴ προβάλλειν ἐχ ὡς ἐπάναγκες μαθεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διδαχῆς ποιεμένης. Τί δὴ; "Οτι (ἦνδ' ἐγὼ) ἐδὲν μάθημα μετὰ ὀυλείας τον ἐλεύθερον χρὴ μανθάνειν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὲ σώματος πόνοι, βίᾳ πονέμενοι, χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται, Ψυχῇ δὲ βιαιον ὀδὲν ἔμμονον μάθημα Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Μη τοίνυν βια (εἶπον) ὦ ἄριςε, τὲς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παίζοντας τρέφε, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον ὄιός τ' ῃς καθοραν ἐφ' ὅ ἕκαςος πέφυκεν. (17.)

† Curst, *mischievous*; lewd, *savage*.

‡ This was *Nicholas Udel*, Master of *Eaton* School, whom *Bale* stiles, *Elegantissimus omnium bonarum literarum Magister, et eorum felicissimus interpres.* His severity his own scholar, Mr. *Tusser*, has sufficiently proclaim'd.

§ This was Mr. *Haddon*, sometime Fellow of King's College in *Cambridge*.

and surely in his presence, my wont is to be more willing to use mine ears, than to occupy my tongue.

Sir Walter Mildmay, M. Astley, and the rest, said very little; only Sir Richard Sackville said nothing at all. After dinner, I went up to read with the Queen's Majesty. We read then together in the Greek tongue, as I well remember, that noble oration of Demosthenes against Æschines, for his false dealing in his embassage to King Philip of Macadonie. Sir Richard Sackville came up soon after, and finding me in her Majesties privy chamber, he took me by the hand, and carrying me to a window, said:

"M. Ascham, I would not for a good deal of money have been this day absent from dinner; where, though I said nothing, yet I gave as good ear, and do consider as well the talk that passed, as any one did there. M. Secretary said very wisely, and most truly, that many young wits be driven to hate learning, before they know what learning is. I can be good witness to this myself; for a fond (*foolish*) schoolmaster, before I was fully fourteen years old, drave me so with fear of beating from all love of learning, that now, when I know what difference it is, to have learning, and to have little, or none at all, I feel it my greatest grief, and find it my greatest hurt that ever came to me, that it was my so ill chance, to light upon so lewd a schoolmaster. But feeling it is but in vain to lament things past, and also wisdom to look to things to come, surely, God willing, if God lend me life, I will make this my mishap some occasion of good hap to little Robert Sackville my son's son. For whose bringing up, I would gladly, if it so please you, use specially your good advice. I hear say you have a son much of his age; we will deal thus together: point you out a schoolmaster, who by your order shall teach my son and yours,[13] and for all the rest, I will provide, yea though they three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by year; and beside, you shall find me as fast a friend to you and yours, as perchance any you have." Which promise the worthy gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day.

We had then farther talk together of bringing up of children, of the nature of quick and hard wits, of the right choice of a good wit, of fear, and love in teaching children. We passed from children and came to young men, namely, gentlemen: we talked of their too much liberty to live as they lust; of their letting loose too soon to overmuch experience of ill, contrary to the good order of many good old Commonwealths of the Persians, and Greeks; of wit gathered, and good fortune gotten by some, only by experience without learning. And, lastly, he required of me very earnestly to shew what I thought of the common going of English men into Italy. "But, saith

he, because this place, and this time will not suffer so long talk, as these good matters require, therefore I pray you, at my request, and at your leisure, put in some order of writing the chief points of this our talk, concerning the right order of teaching, and honesty of living, for the good bringing up of children and young men; and surely, beside contenting me, you shall both please and profit very many others." I made some excuse by lack of ability, and weakness of body. "Well, saith he, I am not now to learn what you can do; our dear friend, good M. Goodricke,* whose judgment I could well believe, did once for all satisfy me fully therein. Again, I heard you say, not long ago, that you may thank Sir John Cheke[14] for all the learning you have; and I know very well myself, that you did teach the Queen. And therefore, seeing God did bless you, to make you the scholar of the best master, and also the schoolmaster of the best scholar, that ever were in our time, surely, you should please God, benefit your country, and honest your own name, if you would take the pains to impart to others what you learned of such a master, and how you taught such a scholar. And in uttering the stuff ye received of the one, in declaring the order ye took with the other, ye shall never lack neither matter, nor manner, what to write nor how to write, in this kind of argument."

I beginning some further excuse, suddenly was called to come to the Queen. The night following, I slept little; my head was so full of this our former talk, and I so mindful somewhat to satisfy the honest request of so dear a friend. I thought to prepare some little treatise for a New-years' gift that Christmas: but, as it chanceth to busy builders, so, in building this my poor school-house, (the rather because the form of it is somewhat new, and differing from others,) the work rose daily higher and wider, than I thought it would at the beginning.

And though it appear now, and be in very deed, but a small cottage, poor for the stuff, and rude for the workmanship; yet in going forward I found the site so good, as I was loth to give it over; but the making so costly, out-reaching my ability, as many times I wished that some one of those three, my dear friends, with full purses, Sir, Tho. Smith, M. Haddon, or M. Watson had had the doing of it. Yet nevertheless, I myself spending gladly that little, that I gat at home by good Sir John Cheke, and that I borrowed abroad of my friend Sturmius,[15] beside somewhat that was left me in reversion, by my old Masters Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, I have at last patched it up, as I could, and as you see. If the matter be mean, and meanly handled, I pray you bear both with me, and it; for never work went up in

* Bishop of Ely, and Lord Chancellor under Edward, VI.

worse weather, with more lets and stops, than this poor school-house of mine. Westminster-Hall can bear some witness, beside* much weakness of body, but more trouble of mind, by some such sores, as grieve me to touch them myself; and therefore I purpose not to open them to others. And in the midst of outward injuries, and inward cares, to increase them withal, good Sir Richard Sackville dieth, that worthy gentleman; "That earnest favorer and furtherer of God's true Religion; that faithful servitor to his prince and country; a lover of learning, and all learned men; wise in all doings; courteous to all persons, shewing spite to none, doing good to many; and as I well found, to me so fast a friend, as I never lost the like before." When he was gone, my heart was dead; there was not one that wore a black gown for him, who carried a heavier heart for him, than I; when he was gone, I cast this book away; I could not look upon it, but with weeping eyes, in remembring him, who was the only setter on, to do it; and would have been not only a glad commender of it, but also a sure and certain comfort to me, and mine for it.

Almost two years together, this book lay scattered and neglected, and had been quite given over of me, if the goodness of one had not given me some life and spirit again. God, the mover of goodness, prosper always him and his, as he hath many times comforted me and mine, and, I trust to God, shall comfort more and more. Of whom most justly I may say, and very oft, and always gladly I am wont to say, that sweet verse of Sophocles, spoken by Oedipus to worthy Theseus.

Ἔχω γὰρ ἃ ἔχω διὰ σέ, κἄκ ἄλλον βροτῶν.†

This hope hath helped me to end this book; which if he allow, I shall think my labors well employed, and shall not much esteem the misliking of any others. And I trust he shall think the better of it because he shall find the best part thereof to come out of his school whom he of all men loved and liked best.

Yet some men, friendly enough of nature, but of small judgment in learning, do think I take too much pains, and spend too much time, in setting forth these childrens affairs. But those good men were never brought up in Socrates's school, who saith‡ plainly, "that no

* *Ingravescente jam ætate, a nocturnis et pomeridianis studiis abhorrebat: Antelucanis et matutinis temporibus legebat, commentabatur, studebat, scribebat. Erat corpore imbecillis, et valetudinarius, multis morbis fractus, continentibus febribus correptus, variis, agrotationibus afflictus; quæ paucis ante mortem annis eum in hecticam febrim conjecerunt.* This is taken out of Mr. *Grant's* excellent Oration on Mr. *Ascham.* (19)

† *For whatsoever I have, I have through thee, and through none other of living men.*

(‡) Plato in initio Theagis: Αλλὰ μὲν δὴ, ω Δημόδοκε, καὶ λέγεται γε συμβυλὴ ἱερὸν χρῆμα εἶναι. εἴπερ ὅν καὶ ἄλλη ἡτιςῦν ἐςιν ἱερὰ, καὶ ἀυτὴ ἄν ἔιη, περὶ ἧς σὺ νῦν συμβυλεύει. Ὀυ γάρ ἐςι περὶ ὅτυ θειοτέρυ ἄν ἄνθρωπος βυλεύσαιτο, ἢ περὶ Παιδέιας καὶ ἀυτὸ, καὶ τῶν ἀυτῦ ἱκείων. This Passage is cited by the Author, tho' not so fully. (16.)

man goeth about a more godly purpose, than he that is mindful of the good bringing up both of his own and other men's children."

Therefore, I trust, good and wise men will think well of this my doing. And of other, that think otherwise, I will think myself, they are but men, to be pardoned for their folly, and pitied for their ignorance.

In writing this book, I have had earnest respect to three special points, truth of religion, honesty in living, right order in learning. In which three ways, I pray God, my poor children may diligently walk; for whose sake, as nature moved, and reason required, and necessity also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these pains.

For, seeing at my death, I am not like to leave them any great store of living, therefore in my life time, I thought good to bequeath unto them, in this little book, as in my will and testament, the right way to good learning: which if they follow, with the fear of God, they shall very well come to sufficiency of living.

I wish also, with all my heart, that young Mr. Robert Sackville,[16] may take that fruit of this labor, that his worthy grandfather purposed he should have done: and if any other do take either profit or pleasure hereby, they have cause to thank Mr. Robert Sackville, for whom specially this my schoolmaster was provided.

And one thing I would have the reader consider in reading this book, that because no schoolmaster hath charge of any child, before he enter into his school; therefore I leaving all former care, of their good bringing up, to wise and good parents, as a matter not belonging to the schoolmaster, I do appoint this my schoolmaster then, and there to begin, where his office and charge beginneth. Which charge lasteth not long, but until the scholar be made able to go to the University, to proceed in logic, rhetoric, and other kinds of learning.

Yet if my schoolmaster, for love he beareth to his scholar, shall teach him somewhat for his furtherance, and better judgment in learning, that may serve him seven year after in the University, he doth his scholar no more wrong, nor deserveth no worse name thereby, than he doth in London, who selling silk, or cloth, unto his friend, doth give him better measure, than either his promise, or bargain was.

FAREWELL IN CHRIST.

ANNOTATIONS.

THE idea of the SCHOOLMASTER originated in the table-talk of a company "of wise and good men," who dined together in the chambers of Sir William Cecil, at Windsor Castle on the 10th of December, 1563;—a company which Ascham says, "could hardly then be picked out again out of all England besides."

(I.) SIR WILLIAM CECIL, for forty years Secretary of State under Queen Elizabeth, and raised to the peerage by the title of Baron of Burleigh, in 1571, was born at Bourn, in Lincolnshire, September 13, 1520,—educated at the grammar school of Grantham and Stamford, at St. John's College, Cambridge, and at Gray's Inn, London,—was married to a sister of Sir John Cheke, in 1541, and on her death in 1543, to a daughter of Sir Anthony Cook in 1545, and was largely concerned in the public affairs of his country and age. He was a hard student in early life, a thoughtful reader of books, as well as observer of men, wise and moderate in his political measures, and never unmindful of his family and social duties in his anxious labors for the state. Much light is thrown on the domestic habits of Lord Burleigh, in the "Diary of a Domestic"—or "*The Complete Statesman*," as it is entitled by the writer, who describes himself as having "lived with him during the last twenty-five years of his life."

"His kindness, as nature ever leads all men, was most expressed to his children; if he could get his table set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom; and it was an exceeding pleasure to hear what sport he would make with them, and how aptly and merrily he would talk with them,—with such pretty questions and witty allurements, as much delighted himself, the children, and the hearers. * * He had his own children, grand children, and great grand children, ordinarily at his table, sitting about him like olive branches. * * He was of spare and temperate diet, * * and above all things, what business soever was in his head, it was never percieved at his table, where he would be so merry, as one would imagine he had nothing else to do; directing his speech to all men according to their qualities and capacities, so as he raised mirth out of all men's speeches, augmenting it with his own, whereby he was never in want of company, so long as he was able to keep company. * * His recreation was chiefly in his books, wherewith if he had time, he was more delighted than others with play at cards. * Books were so pleasing to him, as when he got liberty from the queen to go unto his country house to take air, if he found but a book worth the opening, he would rather lose his riding than his reading. And yet riding in his garden and walks, upon his little mule, was his greatest disport. But, so soon as he came in, he fell to his reading again, or else to dispatching of business. * * * His favorite book was Cicero's Offices. His kindness of nature was seen in his declaration that he entertained malice toward no individual, and thanked God that he never retired to rest out of charity with any man."

While appreciating the advantages of the best education, and striving to secure them at any price for his own children, Lord Burleigh deemed "human learning, without the fear of God, of great hurt to all youth." With the most profound reverence for "divine and moral documents," his "Advices to his son, Robert Cecil," are characterized by the shrewdest worldly wisdom.

Son Robert,

The virtuous inclinations of thy matchless mother,* by whose tender and godly care thy infancy was governed, together with thy education under so zealous and excellent a tutor, puts me in rather assurance than hope that thou art not ignorant of that *summum bonum* which is only able to make thee happy as well in thy death as in thy life; I

* Lady Burleigh, was one of five daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, preceptor of Edward VI., all of whom were distinguished for their mental accomplishments, and for their exemplary demeanor as mothers of families. Her death, after sharing his fortunes for forty-three years, Lord Burleigh regarded as the great calamity of his life.

mean the true knowledge and worship of thy Creator and Redeemer; without which all other things are vain and miserable. So that thy youth being guided by so sufficient a teacher, I make no doubt that he will furnish thy life with divine and moral documents. Yet, that I may not cast off the care beseeming a parent toward his child, or that thou shouldest have cause to derive thy whole felicity and welfare rather from others than from whence thou receivedst thy breath and being, I think it fit and agreeable to the affection I bare thee, to help thee with such rules and advertisements for the squaring of thy life as are rather gained by experience than by much reading. To the end that, entering into this exorbitant age, thou mayest be the better prepared to shun those scandalous courses whereunto the world, and the lack of experience, may easily draw thee, and because I will not confound thy memory, I have reduced them into ten precepts; and, next unto Moses' Tables, if thou imprint them in thy mind, thou shalt reap the benefit, and I the content. And they are these following:—

I. When it shall please God to bring thee to man's estate, use great providence and circumspection in choosing thy wife; for from thence will spring all thy future good or evil. And it is an action of thy life like unto a stratagem of war, wherein a man can err but once. If thy estate be good, match near home and at leisure; if weak, far off and quickly. Inquire diligently of her disposition, and how her parents have been inclined in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous* soever; for a man can buy nothing in the market with gentility. Nor choose a base and uncomely creature altogether for wealth; for it will cause contempt in others and loathing in thee. Neither make a choice of a dwarf or a fool; for by the one thou shalt beget a race of pigmies; the other will be thy continual disgrace; and it will yirke† thee to hear her talk. For thou shalt find it to thy great grief, that there is nothing more fulsome‡ than a she-fool.

And touching the guiding of thy house, let thy hospitality be moderate, and, according to the means of thy estate, rather plentiful than sparing, but not costly; for I never knew any man grow poor by keeping an orderly table. But some consume themselves through secret vices, and their hospitality bears the blame. But banish swinish drunkards out of thine house, which is a vice impairing health, consuming much, and makes no show. I never heard praise ascribed to the drunkard but the well-bearing his drink, which is a better commendation for a brewer's horse or a drayman than for either a gentleman or a serving man. Beware thou spend not above three or four parts of thy revenues, nor above a third part of that in thy house; for the other two parts will do no more than defray thy extraordinaries, which always surmount the ordinary by much; otherwise thou shalt live, like a rich beggar, in continual want. And the needy man can never live happily nor contentedly; for every disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell. And that gentleman who sells an acre of land sells an ounce of credit; for gentility is nothing else but ancient riches. So that, if the foundation shall at any time sink, the building must needs follow. So much for the first precept.

II. Bring thy children up in learning and obedience, yet without outward austerity. Praise them openly, reprehend them secretly. Give them good countenance, and convenient maintenance, according to thy ability; otherwise thy life will seem their bondage, and what portion thou shalt leave them at thy death they will thank death for it, and not thee. And I am persuaded that the foolish cockering§ of some parents, and the over-stern carriage of others, causeth more men and women to take ill courses than their own vicious inclinations. Marry thy daughters in time lest they marry themselves And suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps; for they shall learn nothing but pride, blasphemy, and atheism.‖ And if by travel they get a few broken languages, that shall profit them nothing more than to have one meat served in divers dishes. Neither, by my consent, shalt thou train them up in wars; for he that sets up his rest to live by that profession can hardly be an honest man or a good christian. Besides, it is a science no longer in request than use. For soldiers in peace are like chimneys in summer.

III. Live not in the country without corn and cattle about thee; for he that putteth

* Well-born. † Irk. ‡ Disgusting. § Over-indulgence.
‖ In this strong aversion to foreign travel, Ascham sympathized.

his hand to the purse for every expense of household, is like him that keepeth water in a sieve. And what provision thou shalt want, learn to buy it at the best hand; for there is one penny saved in four betwixt buying in thy need and when the markets and seasons serve fittest for it. Be not served with kinsmen, or friends, or men intreated to stay; for they expect much, and do little; nor with such as are amorous, for their heads are intoxicated. And keep rather two too few, than one too many. Feed them well, and pay them with the most; and then thou mayest boldly require service at their hands.

IV. Let thy kindred and allies be welcome to thy house and table. Grace them with thy countenance, and further them in all honest actions; for, by this means, thou shalt so double the band of nature, as thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back. But shake off those glow-worms, I mean parasites and sycophants, who will feed and fawn upon thee in the summer of prosperity; but, in an adverse storm, they will shelter thee no more than an arbor in winter.

V. Beware of suretyship for thy best friends. He that payeth another man's debt seeketh his own decay. But if thou canst not otherwise choose, rather lend thy money thyself upon good bonds, although thou borrow it. So shalt thou secure thyself, and pleasure thy friend. Neither borrow money of a neighbor or a friend, but of a stranger; where paying for it, thou shalt hear no more of it. Otherwise thou shalt eclipse thy credit, lose thy freedom, and yet pay as dear as to another. But in borrowing of money be precious of thy word; for he that hath care of keeping days of payment is lord of another man's purse.

VI. Undertake no suit against a poor man with receiving* much wrong; for besides that thou makest him thy compeer, it is a base conquest to triumph where there is small resistance. Neither attempt law against any man before thou be fully resolved that thou hast right on thy side; and then spare not for either money or pains; for a cause or two so followed and obtained will free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

VII. Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often with many, yet small gifts, and of little charge. And if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be something which may be daily in sight: otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a foot-ball for every insulting companion to spurn at.

VIII. Toward thy superiors be humble, yet generous.† With thine equals familiar yet respective. Toward thine inferiors show much humanity, and some familiarity: as to bow the body, stretch forth the hand, and to uncover the head; with such like popular compliments. The first prepares thy way to advancement,—the second makes thee known for a man well bred,—the third gains a good report; which, once got, is easily kept. For right humanity takes such deep root in the minds of the multitude, as they are more easily gained by unprofitable curtesies than by churlish benefits. Yet I advise thee not to affect, or neglect, popularity too much. Seek not to be Essex: shun to be Raleigh.§

IX. Trust not any man with thy life, credit or estate. For it is mere folly for a man to enthral himself to his friend, as though, occasion being offered, he should not dare to become an enemy.

X. Be not scurrilous in conversation, nor satirical in thy jests. The one will make thee unwelcome to all company; the other pull on quarrels, and get the hatred of thy best friends. For suspicious jests, when any of them savor of truth, leave a bitterness of mind of those which are touched. And, albeit I have already pointed at this inclusively, yet I think it necessary to leave it to thee as a special caution; because I have seen many so prone to quip and gird.‡ as they would rather lose their friend than their jest. And if perchance their boiling brain yield a quaint scoff, they will travel to be delivered of it as a woman with child. These nimble fancies are but the froth of wit."

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* Though you receive. † Not mean. ‡ Mock and jibe.

§ Essex was the idol of the people; his rival. Raleigh, their aversion, till his undeserved misfortunes attracted their compassion, and his heroism their applause.

(2.) SIR WILLIAM PETER, (or Petre,)—born at Exeter, and educated at Exeter College, Cambridge,—employed in visitation of the monasteries, obtained grants of many Abbey lands, was knighted and made secretary of state under Henry VIII., and died in 1572. He was a liberal benefactor to Exeter and All Soul's College.

(3.) SIR JOHN MASON was born of obscure parents in Abingdon, but received a good education from his uncle, a monk of Abingdon Abbey, and at All Soul's College, and in consequence rose to important offices under Henry VIII., Edward IV., Queens Mary and Elizabeth. He was chancellor of the university of Oxford at the time of his death. His maxim was, "*DO, and say Nothing.*" He endowed liberally a hospital at Abingdon.

(4.) NICHOLAS WOTTON, Doctor of Laws, and Dean of Canterbury, was a man of great abilities, and an intimate friend of Lord Burleigh, and employed by him in many important embassies to foreign princes, and was privy counselor to Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queens Mary and Elizabeth,—secretary of state to Edward VI., and declined the offer of being made Archbishop of Canterbury by Queen Elizabeth. He died poor, when so many public men became rich in sequestration of abbey property.

(5.) Sir Robert Sackville, "although not himself a scholar, was a lover of learning, and all learned men;" and in his descendants, for many generations, the office of patron seemed hereditary. The name of his grandson, Charles, Earl of Dorset comes down to us loaded with the panegyrics of poets and artists whom he befriended. Prior's dedication to his son, is one of the most elegant panegyrics in the English language, and Pope's Epitaph will make Dorset longer remembered than all of his own writings.

(6.) WALTER MILDMAY was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, of which he afteward became a benefactor. He was knighted by Edward VI., and made chancellor of the exchequer in 1556 by Elizabeth. He was a man of learning, and an encourager of learning. He founded Emanuel College, Cambridge, where many of the early Puritan divines of New England, Hooker, Stone, Davenport and others, were educated. Of his benefactions to this college, he said to Queen Elizabeth, who was suspicious of the puritan tendencies of some of the professors, "I have set an acorn, which, when it becomes an oak, God only knows what will be the fruit thereof."

The fruit borne by this college was far from being acceptable to the church party in King James' reign. In the song of the "Mad Puritan," written by the witty Bishop Corbet the hero sings:

> "In the house of pure Emanuel
> I had my Education,
> Where some surmise, I dazzled my eyes
> With the light of revelation.
> Bravely I preach
> Hate cross, hate surplice,
> Mitres, copes and rochets.
> Come, hear me pray
> Nine times a day,
> And fill your heads with crotchets."

(7.) WALTER HADDEN, who became Master of Requests under Queen Elizabeth, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and Commissioner at the royal visitation of the University of Cambridge, was born in Buckinghamshire, in 1516, was educated at Eton, and King's College, Cambridge, where he was

professor of rhetoric and oratory, and, at one time, master of Trinity College. He stood amongst the foremost as a Latin scholar, and Queen Elizabeth, when asked which she preferred, Hadden or Buchanan, replied—"Buchananum omnibus antepono; Haddonum, nemini postpono." He was the principal compiler of the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum." He died in 1572.

(8.) Mr. John Astely, or Asterly, Master of the Jewel House, was the author of a treatise on Riding, entitled—"*The Art of Riding, set forth in a Briefe, with a due Interpretation of certain places, alledged out of Zenophon and Gryson, very expert and excellent Horsemen: wherein also the true use of the Hand by the said Gryson's Rules and Precepts is shown.*" 1584.

(9.) Mr. Bernard Hampton was educated at Cambridge, and clerk of the Privy Council.

(10.) M. Nicasius was a Greek of Constantinople, who visited England in the time of Queen Elizabeth, partly to promote a union between the Greek Church and the Church of England, and partly to collect what charity he could for the distressed Christians of his own country.

(11.) Roger Ascham, in respect to scholarship, knowledge of the world, and conversational talent, was second to no one in the goodly company of eminent and learned men assembled that day in the chambers of Sir William Cecil.

(12.) Beating was early recognized as an essential part of an English institution of learning, and neither prince or pew was spared the salutary infliction of the rod. Archbishop Anselm protested against its use in 1070, as calculated to "convert men into brutes," and, in the "Paston Letters," Mrs. Agnes Paston instructs Mr. Greenfield, tutor of her son, "to truly belash him until he will amend." In the same curious collection will be found the articles by which the Earl of Warwick, when he took charge of Henry VI., binds the Earl of Gloucester and the Council to stand by him "in chastising him, (the young king,) in his defaults," although he should "in conceit of his high and royal authority" "loathe the chastening." We shall have more to say on this topic hereafter.

(13.) Sir Thomas Smith, for a time Provost of Eton College, and university orator at Cambridge, was born in 1514, and educated at Queen's College, and coöperated with Sir John Cheke in introducing the pronunciation of Greek, as advocated by Erasmus. He was author of a treatise on a reformation of the spelling of the English languge, entitled "*De recta et emendata lingua Anglicæ Scripturæ.*" In 1548 he was advanced to the office of secretary of state, and knighted. In 1578 he was the author of an act of Parliament, by which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the two colleges of Eton and Winchester, were authorized to require in their leases that a third part of the old rent should be paid in kind; a quarter of wheat for each 6*s.* 8*d*, or a quarter of malt for every 5*s*; or that the lessee should pay for the same according to the price that wheat and malt should be sold for, in the market next adjoining to the respective colleges, on the market day before the rent comes due.

(14.) Sir John Cheke, whom Ascham characterizes as "one of the best scholars" and "the conningest masters of his time," was born in Cambridge in 1514, was educated at St. John's College, which he afterward, as professor, assisted to build up to be the chief seat of learning, especially in Greek, and where he trained such scholars as Cecil, Ascham, Hadden, Bill, &c.; was entrusted with the education of Prince Edward, by whom, when he became King, he was knighted. made Privy Councilor, and one of his Secretaries of State;

served in several educational and ecclesiastical commissions; promoted the appointment of good men to office; became involved in the civil and theological troubles of his times; and died in 1557, at an age when his country had most to expect from his learning and experience. He was a great promoter of the study of Greek, and its correct pronunciation, and labored with his friend, Sir Thomas Smith to give prominence to the Saxon element in the English language, and to rid its orthography of many of its anomalies. For this purpose he made a new translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in which he strove to use only English Saxon words. See Strype's *Life of Sir J. Cheke.*

(15.) JOHN STURM, or STURMIUS, was born at Schleiden, near Cologne, was educated at Liege, Louvain and Paris, and for forty-five years was rector of the gymnasium and college at Strasburg, which he established and made the best classical school in Europe. He was much consulted in the drafting of school-codes, and in the organization of gymnasia, and his "Plan for organizing institutions of learning," his "Classic Letters," addressed to the teachers of his own school, and his editions of classic authors, entitle him to a prominent place in the history of "Pedagogics." Raumer, in his "History of the Science and Art of Teaching," devotes a chapter to Sturm's system of education.

(16.) THEAGES is not considered by many scholars worthy of Plato, and its authorship is attributed to Antipater, the teacher of Panætius, and the disciple of Diogenes of Babylon.

Theages desired "to become a wise man," to the great trouble of his father, Demodocus, who resorts to Socrates for counsel. Socrates replies in the language of the proverb, applied to those who came to counsel the oracles "*Counsel, Demodocus, is said to be a sacred thing;*" and then adds, "*If then any other consultation is sacred, this is so, about which you are now considering. For there is not a thing, about which a person may consult, more divine than about the instruction of himself and of those related to him.*" After probing the young man by questions, Socrates concludes to receive him into his companionship.

(17.) Plato in the Dialogues on the Republic, exhibits the misery of man let loose from law, and a general plan for making him subject to law, as the sure way of perfecting his nature. In the seventh dialogue, from which Ascham quotes, Plato unfolds the province of a good early education, in turning the eyes of the mind from the darkness and uncertainty of popular opinion, to the clear light of truth, and points out some of the uses of mathematics and gymnastics, in quickening and enlarging the apprehension, and inuring to intense application. In this connection he asserts:

"*Every thing then relating to arithmetic and geometry, and all the previous instruction which they should receive before they learn dialectics, ought to be set before them while they are children, and on such a plan of teaching, that they may learn without compulsion. Why so? Because, said I, a free man ought to acquire no training under slavery; for the labors of the body when endured through compulsion do not at all deteriorate the body; but for the soul, it can endure no compulsory discipline. True, said he. Do not then, said I, my best of friends, force boys to their learning; but train them up by amusement, that you may be better able to discern the character of each one's genius.*"

This, too, was the doctrine of Quintilian, in Inst. Lib. 1. c. 1, 20:—Nam id in primis cavere oportebit, ne studia, qui amare nondum potest, oderit et amaritudinem semel perceptam etiam ultra rudes annos reformidet.

THE SCHOOLMASTER.

[Abstract of the First Book of Ascham's Schoolmaster.]

BOOK I. THE BRINGING UP OF YOUTH.

THE title of the first book of the Schoolmaster describes it as "Teaching the Bringing up of Youth;" and it may be said to treat of the general principles according to which the education of children at school ought to be conducted. Much of it has, however, a particular reference to what was then, as it is still, in England, the usual commencement of a liberal education, the study of the Latin tongue,—a subject which is exhaustively treated in the second book and will be omitted in this abstract of the first.

The author then proceeds to the proper subject of this portion of his work, the general manner and temper in which the instruction of youth ought to be conducted;—

"If your scholar do miss sometimes, in marking rightly these foresaid six things, chide not hastily; for that shall both dull his wit, and discourage his diligence; but monish him gently, which shall make him both willing to amend and glad to go forward in love, and hope of learning.

I have now wished twice or thrice this gentle nature to be in a schoolmaster. And that I have done so, neither by chance nor without some reason, I will now declare at large why in mine opinion love is fitter than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning.

With the common use of teaching, and beating in common schools of England, I will not greatly contend; which if I did, it were but a small grammatical controversy, neither belonging to heresy nor treason, nor greatly touching God nor the prince, although in very deed, in the end, the good or ill bringing up of children, doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our Prince, and our whole country, as any one thing doth beside.

I do gladly agree with all good schoolmasters in these points; to have children brought to good perfectness in learning, to all honesty in manners; to have all faults rightly amended; to have every vice severely corrected. But for the order and way that leadeth rightly to these points, we somewhat differ; for commonly many schoolmasters, some as I have seen, more as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as when they meet with a hard-witted scholar, they rather break him than bow him, rather mar him than mend him. For when the schoolmaster is angry with some other matter, then will he soonest fall to beat his scholar; and though he himself should be punished for his folly, yet must he beat some scholar for his pleasure, though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholar to deserve so.

These, ye will say, be fond schoolmasters, and few they be, that be found to be such. They be fond, indeed, but surely over many such be found every where. But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great beaters do as

oft punish nature, as they do correct faults. Yea, many times the better nature is sorer punished. For, if one by quickness of wit take his lesson readily, another by hardness of wit taketh it not so speedily; the first is always commended; the other is commonly punished: when a wise schoolmaster should rather discreetly consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so much weigh what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likely to do hereafter. For this I know, not only by reading of books in my study, but also by experience of life abroad in the world, that those which be commonly the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be old, were never commonly the quickest of wit when they were young. The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that move me thus to think, be these few which I will reckon.

Quick wits commonly be apt to take, unapt to keep; soon hot, and desirous of this and that; as soon cold, and weary of the same again; more quick to enter speedily, than able to pierce far; even like our sharp tools, whose edges be very soon turned. Such wits delight themselves in easy and pleasant studies, and never pass far forward in high and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wits commonly may prove the best poets, but not the wisest orators: ready of tongue to speak boldy, not deep of judgment, either for good counsel, or wise writing. Also for manners and life, quick wits commonly be, in desire, new-fangled; in purpose, unconstant, light to promise anything, ready to forget everything, both benefit and injury; and thereby neither fast to friend, nor fearful to foe; inquisitive of every trifle, not secret in the greatest affairs; bold with any person; busy in every matter; soothing such as be present, nipping any that is absent; of nature also always flattering their betters, envying their equals, despising their inferiors; and by quickness of wit, very quick and ready to like none so well as themselves.

Moreover, commonly, men very quick of wit be also very light of conditions; and thereby very ready of disposition to be carried over quickly by any light company to any riot and unthriftiness when they be young; and therefore seldom either honest of life, or rich in living when they be old. For quick in wit, and light in manners, be either seldom troubled, or very soon weary in carrying a very heavy purse. Quick wits also be in most part of all their doings over quick, hasty, rash, heady, and brainsick. These two last words, *heady* and *brainsick*, be fit and proper words, rising naturally of the matter, and termed aptly by the condition of over-much quickness of wit. In youth also they be ready scoffers, privy mockers, and ever over light and merry; in age, soon testy, very waspish, and always over miserable. And yet few of them come to any great age, by reason of their misordered life when they were young; but a great deal fewer of them come to show any great countenance, or bear any great authority abroad in the world; but either live obscurely, men know not how, or die obscurely, men mark not when.

They be like trees, that show forth fair blossom and broad leaves in springs time, but bring out small and not long-lasting fruit in harvest time; and that only such as fall and rot before they be ripe, and so never or seldom come to any good at all. For this you shall find most true by experience, that amongst a number of quick wits in youth, few be found in the end either very fortunate for themselves, or very profitable to serve the commonwealth, but decay and vanish, men know not which way; except a very few, to whom peradventure blood and happy parentage may perchance purchase a long standing upon the

stage. The which felicity, because it cometh by others' procuring, not by their own deserving, and stands by other men's feet, and not by their own, what outward brag soever is borne by them, is indeed of itself, and in wise men's eyes, of no great estimation."

The author here gives it as his opinion, that there are certain sciences by the over-much study and use of which "some wits, moderate enough by nature, be many times marred." The sciences against which he thus warns moderate wits are music (in which he is said to have been himself a proficient,) arithmetic, and geometry." "These sciences," he says, "as they sharpen men's wits overmuch, so they change men's manners over sore, if they be not moderately mingled, and wisely applied to some good use of life. Mark all mathematical heads, which be only and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitary they be themselves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapt to serve in the world." In support of this notion he quotes Galen, Plato, and Cicero, as all condemning much music, on the ground that it "marreth men's manners;" and he refers to what he had himself written more at large on the matter, twenty years ago, in his Book of Shooting. The passage in the Toxophilus is curious as giving the grounds on which Ascham appears to have taken up these opinions. He there observes that "lutes, harps, barbitons, sambukes, with other instruments, every one which standeth by fine and quick fingering, be condemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in and used among them which study for learning and virtue." Music, he thinks, doth to a man's mind, "as honey doth to a man's stomach, which at first receiveth it well, but afterward it maketh it unfit to abide any strong nourishing meat, or else any wholesome, sharp, and quick drink. And even so in a manner these instruments make a man's wit so soft and smooth, so tender and quaisy, that they be less able to brook strong and tough study. Wits be not sharpened, but rather dulled, and made blunt with such sweet softness, even as good edges be blunted, which men whet upon soft chalk stones."

In the present work he contends, generally, that "overmuch quickness of wit, either given by nature, or sharpened by study, doth not commonly bring forth either greatest learning, best manners, or happiest life in the end." The sense in which he makes this proposition, as well as the reasons by which he defends it, will be understood from the passage that follows:—

"Contrarywise, a wit in youth that is not over dull, heavy, knotty, and lumpish; but hard, tough, and though somewhat staffish, (as Tully wisheth *otium quietum non languidum*, and *negotium cum labore, non cum periculo*,)* such a wit, I say, if it be at the first well handled by the mother, and rightly smoothed and wrought as it should, not overthwartly and against the wood by the schoolmaster, both for learning and whole course of living, proveth always the best. In wood and stone, not the softest, but hardest, be always aptest for portraiture, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for profit. Hard wits be hard to receive, but sure to keep; painful without weariness, heedful without wavering, constant without newfangleness; bearing heavy things, though not lightly, yet willingly; entering hard things, though not easily, yet deeply; and so come to that perfectness of learning in the end, that quick wits seem in hope, but do not in deed, or else very seldom, ever attain unto.

* *i. e.* Leisure which is quiet, but not languid; and business attended with exertion, but not with danger.

Also for manners and life, hard wits commonly are hardly carried, either to desire every new thing, or else to marvel at every strange thing. And therefore they be careful and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busy in other men's affairs; and so they become wise themselves, and also are counted honest by others. They be grave, steadfast, silent of tongue, secret of heart; not hasty in making, but constant in keeping any promise; not rash in uttering, but wary in considering every matter; and thereby not quick in speaking, but deep of judgment, whether they write or give counsel in all weighty affairs. And these be the men that become in the end both most happy for themselves, and also always best esteemed abroad in the world.

I have been longer in describing the nature, the good or ill success of the quick and hard wits, than perchance some will think this place and matter doth require. But my purpose was hereby plainly to utter what injury is offered to all learning, and to the commonwealth also, first by the fond father in choosing, but chiefly by the lewd* schoolmaster in beating and driving away the best natures from learning. A child that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of wit, is either never chosen by the father to be made a scholar, or else when he cometh to the school, he is smally regarded, little looked unto; he lacketh teaching, he lacketh encouraging, he lacketh all things; only he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learning, nor any deed that may drive him from learning to any other kind of living.

And when this sad-natured, and hard-witted child is beat from his book, and becometh after either student of the common law, or page in the court, or serving-man, or bound prentice to a merchant, or to some handicraft, he proveth in the end wiser, happier, and many times honester too, than many of these quick wits do by their learning.

Learning is both hindered and injured too by the ill choice of them that send young scholars to the universities, of whom must needs come all our divines, lawyers, and physicians.

These young scholars be chosen commonly, as young apples be chosen by children in a fair garden, about St. James tide. A child will choose a sweeting, because it is presently fair and pleasant, and refuse a runnet, because it is then green, hard, and sour; when the one, if it be eaten, doth breed both worms and ill humors; the other, if it stand his time, be ordered and kept as it should, is wholesome of itself, and helpeth to the good digestion of other meats. Sweetings will receive worms, rot, and die on the tree, and never or seldom come to the gathering for good and lasting store.

For very grief of heart I will not apply the similitude; but hereby is plainly seen, how learning is robbed of the best wits, first, by the great beating, and after by the ill-choosing of scholars to go to the universities: whereof cometh partly that lewd and spiteful proverb, sounding to the great hurt of learning, and shame of learned men, that 'the greatest clerks be not the wisest men.'

And though I, in all this discourse, seem plainly to prefer hard and rough wits, before quick and light wits, both for learning and manners; yet I am not ignorant that some quickness of wit is a singular gift of God, and so most rare among men: and, namely, such a wit as is quick without lightness, sharp without brittleness, desirous of good things without newfangleness, diligent in painful things without wearisomeness, and constant in good will to do all things well; as I know was

* *i. e.* The intemperate.

in Sir John Cheke, and is in some that yet live, in whom all these fair qualities of wit are fully met together.

But it is notable and true, that Socrates saith in Plato to his friend Phædo, 'That that number of men is fewest, which far exceed, either in good or ill, in wisdom or folly; but the mean betwixt both be the greatest number.' Which he proveth true in divers other things; as in greyhounds, amongst which few are found exceeding great, or exceeding little, exceeding swift, or exceeding slow. And, therefore, speaking of quick and hard wits, I meant the common number of quick and hard wits; amongst the which, for the most part, the hard wit proveth many times the better learned, wiser, and honester man. And therefore do I the more lament that such wits commonly be either kept from learning by fond fathers, or beat from learning by lewd schoolmasters."

The author proceeds to say that he might here declare "the most special notes of a good wit for learning in a child, after the manner and custom of a good horseman, who is skillful to know, and able to tell others, how by certain sure signs a man may choose a colt that is like to prove another day excellent for the saddle." "And it is a pity," he adds, with keen and indignant sarcasm, "that commonly more care is had, yea and that among very wise men, to find out rather a cunning man for their horse, than a cunning man for their children. They say nay in a word, but they do so in deed; for to the one they will gladly give a stipend of two hundred crowns by the year, and loth to offer to the other two hundred shillings. God that sitteth in heaven laugheth their choice to scorn, and rewardeth their liberality as it should. For he suffereth them to have tame and well-ordered horses, but wild and unfortunate children; and therefore in the end they find more pleasure in their horses, than comfort in their children."

Instead, however, of giving his own opinion as to the true marks of promise in a child, he prefers reporting "the judgment of him that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of," namely Socrates, as his words are recorded by Plato, in the seventh book of his Republic. From what Socrates says, he extracts "seven true notes of a good wit," which he explains in succession.

"First, the child must be Ἐυφυὴς, that is, "apt bygoodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body, that must another day serve learning." Among such qualifications, Ascham lays great stress upon a comely countenance and a goodly stature; and he laments that fathers, when out of several sons they have one that is lame or deformed, are too apt to put that one to learning, "as good enough to become a scholar." He hints that the civil magistrate ought to interfere to prevent this abuse.

Secondly, the child ought to be Μνήμων, which he intreprets "good for memory." This he says is "so principal a note, as without it all other gifts of nature do small service to learning." "And though," he adds, "it be the mere gift of nature, yet is memory well preserved by use, and much increased by order, as our scholar must learn another day in the University. But in a child a good memory is well known by three properties; that is, if it be quick in receiving, sure in keeping, and ready in delivering forth again."

The third note is that he be Φιλομαθὴς, that is, "given to love learning, for though a child have all the gifts of nature at wish, and perfection of memory

at will, yet if he have not a special love to learning he shall never attain to much learning." "Isocrates," he adds, "did cause to be written at the entry of his school in golden letters this golden sentence, Ἐὰν ἦς φιλομαθής ἔσῃ πολυμαθής: which excellently said in Greek, is thus rudely in English: "If thou love learning, thou shalt attain to much learning."

Fourthly, the child should be Φιλόπονος, that is, should have "a lust to labor, and a will to take pains; for if a child have all the benefits of nature, with perfection of memory, love, life, and praise learning never so much; yet if he be not of himself painful, he shall never attain unto it. And yet where love is present, labor is seldom absent, and namely in study of learning, and matter of the mind.

Fifthly, he must be Φιλήκοος, that is, "glad to hear and learn of another; for otherwise he shall stick with great trouble, where he might go easily forward; and also catch hardly a very little by his own toil, when he might gather quickly a good deal by another man's teaching."

The sixth mark is that he be Ζητητικός, that is, "naturally bold to ask any question, desirous to search out any doubt; not ashamed to learn of the meanest, nor afraid to go to the greatest, until he be perfectly taught and fully satisfied."

Lastly, the author (employing, however, a word which is not in Plato) enumerates as one of the characteristics demanded in the child by Socrates, that he be Φιλέπαινος, that is, one "that loveth to be praised for well doing at his father or master's hand."

"And thus," he concludes, "by Socrates' judgment, a good father and a wise schoolmaster should choose a child to make a scholar of, that hath by nature the foresaid perfect qualities and comely furniture both of mind and body; hath memory quick to receive, sure to keep and ready to deliver; hath love to learning; hath lust to labor; hath desire to learn of others; hath boldness to ask any question; hath mind wholly bent to win praise by well doing. The two first of these qualities he considers to be special benefits of nature, yet to be preserved and much increased by discipline. The five last are to be wholly won and maintained by the wisdom and discretion of the schoolmaster. "Which five points," he proceeds, "whether a schoolmaster shall work sooner in a child by fearful beating, or courteous handling, you that be wise, judge.

Yet some men, wise indeed, but, in this matter, more by severity of nature than any wisdom at all, do laugh at us when we thus wish and reason, that young children should rather be allured to learning by gentleness and love, than compelled to learning by beating and fear. They say, "our reasons serve only to breed forth talk, and pass away the time; but we never saw good schoolmasters do so, nor never read of wise men that thought so."

In opposition to this doctrine, Ascham quotes from Plato the precept of Socrates, that no learning ought to be learnt with bondage. "And why?" he adds of himself, "For whatsoever the mind doth learn unwillingly with fear, the same it doth gladly forget without care." He goes on to show that it is expressly of the teaching of children that Socrates in the passage quoted speaks. He then proceeds as follows:

"Fond schoolmasters neither can understand, nor will follow this good counsel of Socrates; but wise riders in their office can, and will do both; which is the only cause that commonly the young gentlemen of England go so unwil-

lingly to school, and run so fast to the stable. For in very deed, fond schoolmasters by fear do beat into them the hatred for learning; and wise riders, by gentle allurements, do breed up in them the love of riding. They find fear and bondage in schools, they feel liberty and freedom in stables; which causes them utterly to abhor the one, and most gladly to haunt the other. And I do not write this, that in exhorting to the one, I would dissuade young gentlemen from the other: yea I am sorry with all my heart that they be given no more to riding than they be. For of all outward qualities, to ride fair is most comely for himself, most necessary for his country; and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth exceed all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praises amongst the noble gentlemen, the old Persians: 'Always to say truth, to ride fair, and shoot well;' and so it was engraven upon Darius' tomb, as Strabo witnesseth:—

> Darius the king lieth buried here,
> Who in riding and shooting had never peer."

He next takes up an objection which may be brought against his argument:

"Yet some will say that children of nature love pastime, and mislike learning, because in their kind the one is easy and pleasant, the other hard and wearisome. Which is an opinion not so true as some men ween. For the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of them that be young, as in the order and manner of bringing up by them that be old; nor yet in the difference of learning and pastime. For beat a child if he dance not well, and cherish him though he learn not well, ye shall have him unwilling to go to dance, and glad to go to his book; knock him always when he draweth his shaft ill, and favor him again though he fault at his book, ye shall have him very loth to be in the field, and very willing to go to school. Yea, I say more, and not of myself, but by the judgment of those, from whom few wise men will gladly dissent,—that if ever the nature of man be given at any time, more than other, to receive goodness, it is in innocency of young years, before that experience of evil haven taken root in him. For the pure clean wit of a sweet young babe is like the newest wax, most able to receive the best and fairest printing; and like a new bright silver dish never occupied, to receive and keep clean any good thing that is put into it."

Some further illustration follows of the facility with which impressions, whether good or evil, may be made upon the youthful mind; and then comes a passage too interesting not to be given in full:—

"And one example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child for virtue and learning, I will gladly report, which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit.

Before I went into Germany, I came to Brodegate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholden. Her parents, the Duke and Duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I found her in her chamber reading 'Phædo Platonis,' in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me: 'I wist, all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they

never felt what true pleasure meant.' 'And how came you, Madam,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure? And what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereunto?' 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a truth which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is that he sent me so sharp and severest parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly, as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name for the honor I bear them,) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else, but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles unto me.'

I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady."

For a perfect discussion of this part of his subject, Ascham refers the reader to the treatise "De Institutione Principis," (On the Education of a Prince) addressed by his friend John Sturmius to the Duke of Cleves. Although, however, he is for the use of gentleness rather than severity in the instruction of youth at school, he does not dispute the necessity of sharp chastisement by parents for correcting vicious habits in their children.

This discipline was well known and dilligently used among the Grecians and old Romans; as doth appear in Aristophanes, Isocrates, and Plato, and also in the commedies of Plautus; where we see that children were under the rule of three persons, a schoolmaster, governor, and father. The schoolmaster taught him learning with all gentleness; the governor corrected his manners with much sharpness; the father held the stern of his whole obedience. And so he that used to teach did not commonly use to beat, but remitted that over to another man's charge. But what shall we say, when now in our days the schoolmaster is used both for preceptor in learning, and pædagogus in manners? Surely, I would he should not confound their offices, but discreetly use the duty of both, so that neither ill touches should be left unpunished, nor gentleness in teaching anywise omitted. And he shall well do both, if wisely he do appoint diversity of time, and separate place, for either purpose; using always such discreet moderation, as 'the school-house should be counted a sanctuary against fear; and very well learning a common pardon for ill doing, if the fault of itself be not over heinous.'"

The author considers the second great fault of English education in his time to be the license that was allowed to young men after leaving school. He contrasts with the prevailing manners, the more strict discipline of wise antiquity, when, for instance, "no son, were he never so old in years, never so great in birth, though he were a king's son, might marry but by his father's

and mother's consent." Having quoted to this effect the examples of Cyrus and Sampson, he exclaims: "Doth this modesty, doth this obedience that was in great King Cyrus, and strong Sampson, remain in our young men at this day? No surely, for we live not longer after them by time, than we live far different from them by good order. Our time is so far from that old discipline and obedience, as now not only young gentlemen, but even very girls, dare without all fear, though not without open shame, where they list, and how they list, marry themselves in spite of father, mother, God, good order, and all." This evil he says, is peculiar to the children of the rich and great, as they deserve it should be. From seven to seventeen, young gentlemen are carefully enough brought up; but from seventeen to seven-and-twenty (which Xenophon calls the most dangerous time of all man's life, and most slippery to stay well in,) "they have commonly the rein of all license in their own hand, and specially such as do live in the court." "And that," he adds, "which is most to be marvelled at, commonly the wisest, and also best men, be found the fondest fathers in this behalf. And if some good father will seek some remedy herein, yet the mother (if the household of our lady) had rather, yea, and will have her son cunning and bold, in making him to live trimly, when he is young, than by learning and travel to be able to serve his prince and his country, both wisely in peace, and stoutly in war, when he is old."

"The fault is in yourselves, ye noblemen's sons, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame, that commonly the meaner men's children come to be the wisest counsellers, and greatest doers in the weighty affairs of this realm. And why? for God will have it so of his providence, because you will have it no otherwise by your negligence.

And God is a good God, and wisest in all his doings, that will place virtue, and displace vice in those kingdoms where he doth govern. 'For he knoweth that nobility, without virtue and wisdom, is blood indeed, but blood truly without bones and sinews; and so of itself, without the other, very weak to bear the burthen of weighty affairs.'

The greatest ship indeed commonly carrieth the greatest burthen, but yet always with the greatest jeopardy, not only for the persons and goods committed unto it, but even for the ship itself, except it be governed with the greater wisdom.

But nobility, governed by learning and wisdom, is indeed most like a fair ship, having tide and wind at will, under the rule of a skillful master; when contrarywise, a ship carried, yea with the highest tide and greatest wind, lacking a skillful master, most commonly doth either sink itself upon sands, or break itself upon rocks. And even so, how many have been either drowned in vain pleasure, or overwhelmed by stout willfulness, the histories of England be able to afford over many examples unto us. Therefore, ye great and noblemen's children, if ye will have rightly that praise, and enjoy surely that place, which your fathers have, and elders had, and left unto you, ye must keep it, as they gat it; and that is, by the only way of virtue, wisdom, and worthiness."

In some passages that follow, the manners of the court, and the habits of thinking and judging that prevailed there, are very severely reprobated. There were then, indeed, the author allows, many fair examples in the English court for young gentlemen to follow; "but they be," he says, "like fair marks in the field, out of a man's reach, too far off to shoot at well." Young gentlemen

who come to court are commonly obliged to associate with the worst description of characters there. These are they who laugh at quietness of nature as simpleness and lack of wit, and at bashful and blushing modesty as babyishness and ill-breeding. What is learned from their company is, first, to blush at nothing; "then followeth to dare do any mischief; to contemn stoutly any goodness; to be busy in every matter; to be skillful in every thing; to acknowledge no ignorance at all." "Moreover," he continues, "where the swing goeth, there to follow, fawn, flatter, laugh, and lie lustily at other men's liking; to face, stand foremost, shove back; and to the meaner man, or unknown in the court, to seem somewhat solemn, coy, big, and dangerous of look, talk, and answer; to think well of himself, to be lusty in contemning of others, to have some trim grace in a privy mock: and, in greater presence, to bear a brave look; to be warlike, though he never looked enemy in the face in war; yet some warlike sign must be used, either a slovenly buskin, or an over-staring frounced head, as though out of every hair's top should suddenly start out a good big oath when need requireth. Yet, praised be God! England hath at this time many worthy captains and good soldiers, which be indeed so honest of behavior, so comely of conditions, so mild of manners, as they may be examples of good order to a good sort of others, which never came in war."

Something, he considers, may be done to remedy these evils by good laws; but the object is perhaps chiefly to be effected by "observing private discipline, every man carefully in his own house; and namely, if special regard be had to youth, and that not so much in teaching them what is good, as in keeping them from that that is ill." "In youth," he says, "some ignorance is as necessary as much knowledge;" "but this ignorance in youth," he adds, "which I speak on, or rather this simplicity, or most truly this innocency, is that which the noble Persians, as wise Xenophon doth testify, were so careful to breed up their youth in. But Christian fathers commonly do not so.

"And to know what worthy fruit did spring of such worthy seed, I will tell you the most marvel of all, and yet such a truth as no man shall deny it, except such as be ignorant in knowledge of the best stories.

Athens, by this discipline and good ordering of youth, did breed up, within the circuit of that one city, within the compass of one hundred years, within the memory of one man's life, so many notable captains in war, for worthiness, wisdom, and learning, as be scarce matchable, no, not in the state of Rome, in the compass of those seven hundred years when it flourished most.

And because I will not only say it, but also prove it, the names of them be these—Miltiades, Themistocles, Xantippus, Pericles, Cimon, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Conon, Iphicrates, Xenophon, Timotheus, Theopompus, Demetrius, and divers others more; of which every one may justly be spoken that worthy praise which was given to Scipio Africanus, who Cicero doubteth 'whether he were more noble captain in war, or more eloquent and wise counseller in peace.' And if ye believe not me, read dilligently Æmilius Probus* in Latin, and Plutarch in Greek, which two had no cause either to flatter or lie upon any of those which I have recited.

And beside nobility in war, for excellent and matchless masters in all manner of learning, in that one city, in memory of one age, were more learned men, and that in a manner altogether, than all time doth remember, than all place

* He means the lives now commonly held to be written by Cornelius Nepos.

doth afford, than all other tongues do contain. And I do not mean of those authors which by injury of time, by negligence of men, by cruelty of fire and sword, be lost, but even of those which by God's grace are left yet unto us, of which, I thank God, even my poor study lacketh not one. As in philosophy, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Euclid, and Theophrast; in eloquence and civil law, Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades, Isocrates, Isæus, Lysias, Antisthenes, Andocides; in History, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and which we lack, to our great loss, Theopompus and Ephorus; in poetry, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and somewhat of Menander Demosthenes' sister's son.

The remembrance of such a commonwealth, using such discipline and order for youth, and thereby bringing forth to their praise, and leaving to us for our example, such captains for war, such counsellors for peace, and matchless masters for all kind of learning, is pleasant for me to recite, and not irksome, I trust, for others to hear, except it be such as make neither account of virtue nor learning.

And whether there be any such or no, I cannot well tell; yet I hear say, some young gentlemen of ours count it their shame to be counted learned, and perchance they count it their shame to be counted honest also, for I hear say they meddle as little with the one as with the other. A marvellous case, that gentlemen should be so ashamed of good learning, and never a whit ashamed of ill manners! Such do say for them, that the gentlemen of France do so; which is a lie, as God will have it. Langæus and Bellæus, that be dead, and the noble Vidam of Chartres, that is alive, and infinite more in France which I hear tell of, prove this to be most false. And though some in France, which will needs be gentlemen, whether men will or no, and have more gentleship in their hat than in their head, be at deadly feud with both learning and honesty; yet I believe, if that noble prince, King Francis the First, were alive, they should have neither place in his court nor pension in his wars, if he had knowledge of them. This opinion is not French, but plain Turkish, from whence some French fetch more faults than this, which I pray God keep out of England, and send also those of ours better minds, which bend themselves against virtue and learning, to the contempt of God, dishonor of their country, to the hurt of many others, and at length to the greatest harm and utter destruction of themselves.

Some others, having better nature, but less wit (for ill commonly have overmuch wit,) do not utterly dispraise learning, but they say, that, without learning, common experience, knowledge of all fashions, and haunting all companies, shall work in youth both wisdom and ability to execute any weighty affair. Surely long experience doth profit much, but most, and almost only to him (if we mean honest affairs) that is dilligently before instructed with precepts of well-doing. For good precepts of learning be the eyes of the mind, to look wisely before a man which way to go right, and which not.

Learning teacheth more in one year than experience in twenty; and learning teacheth safely, when experience maketh more miserable than wise. He hazardeth sore that waxeth wise by experience. An unhappy master is he that is made cunning by many shipwrecks; a miserable merchant, that is neither rich nor wise but after some bankrouts. It is costly wisdom that is bought by experience. We know by experience itself, that it is a marvellous pain to find out a short way but by long wandering; and surely he that would

prove wise by experience, he may be witty indeed, but even like a swift runner, that runneth fast out of the way, and upon the night, he knoweth not whither. And verily they be fewest in number that be wise by unlearned experience. And look well upon the former life of those few, whether your example be old or young, who, without learning, have gathered by long experience a little wisdom and some happiness; and when you do consider what mischief they have committed, what dangers they have escaped (and yet twenty for one do perish in the adventure,) then think well with yourself whether ye would that your own son should come to wisdom and happiness by the way of such experience or no.

It is a notable tale, that old Sir Roger Chamloe, some time Chief-Justice, would tell of himself. When he was Ancient in inn of court, certain young gentlemen were brought before him, to be corrected for certain misorders; and one of the lustiest said, 'Sir, we be young gentlemen; and wise men before us have proved all fashions, and yet those have done full well.' This they said, because it was well known that Sir Roger had been a goodfellow in his youth. But he answered them very wisely. 'Indeed,' saith he, 'in youth I was as you are now; and I had twelve fellows like unto myself, but not one of them came to a good end. And therefore, follow not my example in youth, but follow my counsel in age, if ever ye think to come to this place or to these years that I am come unto, lest ye meet either with poverty or Tyburn in the way.'"

Although thus jealous, however, of the effects of teaching by experience, and earnestly in favor of the method of at least laying the foundations of knowledge in the young mind chiefly by learning and good bringing up, Ascham would by no means have the whole time of youth to be spent in study.

"I do not mean, by all this my talk, that young gentlemen should always be poring on a book, and by using good studies should lose honest pleasure, and haunt no good pastime; I mean nothing less. For it is well known that I both like and love, and have always, and do yet still use all exercises and pastimes that be fit for my nature and ability. And beside natural disposition, in judgment also I was never either Stoic in doctrine or Anabaptist in religion, to mislike a merry, pleasant, and playful nature, if no outrage be committed against law, measure, and good order."

"Therefore, to ride comely, to run fair at the tilt or ring, to play at all weapons, to shoot fair in bow, or surely in gun, to vault lustily, to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim, to dance comely, to sing and play on instruments cunningly, to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and all pastimes generally which be joined with labor used in open place, and on the daylight, containing either some fit exercise for war, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentlemen to use."

Returning to the subject of joining learning with comely exercises, he highly recommends the work of Conto Baldesar Castiglione, entitled "Il Cortigianto," (the Courtier,) as excellently translated into English by Sir Thomas Hobby, "which book," says he, "advisedly read and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wiss, than three years travel abroad spent in Italy." "But the English court," he adds, "has never lacked many fine examples for young gentlemen to follow." Among these he mentions the late King Edward, "and in the second degree, two noble

primroses of nobility, the young Duke of Suffolk and Lord Henry Malavers," who, he says, "were two such examples to the court for learning, as our time may rather wish than look for again." At St. John's College, Cambridge, also, he commemorates Sir John Cheke and Dr. Redmayn as having, in his time, done more by their example than the good statutes of the college themselves did "to breed up learned men, of whom there were so many," says he, "in that one College of St. John's, at one time, as I believe the whole University of Lovain, in many years, was never able to afford."

He then proceeds: "Present examples of this present time I list not to touch; yet there is one example for all the gentlemen of this court to follow, that may well satisfy them, or nothing will serve them, nor no example move them to goodness and learning.

"It is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England,) that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. Point forth six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together show not so much good will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the Queen's Majesty herself. Yea I believe, that beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day than some prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week. And that which is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her privy chamber, she hath obtained that excellency of learning to understand, speak, and write both wittily with head and fair with hand, as scarce one or two rare wits in both the Universities have in many years reached unto. Amongst all the benefits that God hath blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning in this most excellent Prince; whose only example, if the rest of our nobility would follow, then might England be, for learning and wisdom in nobility, a spectacle to all the world beside. But see the mishap of men; the best examples have never such force to move to any goodness, as the bad, vain, light, and fond have to all illness."

"Take heed, therefore, ye great ones in the Court, yea though ye be the greatest of all, take heed what ye do, take heed how ye live, for as you great ones use to do, so all mean men love to do. You be indeed makers, or marrers of all men's manners within the realm."

Returning from this digression, the author states the sum of what he has hitherto delivered to be, "that from seven year old to seventeen, love is the best allurement to learning; from seventeen to seven-and-twenty, that wise men should carefully see the steps of youth surely staid by good order, in that most slippery time, and specially in the court;" and he then proceeds as follows:—

"Sir Richard Sackville, that worthy gentleman of worthy memory, as I said in the beginning, in the Queen's privy chamber at Windsor, after he had talked with me for the right choice of good wit in a child for learning; and of the true difference betwixt quick and hard wits; of alluring young children by gentleness to love learning; and of the special care that was to be had to keep young men from licentious living; he was most earnest with me to have me say my mind also what I thought concerning the fancy that many young gentlemen of

England have to travel abroad, and namely to lead a long life in Italy. His request, both for his authority and good will toward me, was a sufficient commandment unto me to satisfy his pleasure with uttering plainly my opinion in that matter. 'Sir,' quoth I, 'I take going thither, and living there, for a young gentleman, that doth not go under the keep and guard of such a man as both by wisdom can, and authority dare rule him, to be marvellous dangerous." * *

"But to my matter; as I began plainly and simply with my young scholar, so will I not leave him, God willing, until I have brought him a perfect scholar out of the school, and placed him in the University, to become a fit student for logic, and rhetoric, and so after to physic, law, or divinity, as aptness of nature, advice of friends, and God's disposition shall lead him."

II. THE READY WAY TO THE LATIN TONGUE.

We shall commence an abstract of the *Second Book* of the Schoolmaster, by introducing the opening passages of the First, which were omitted in their place, as belonging more appropriately to the subject matter of this:

"After the child hath learned perfectly the eight parts of speech, let him then learn the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent. And in learning farther his syntaxis, by mine advice he shall not use the common order in common schools for making of Latins, whereby the child commonly learneth, first, an evil choice of words (and 'right choice of words,' saith Cæsar, 'is the foundation of eloquence,') then a wrong placing of words, and, lastly, an ill framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgment both of words and sentences. These faults, taking once root in youth, be never, or hardly plucked away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing that hath more either dulled the wits or taken away the will of children from learning, than the care they have to satisfy their masters in making of Latins.

For the scholar is commonly beat for the making, when the master were more worthy to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the same, the master many times being as ignorant as the child what to say properly and fitly to the matter.

Two schoolmasters have set forth in print, either of them, a book of such kind of Latins, Horman and Whittington. A child shall learn of the better of them that which, another day, if he be wise and come to judgment, he must be fain to unlearn again.

There is a way touched in the first book of Cicero de Oratore, which wisely brought into schools, truly taught, and constantly used, would not only take wholly away this butcherly fear in making of Latins, but would also with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, work a true choice and placing of words, a right ordering of sentences, an easy understanding of the tongue, a readiness to speak, a facility to write, a true judgment both of his own and other men's doings, what tongue soever he doth use.

The way is this: After the three concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto him the Epistles of Cicero, gathered together and chosen out by Sturmius for the capacity of children.

First, let him teach the child cheerfully and plainly the cause and matter of the Letter: then let him construe it into English, so oft as the child may easily carry away the understanding of it; lastly, parse it over perfectly. This done thus let the child, by and by, both construe and parse it over again; so that it

may appear that the child doubteth in nothing that his master taught him before. After this, the child must take a paper book, and sitting in some place where no man shall prompt him, by himself, let him translate into English his former lesson. Then, showing it to his master, let the master take from him his Latin book, and pausing an hour at least, then let the child translate his own English into Latin again in another paper book. When the child bringeth it turned into Latin, the master must compare it with Tully's book, and lay them both together; and where the child doth well, either in choosing or true, placing Tully's words, let the master praise him, and say, 'Here you do well;' for I assure you there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit, and encourage a will to learning, as is praise.

But if the child miss, either in forgetting a word, or in changing a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master either frown, or chide with him, if the child hath done his diligence and used no truantship therein; for I know by good experience, that a child shall take more profit of two faults gently warned of, than of four things rightly hit; for then the master shall have good occasion to say unto him, 'Tully would have used such a word, not this; Tully would have placed this word here, not there: would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender; he would have used this mood, this tense, this simple rather than this compound; this adverb here, not there; he would have ended the sentence with this verb, not with that noun or participle,' &c.

In these few lines I have wrapped up the most tedious part of grammar, and also the ground of almost all the rules that are so busily taught by the master, and so hardly learned by the scholar in all common schools, which after this sort the master shall teach without all error, and the scholar shall learn without great pain; the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholar being brought into so plain and easy a way. And therefore we do not contemn rules, but we gladly teach rules, and teach them more plainly, sensibly, and orderly than they be commonly taught in common schools. For when the master shall compare Tully's book with the scholar's translation, let the master at the first lead and teach his scholar to join the rules of his grammar book with the examples of his present lesson, until the scholar by himself be able to fetch out of his grammar every rule for every example, so as the grammar book be ever in the scholar's hand, and also used of him as a dictionary for every present use. This is a lively and perfect way of teaching of rules; where the common way used in common schools, to read the grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.

Let your scholar be never afraid to ask you any doubt, but use discreetly the best allurements you can to encourage him to the same, lest his overmuch fearing of you drive him to seek some misorderly shift, as to seek to be helped by some other book, or to be prompted by some other scholar, and so go about to beguile you much, and himself more.

With this way of good understanding the matter, plain construing, diligent parsing, daily translating, cheerful admonishing, and heedful amending of faults, never leaving behind just praise for well doing, I would have the scholar brought up withal, till he had read and translated over the first book of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good piece of a comedy of Terence also.

All this while, by mine advice, the child shall use to speak no Latin; for, as Cicero saith in like matter, with like words, *Loquendo, malè loqui discunt;* and

that excellent learned man G. Budæus, in his Greek commentaries, sore complaineth, that when he began to learn the Latin tongue, use of speaking Latin at the table and elsewhere unadvisedly did bring him to such an evil choice of words, to such a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more all the days of his life afterwards, both for readiness in speaking, and also good judgment in writing."

Upon the subject of speaking Latin, the author admits that if children could be brought up in a house or a school in which the Latin tongue was properly and perfectly spoken, then the daily use of speaking would be the best and readiest way to learn the language. But in the best schools in England he contends that no such constant propriety of expression was to be heard. If the object therefore be that the scholar shall learn not only to speak Latin, but to speak it well, our author's opinion is that he will best acquire this faculty by use of writing.

After some time when the scholar is found to perform this first kind of exercise with increasing ease and correctness, he must have longer lessons to translate, and must also be introduced to the second stage in the order of teaching; that is to say, he is to be taught to know and distinguish, both in nouns and verbs, what is *proprium* (literal,) and what is *translatum* (metaphorical;) what *synonymum* (synonymous,) what *diversum* (differing in signification in certain respects;) which words are *contraria* (opposite in signification to each other,) and which are the most remarkable phrases or idiomatic expressions, throughout the whole passage which forms his lesson. For this purpose he must have a third paper book; in which after he has done his double translation he must write out and arrange what is to be found in the lesson under each of these heads. Should the passage contain nothing certain of them, he ought still to enter the head or title: thus, *diversa nulla* (no words differing in signification;) *contraria nulla* (no words of opposite signification,) &c.

"This diligent translating," says the author, "joined with this heedful marking in the foresaid Epistles, and afterward in some plain Oration of Tully, as *Pro Lege Manilia*, *Pro Archia Poëta*, or in those three *Ad C. Cæsarem* (he means those three commonly entitled Pro Q. Ligario, Pro Rege Dejotaro, and Pro M. Marcello,) shall work such a right choice of words, so strait a framing of sentences, such a true judgment, both to write skillfully and speak wittily, as wise men shall both praise and marvel at."

The author in the *Second Book* proceeds with the subject as follows:—

"After that your scholar, as I said before, shall come in deed, first to a ready perfectness in translating, then to a ripe and skillful choice in marking out his six points; as—1. Proprium; 2. Translatum; 3. Synonymum; 4. Contrarium; 5. Diversum; 6. Phrases; then take this order with him: read daily unto him some book of Tully; as the Third Book of Epistles, chosen out by Sturmius; *de Amicitiâ de Senectute*, or that excellent Epistle, containing almost the whole First Book, *ad Q. Fratrem;* some comedy of Terence, or Plautus. But in Plautus, skillful choice must be used by the master, to train his scholar to a judgment in cutting out perfectly over old and improper words. Cæsar's Commentaries are to be read with all curiosity, wherein especially (without all exception to be made either by friend or foe) is seen the unspotted propriety of the Latin tongue, even when it was, as the Grecians say, in ἀκμῇ, that is, at the highest pitch of all perfectness; or some orations of T. Livius, such as be both longest and plainest.

These books I would have him read now a good deal at every lecture; for he shall not now use daily translation, but only construe again, and parse, where ye suspect is any need: yet let him not omit in these books his former exercise, in marking diligently, and writing orderly out his six points; and for translating, use you yourself every second or third day, to choose out some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable common-place out of his Orations, or some other part of Tully, by your discretion, which your scholar may not know where to find; and translate it you yourself into plain natural English, and then give it him to translate into Latin again, allowing him good space and time to do it both with diligent heed and good advisement.

Here his wit shall be new set on work; his judgment for right choice truly tried; his memory for sure retaining better exercised, than by learning anything without the book; and here, how much he hath profited shall plainly appear. When he bringeth it translated unto you, bring you forth the place of Tully; lay them together, compare the one with the other; commend his good choice, and right placing of words; show his faults gently, but blame them not over-sharply; for of such missings, gently admonished of, proceedeth glad and good heed-taking; of good heed-taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after groweth to perfectness, if this order be diligently used by the scholar, and gently handled by the master. For here shall all the hard points of grammar both easily and surely be learned up, which scholars in common schools, by making of Latins, be groping at with care and fear, and yet in many years they scarce can reach unto them. * * * * * * *

When by this diligent and speedy reading over those forenamed good books of Tully, Terence, Cæsar, and Livy, and by this second kind of translating out of your English, time shall breed skill, and use shall bring perfection: then ye may try, if ye will, your scholar with the third kind of translation, although the two first ways, by mine opinion, be not only sufficient of themselves, but also surer, both for the master's teaching and scholar's learning, than this third way is, which is thus:—

Write you in English some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other friend, naturally, according to the disposition of the child; or some tale, or fable, or plain narration, according as Aphthonius* beginneth his exercises of learning: and let him translate into Latin again, abiding in such place where no other scholar may prompt him. But yet, use you yourself such discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compass, both for words and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take heed, lest your scholar do not better in some point than you yourself, except ye have been diligently exercised in these kinds of translating before.

I had once a proof hereof, tried by good experience, by a dear friend of mine, when I came first from Cambridge to serve the Queen's Majesty, then Lady Elizabeth, lying at worthy Sir Antony Denny's, in Cheston. John Whitney, a young gentleman, was my bed-fellow, who willing by good nature, and provoked by mine advice, began to learn the Latin tongue, after the order declared in this book. We began after Christmas; I read unto him Tully *de Amicitiâ*, which he did every day twice translate out of Latin into English, and out of English into

* This book of Aphthonius, now forgotten, was once in great vogue in our schools and on the continent. Among the list of books in Sandwich School box or library (Temp. Eliz. Reg.) was a copy of Aphthonius. There is a short notice of Aphthonius in the Penny Cyclopædia.

Latin again. About St. Lawrence tide, after, to prove how he profited, I did choose out Torquatus' talk *de Amicitiâ*, in the latter end of the first book *de Finibus*, because that place was the same in the matter, like in words and phrases, nigh to the form and fashion of sentences, as he had learned before in *de Amicitiâ*. I did translate it myself into plain English, and gave it him to turn into Latin, which he did so choicely, so orderly, so without any great miss in the hardest points of grammar, that some in seven year in grammar schools, yea, and some in the University too, can not do half so well."

The author next discusses "the six ways appointed by the best learned men for the learning of tongues and increase of eloquence, as 1. *Translation;* 2. *Paraphrase;* 3. *Metaphrasis;* 4. *Epitome;* 5. *Imitation.*"

I. "Translation, is easy in the beginning for the scholar, and bringeth also much learning and great judgment to the master. It is most common and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common; for all your constructions in grammar schools be nothing else but translations. But because they be not double translations, as I do require, they bring forth but simple and single commodity; and because also they lack the daily use of writing which is the only thing that breedeth deep root, both in the wit for good understanding, and in the memory for sure keeping of all that is learned."

Ascham justifies his views on the subject by citing the opinions of Cicero, Quintilian, and Pliny, and thus concludes:—

"And by these authorities and reasons am I moved to think this way of double translating, either only, or chiefly, to be fittest for the speedy and perfect attaining of any tongue. And for speedy attaining, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholar in whom is aptness, love, diligence, and constancy, would but translate after this sort one little book in Tully (as *de Senectute*, with two Epistles, the first *ad Q. Fratrem*, the other *ad Lentulum* the last save one in the First Book,) that scholar, I say, should come to a better knowledge in the Latin tongue than the most part do that spend four or five years in tossing all the rules of grammar in common schools. Indeed, this one Book with these two Epistles, is not sufficient to afford all Latin words (which is not necessary for a young scholar to know,) but it is able to furnish him fully, for all points of grammar, with the right placing, ordering, and use of words, in all kind of matter. And why not? For it is read, that Dion Prusæus,* that wise philosopher and excellent orator of all his time, did come to the great learning and utterance that was in him, by reading and following only two books, Phædon Platonis, and Demosthenes' most notable Oration Περι Παραπρεσβείας.

And a better and nearer example herein may be our most noble Queen Elizabeth, who never took yet Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand, after the first declining of a noun and a verb; but only by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates daily, without missing, every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such a perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with a judgment, as they be few in number in both the Universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable with her Majesty."

II. Paraphrasis is defined as being "not only to express at large with more words, but to shine and contend to translate the best Latin authors into other

* That is, Chrysostom, whose name was Dion, and who was a native of Prusa in Bithynia.

Latin words, as many, or thereabout." This method Ascham decidedly condemns as a school exercise, on the same grounds on which it is disapproved of by Cicero and the younger Pliny, the latter of whom in one his Epistles calls it *audax contentio*, an audacious contention. "It is a bold comparison, indeed," says our author, "to think to say better than that is best. Such turning of the best into worse, is much like the turning of good wine, out of a fair sweet flagon of silver, into a foul musty bottle of leather; or to turn pure gold and silver into foul brass and copper.

Paraphrasis, therefore, by mine opinion, is not meet for grammar schools, nor yet very fit for young men in the University, until study and time have bred in them perfect learning and steadfast judgment."

III. Metaphrasis. "This kind of exercise," says Ascham, "is all one with paraphrasis, save it is out of verse either into prose, or into some other kind of meter; or else out of prose into verse, which was Socrates's exercise and pastime, as Plato reporteth, when he was in prison, to translate Æsop's fables into verse. Quintilian doth greatly praise also this exercise; but because Tully doth disallow it in young men, by mine opinion it were not well to use it in grammar schools, even for the self-same causes that he recited against paraphrasis."

IV. "Epitome is good privately for himself that doth work it, but ill commonly for all others that use other men's labor therein. A silly poor kind of study, not unlike to the doing of those poor folk which neither till, nor sow, nor reap themselves, but glean by stealth upon other men's ground. Such have empty barns for dear years."

"I do wish," he afterwards remarks, in reference to the common books of exercises used at schools, "that all rules for young scholars were shorter than they be. For without doubt, Grammatica itself is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors than by the naked rules of grammarians. Epitome hurteth more in the universities and study of philosophy, but most of all in divinity itself."

He acknowledges, however, that "books of common places be very necessary to induce a man into an orderly general knowledge, how to refer orderly all that he readeth *ad certa rerum capita* (to certain heads,) and not wander in study."

"Epitome is most necessary of all in a man's own writing, as we learn of that noble poet Virgil, who, if Donatus say true, in writing that perfect work of the Georgics, used daily, when he had written forty or fifty verses, not to cease cutting, paring, and polishing of them, till he had brought them to the number of ten or twelve.

And this exercise is not more needfully done in a great work than wisely done in our common daily writing, either of letter or other thing else; that is to say, to peruse diligently, and see and spy wisely, what is always more than needeth. For twenty to one offend more in writing too much than too little; even as twenty to one fall into sickness rather by over much fullness than by any lack or emptiness. * * * *

And of all other men, even those that have the inventivest heads for all purposes, and roundest tongues in all matters and places (except they learn and use this good lesson of epitome,) commit commonly greater faults than dull, staying, silent men do. For quick inventors, and fair ready speakers, being boldened

with their present ability to say more, and perchance better too, at the sudden for that present than any others can do, use less help of diligence and study than they ought to do, and so have in them commonly less learning and weaker judgment for all deep considerations than some duller heads and slower tongues have.

And therefore ready speakers generally be not the best, plainest, and wisest writers, nor yet the deepest judgers in weighty affairs; because they do not tarry to weigh and judge all things as they should, but having their heads over full of matter, be like pens over full of ink, which will sooner blot than make any fair letter at all. Time was, when I had experience of two ambassadors in one place, the one of a hot head to invent, and of a hasty hand to write; the other cold and staid in both; but what difference of their doings was made by wise men is not unknown to some persons. The Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, had a quick head and a ready tongue, and yet was not the best writer in England. Cicero in Brutus doth wisely note the same in Serg. Galba and Q. Hortensius, who were both hot, lusty, and plain speakers, but cold, loose, and rough writers. And Tully telleth the cause why, saying, when they spoke, their tongue was naturally carried with full tide and wind of their wit; when they wrote, their head was solitary, dull, and calm; and so their style was blunt and their writing cold." The author then quotes a remark from Cicero, to the effect, that the fault in question is one by which men of much natural ability, but insufficiently instructed, are often found to be characterized. "And therefore," he concludes, "all quick inventors and ready fair speakers must be careful that, to their goodness of nature, they add also in any wise study, labor, leisure, learning, and judgment, and then they shall indeed pass all other (as I know some do in whom all those qualities are fully planted,) or else if they give over much to their wit, and over little to their labor and learning, they will soonest overreach in talk, and farthest come behind in writing, whatsoever they take in hand. The method of epitome is most necessary for such kind of men."

V. Imitation Ascham defines to be "a faculty to express lively and perfectly that example which you go about to follow." "All languages," he continues, "both learned, and mother tongues, be gotten, and gotten solely, by imitation. For as ye use to hear, so ye learn to speak; if ye hear no other, ye speak not yourself; and whom ye only hear, of them ye only learn.

And therefore if ye would speak as the best and wisest do, ye must be conversant where the best and wisest are; but if you be born or brought up in a rude country, ye shall not choose but speak rudely. The rudest man of all knoweth this to be true.

Yet nevertheless, the rudeness of common and mother tongues is no bar for wise speaking. For in the rudest country, and most barbarous mother language, many be found that can speak very wisely; but in the Greek and Latin tongues, the two only learned tongues, which be kept not in common talk, but in private books, we find always wisdom and eloquence, good matter and good utterance, never or seldom asunder. For all such authors, as be fullest of good matter and right judgment in doctrine, be likewise always most proper in words, most apt in sentence, most plain and pure in uttering the same."

After examining what has been said upon the subject of imitation by various writers, ancient and modern, he advises "a good student to journey through all authors," but to dwell only, "after God's Holy Bible, with Tully in Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Zenophon, Isocrates, and Demosthenes in Greek."

LORD BACON,

HIS PHILOSOPHY, AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON EDUCATION.

(Translated from the German of Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.)

Francis Bacon was born at London, on the 22d of January, 1561. His father, Nicholas Bacon, was Lord Keeper of the Seal, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; his mother, whose maiden name was Anna Cook, was a pious and highly intellectual lady, well versed both in the Greek and Latin classics. When quite young, Bacon displayed such a mature judgment, that Queen Elizabeth, who took great pleasure in conversing with him, addressed him as her little Keeper of the Seal. When not quite sixteen years of age, he was placed at Trinity College, Cambridge. His principal instructor there was John Whitgift, a doctor of theology, and afterward Archbishop of Canterbury. While at Cambridge, he bestowed diligent study upon Aristotle, but with all his regard for him, he conceived a distaste for his doctrines; and, even from this early period, we may date the commencement of his warfare against scholasticism.

After he had completed his education at the university, his father, wishing to initiate him in politics, commended him to the charge of Paulett, English ambassador at the Court of France. During Bacon's residence at Paris, his father died, leaving but a moderate property to be divided between himself and his four brothers. In after years, his brother Anthony bequeathed him an independent fortune.

On his return to England, he applied himself with ardor to the study of law, and was soon chosen councilor by Elizabeth; but she did not advance him to any higher post of honor. This was reserved for James I., who made him Lord High Chancellor, with the titles of Verulam and Vice-Count St. Albans.

He married the daughter of a wealthy London alderman, whose name was Burnham, by whom, however, he had no issue.

Six years before his death, he was deposed from his office. And that he had been guilty of misdemeanor therein, is, alas! but too evident. He was convicted of having used his high judicial function in the service of bribery, and James I. could do no more than mitigate the sentence that was pronounced against him, nor could he

ever afterward recover the influence that he had lost, though he sought it with the most fulsome flatteries.

It is truly painful to see a man of such commanding talents sink into such depths of moral degradation. It would appear, in some instances, as if an over-exertion of the intellectual powers operated to the injury of the moral nature; since constant mental labor leaves no time for self-consecration and self-conquest, yea, in the end, destroys all power and capacity therefor,—so much does such labor engross the whole man.

But the closing years of Bacon's life redounded to the inestimable advantage of science; for he gave his undivided attention to it, after his removal from the service of the state.

He died on the 9th of April, 1626, in the 66th year of his age, having lived to be three years older than Shakspeare, whom he survived ten years. Seldom have two such eminent men lived at the same time, and in the same place,—men of such vast, and yet opposite endowments. It would almost appear that, in Bacon, the genius of prose, in Shakspeare, of poetry, came into the world in person: in one, an understanding, the highest, clearest, most searching, and methodical; and, in the other, an imagination of unbounded creative capacity. The poet, it is true, manifested a keen intellectual insight, together with a wonderfully comprehensive knowledge of human nature; but we can hardly concede to Bacon much of that sense of beauty which is so marked an attribute of the poet. Both of them, however, were alike in achieving superior fame by the exercise of their understanding, and in suffering the glory of that fame to be tarnished by the abuse of their imagination. How far justice was meted out to Bacon, we shall be better able to judge in the sequel.

A third great genius, born in the same decade with Shakspeare and Bacon (1571,) deserves mention here, as ranking with the mightiest minds that the world ever produced; I refer to Kepler. But what a remarkable contrast does the mutual non-intercourse of these three giant spirits present to the warm and living fellowship that subsisted between Luther and Melancthon. It is as though they had not known of each other's existence. Bacon, notwithstanding the universality of his writings, has no where made mention of Shakspeare; he treats of dramatic poetry, but utters not a syllable in regard to the greatest dramatist "that ever lived in the tide of times," although this one was even his fellow-citizen. So, likewise, Bacon treats often of astronomy, and introduces Copernicus and Galileo, but Kepler never. And yet, Kepler must have been known to him, for, in the year 1618, he dedicated his great work, "*Harmonice Mundi*," to the

self-same King James whom Bacon revered as his great patron, and, in many of his own dedications, had styled a second Solomon.

Bacon's works have appeared in repeated editions, both in separate treatises and in a collected form. Many of them have no bearing upon our present inquiry; such, for instance, as the "*Political Speeches*," the "*Essays, Civil and Moral*," the "*History of the Reign of Henry VII.*" etc. On the contrary, his philosophical works proper are of the utmost value in their relation to the science of education, although, on a cursory glance, it may not appear so. What Bacon advanced directly on this subject, is comparatively unimportant; but the indirect influence which, as the founder of the inductive method of philosophizing upon nature, or "*real realism*," as I have elsewhere styled it, he exerted upon education, this, though we are unable always to analyze it, is nevertheless invaluable. The reader will therefore follow me without surprise, if, in the succeeding pages, I shall appear to have lost sight, for a time, of the purely educational element.

Bacon has himself given us a sketch of the great philosophical work, which he designed to write, and parts of which he completed. The work was called "*Instauratio Magna*," and it was divided into six parts. The first part was an encyclopedia of all human learning, whether ancient or modern. In this he purposed, especially, to point out deficiencies, and suggest new subjects of inquiry. This part we have; it is the "*De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*," is in nine books, and is the best known of all his works. Some portions of it are completely elaborated; others consist of a more or less thoroughly meditated plan. The second part of the "*Instauratio Magna*," Bacon published under the title of "*Novum Organum, Sive judicia vera de interpretatione Naturæ.*" He worked upon this part for many years; at his death, there were found twelve different elaborations of it. It is a collection of great thoughts, remarkable for their depth, their freshness, and the extreme nicety with which they are adjusted, the one to the other,—and all are intelligibly expressed in aphorisms, whose every word we feel has been carefully weighed.

The third part of the "*Instauratio Magna*" was designed to present a collection of the facts of natural history, and experimental philosophy, or "*Phænomena universi:*" some portions of this were completed. In the fourth part, or "*Scala intellectus*," Bacon gives special applications of his philosophy in examples of the correct method of investigating nature. The fifth, or "*Anticipationes philosophiæ secundæ*," was to be a sketch of the preparations of preceding ages for the final introduction of the new philosophy; while the sixth was to em-

body the new philosophy, in all its completeness and grandeur. This crowning part of the whole work Bacon left wholly untouched.

We shall confine our attention, at the present time, however, chiefly to the two first and completest divisions of this great work, viz., to the "*De augmentis scientiarum*" and the "*Novum Organum.*" But, in order to judge Bacon aright, we must first cast a glance at the intellectual character, not only of the age in which he lived, but of the centuries just preceding.

We have seen that, in those centuries, supreme homage was paid to the word alone in all books, in disputations and declamations, and that thinking men displayed neither sense nor feeling for any thing but language, deriving from this, and basing upon this, all their knowledge. Every avenue to nature, to a direct and independent investigation of the external world, was closed. That gifted monk, Roger Bacon, a most worthy predecessor of Lord Bacon, was, in the middle ages, regarded as a magician; and, as a magician, suffered persecution, because he was not content to view nature through the eyes of Aristotle, choosing rather to go himself to the fountain-head and converse with her, face to face. He maintained that men ought not to be satisfied with traditional and accepted knowledge. Reason and experience were the two sources of science; but experience alone was the parent of a well-grounded certainty, and this true *empiricism* had hitherto been wholly neglected by most scholars. That Roger Bacon did not speak of experimental knowledge, as a blind man would discourse of colors, is proved by some remarkable expressions of his, anticipatory and unambiguous, upon spectacles, telescopes, and gunpowder. But Roger stood alone in that age of the world, like a solitary preacher in the desert; and hence it was that he was regarded with wonder, as a magician, and persecuted.

But that which showed in Roger Bacon as mere anticipation, and obscure prophecy, appeared, after the lapse of three hundred years, full-formed and clear in Francis Bacon. Even as Luther came forth to strip off the thick veil of human traditions, that had been woven over the revelation of God in the Holy Scriptures, distorting its features, concealing it, and even burying it in oblivion, for multitudes of his fellow men, so did Bacon make war upon the traditions and postulates of men, which had quite darkened over the revelation of God, in the material world. He wished men no longer to put their faith in arbitrary and fanciful glosses upon this revelation, but to go themselves directly to its living record.

He saw, moreover, that the more sagacious intellects of his time were wholly divorced from nature, and wedded to books alone; their

energies all expended upon words, and belittled by the endless hair-splitting subtleties of logic. He perceived that the physical philosophy current among his contemporaries, was gathered from Aristotle, or his disciples; and that it no where rested upon the solid basis of nature. Men read in books what authors *said* concerning stones, plants, animals, and the like; but to inspect these stones, plants, and animals, with their own eyes, was far enough from their thoughts. And hence were they compelled to defer to the authority of these authors, whether they would or no, because they cherished not the remotest idea of subjecting these descriptions and recitals to the test of actual experiment. Consider, too, that such test was the more needed, since these very authors had, mostly themselves, received their information even from third or fourth hands. We are amazed when we read the farrago of incredible and impossible stories, in which the books of natural history, especially those of the middle ages, abounded; when we contemplate, for example, the monsters to which we are introduced in the zoölogies of this period, or the marvelous virtues which were foolishly claimed for various stones, &c. And even if these books, thus treating of nature, did contain many things that were true, yet it was manifest, that progress in natural science was not to be hoped for, so long as men remained satisfied with their teachings. And how, I ask, could men have been otherwise than satisfied, when they appeared not even to realize the existence of nature, the mighty fountain-head of all authorities.

Now, from this unworthy and slavish homage and deference to authors, authors too, mostly, with no title to confidence, Bacon purposed to recall men, by inviting them to a direct communion with the creation around them, and by pointing them to those eternal truths, whose obligation they were bound humbly to acknowledge, and yet whose claims would never tarnish their honor.

For an implicit obedience to nature is attended with a double reward, viz., an understanding of her processes and dominion over her. "Forsooth," he says, "we suffer the penalty of our first parents' sin, and yet follow in their footsteps. They desired to be like God, and we, their posterity, would be so in a higher degree. For we create worlds, direct and control nature, and, in short, square all things by the measure of our own folly, not by the plummet of divine wisdom, nor as we find them in reality. I know not whether, for this result, we are forced to do violence to nature or to our own intelligence the most; but it nevertheless remains true, that we stamp the seal of our own image upon the creatures and the works of God, instead of carefully searching for, and acknowledging, the seal of the Creator, mani-

fest in them. Therefore have we lost, the second time, and that deservedly, our empire over the creature; yea, when, after and notwithstanding the fall, there was left to us some title to dominion over the unwilling creatures, so that they could be subjected and controlled, even this we have lost, in great part, through our pride, in that we have desired to be like God, and to follow the dictates of our own reason alone. Now then, if there be any humility in the presence of the Creator, if there be any reverence for, and exaltation of, his handiwork, if there be any charity toward men, any desire to relieve the woes and sufferings of humanity, any love for the light of truth, any hatred toward the darkness of error,—I would beseech men, again and again, to dismiss altogether, or at least for a moment to put away, their absurd and intractable theories, which give to assumptions the dignity of hypotheses, dispense with experiment, and turn them away from the works of God. Then let them with teachable spirit approach the great volume of the creation, patiently decipher its secret characters, and converse with its lofty truths; so shall they leave behind the delusive echoes of prejudice, and dwell within the perpetual outgoings of divine wisdom. This is that speech, and language, whose lines have gone out into all the earth; and no confusion of tongues has ever befallen it. This language we should all strive to understand; first condescending, like little children, to master its alphabet." "Our concern is not," he says in another place, "with the inward delights of contemplation alone, but with all human affairs and fortunes, yea, with the whole range of man's activity. For man, the servant and interpreter of nature, obtains an intelligent dominion over her, only in so far as he learns her goings on by experiment or observation; more than this, he neither knows, nor can he do. For his utmost power is inadequate to loosen or to break the established sequence of causes; nor is it possible for him to subjugate nature, except as he submits to her bidding. Hence, the twin desires of man for knowledge, and for power, coincide in one; and therefore the ill-success of his operations springs mainly from his ignorance of their essential causes."

"This, then," he continues, "is the substance of the whole matter, that we should fix the eyes of our mind upon things themselves, and thereby form a true conception of them. And may God keep us from the great folly of counting the visions of our own fancy for the types of his creation; nay, rather may he grant us the privilege of tracing the revelation and true vision of that seal and impress which he himself has stamped upon his creatures." In another place Bacon entreats men "for a little space to abjure all traditional and inherited

views and notions, and to come as new-born children, with open and unworn sense, to the observation of nature. For it is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge than in God's kingdom of heaven, that no man shall enter into it except he become first as a little child!" Man must put himself again in direct, close, and personal contact with nature, and no longer trust to the confused, uncertain, and arbitrary accounts and descriptions of her historians and would-be interpreters. From a clear and correct observation and perception of objects, their qualities, powers, etc., the investigator must proceed, step by step, till he arrives at axioms, and at that degree of insight, that will enable him to interpret the laws, and analyze the processes of nature. To this end, Bacon proffers to us his new method, viz., the method of induction. With the aid of this method, we attain to an insight into the connection and mutual relation of the laws of matter, and thus, according to him, we are enabled, through this knowledge, to make nature subservient to our will.

"Natural philosophy," he says in another place, "is either speculative or operative; the one is concerned with the invention of causes, the other with the invention of new experiments. Again, speculative natural philosophy, or theory, is divided into Physic and Metaphysic. Natural history describes the variety of things; Physic, the causes, but variable or respective causes. As, for instance, it seeks to know why snow is white; but Metaphysic inquires after the true nature of whiteness, not only as it finds this quality in snow, but also in chalk, silver, lilies, &c. Thus Metaphysic mounts, at last, to the knowledge of essential forms, or absolute differences,—the Ideas of Plato. These forms constitute the ultimate aim of science. Physic leads, through acquaintance with immediate causes, to Mechanic; but Metaphysic, by virtue of dealing with ultimate forms, leads to Magic. Thus mechanic and Magic carry into practice what Physic and Metaphysic advance as theory. The knowledge of occult forms brings the power to work marvels."

Natural philosophy Bacon compares to a "pyramid, whose basis is Natural History; the stage next the basis, is Physic branching into Practical Mechanic; the stage next the vertical point, is Metaphysic. As for the vertical point, '*Opus quod operatur Deus a principio usque ad finem*,' the summary law of nature, we know not whether man's inquiry can attain unto it."

Thus have we given a very general sketch of the positive side of the Baconian philosophy. Its gradations are as follows: beginning at observation and experiment, it lays down, by a process of induction, higher and higher axioms, till at last it penetrates to essential

forms, increasing insight adding ever new vigor and breadth to experiment.

But Bacon well knew that many obstacles stood in the way of the reception of his new philosophy, and that he must first remove these obstacles. The greater portion of his "*Novum Organum*" is accordingly occupied with polemics.

Idols and false notions, he says here, govern the human understanding to that degree that, before the introduction of any positive system of truth, they must all be cleared away, and men be warned against them. There are four kinds of idols.

Idols of the Tribe; or generic, and founded in the universal nature of mankind.

Idols of the Cave; or specific, growing out of the diversities of individual character.

Idols of the Forum; or such as proceed from the social relations of men.

Idols of the Theater; or those which have been forced into the human mind by successive schools of philosophy, creating, as it were, fictitious or scenic representations of life.

I will now extract, from Bacon's exposition of these various idols, some remarks, bearing upon education. "It is false," he says, "to assert that our senses are the ultimate measure of the world; all the perceptions of the senses, as well as all the conceptions of the mind, find their correspondences in the nature of man, not in the being of the universe. The human understanding receives the rays that stream from created objects, as an uneven mirror, which mingles its own nature with that of the object it reflects, giving to them false shapes and colors."

Bacon here disclaims that absolute knowledge of objects, which penetrates to the essence of their being; for such all-sufficient knowledge is the prerogative of God alone. Our point of view is forever outside of the center of the universe. But yet he does not appear to realize the intimate connection of this view with the fall of man, and the conditions affixed, in consequence thereof, to human learning. For even were the knowledge possible to man radical and complete, yet it reaches only to the border-land, beyond which lie the inscrutable mysteries of the Deity. These mysteries man can prefigure and believe, but never fathom.

"The human intellect is led by its very essence to assume a greater order and equality in nature than it actually finds." In another place he says, "The light of the understanding is not a clear light, but it is clouded by the will and the affections. Hence man rejects

that which is difficult, because it calls for patient inquiry; that which is moderate, because it narrows his hopes, &c." How appropriate is this remark in the education of the young, and how little is instruction based upon just views of the relation between the will and the understanding, and upon the taste or distaste of pupils for given pursuits; and how evident it is, that the will must be animated by the conscience, where the gifts of intellect have been sparingly bestowed!

"Some minds are lost in admiration of antiquity, others in the passion for novelty, but only the select few are so well balanced as to keep a medium course, and neither to pull down that which has been skilfully built up by the ancients, nor to despise that which has been well done by the moderns."

This remark should serve to encourage teachers, especially at the present day, when a superstitious reverence for antiquity is engaged in active conflict with a superstitious regard for whatsoever is new. Further on, Bacon attacks the various philosophies which have been in vogue at different periods. "The devotees of science have been either empiricists or dogmatists. The empiricist, like ants, have heaped up only that which they could put to use; and the dogmatists, like spiders, have spun threads out of their own bowels. The bees, on the contrary, hold a course midway between these two; for they sip of the flowers of the field and garden, and the nature of these they change and distil, by virtue of the force that is in them. So a true philosophy is not effective alone, or chiefly, by the power of thought which it contains, nor does it proceed out of a memory filled with the results of observation and experiment, but all its stores are changed and assimilated by the understanding." He likewise censures "an undue respect for authorities, and that too common error of opinion, that nothing new remains to be found out." He condemns sin as the bane of all knowledge. He says, "men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, not for the benefit and use of their fellows, but from a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite, for victory of wit and contradiction, or for lucre and profession." Most sharply does he castigate liars. "Knowledge is nothing else than a representation of truth; for the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected."

Highly instructive to us also are his repeated attacks upon the Greeks. "The wisdom of the Greeks," he says, "was rhetorical, expended itself upon words, and had little to do with the search after truth." Their philosophers, according to him, even Plato and Aristotle, were altogether sophists; a few of the graver and more earnest

spirits of an earlier period, like Empedocles, Anaxagoras, &c., excepted. True, indeed, was that saying of the Egyptian priests, "the Greeks continue children forever, having neither an antiquity of science, nor a science of antiquity. For they have the nature of boys, inasmuch as they are full of loquacity, but incapable of reproduction, and their wisdom is therefore rich in words but poor in deeds."

Elsewhere, he says, "To speak truly, '*antiquitas seculi, juventus mundi*,' and *these* times are the ancient times, when the *world* is ancient. Hence those elder generations fell short of many of our present knowledges; they knew but a small part of the world, and but a brief period of history; we, on the contrary, are acquainted with a far greater extent of the old world, besides having uncovered a new hemisphere, and we look back and survey long periods of history."

This passage is the embodiment of that ultra anti-classical view, against which, in Bacon's own day, Bodley, and, in our own times, Goethe, have so earnestly protested. How prejudicial to the cause of education it must be we can readily imagine, for it sounds in our ears with the authority of a voice from the past, cheering on our narrow-minded realists in their opposition to the study of the ancients.

But though it is not possible for us entirely to exculpate Bacon in this his judgment of antiquity, yet, in strict justice, we ought to make all due allowance for his point of view. His was the philosophy of nature; a knowledge of nature, and power over her by virtue of that knowledge, were his aim. "What have the ancients done in this particular," he asked; but gave no thought to Homer, Sophocles, Demosthenes, and Phidias; and seeing, as in a vision, the air-pumps, electric telegraphs, and steam-engines, the seventy-eight thousand species of animals, the seventy-eight thousand species of plants, of our day,—seeing all these rewards of knowledge and power, which were to flow from the adoption of his method, he looked upon the ancients with indifference. But even from this point of view, he should have conceded to them far more than he did. It is enough that we mention the determinations of latitude and longitude, the length of a meridian, the precession of the equinoxes; enough that we speak of the great Hipparchus, of Archimedes, and Apollonius of Perga, of Hippocrates, of Aristotle's "History of Animals," and the "Garden of Plants" of Theophrastus. And how much more could I bring forward in proof of the greatness of the Greeks, even in natural philosophy! And, more than all, what shall we say of those great fundamental thoughts, which have tested the human intellect for more than two thousand years?

Bacon's hostility to Aristotle was mainly to be ascribed to the scholastics, who called themselves his disciples, though their master's works were not known to them, save through the medium of unfaithful translations. He concedes to them "sharp wit" indeed, but adds "that it only worked upon itself, as the spider worketh her web, and brought forth mere cobwebs of learning, and nothing more."

But we find him no more favorable to the anti-scholastics, whom we may style the philologists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "At the time of Martin Luther, an affected study of eloquence began to flourish. There arose a great enmity and opposition to the scholastics, because they considered no whit the pureness of their style, but took the liberty to coin and frame new and barbarous terms of art, to express their own sense, and to avoid circuit of speech. This enmity speedily ended in producing the opposite extreme; for men began to hunt more after words than matter, and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, than after the weight of matter, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then did Sturmius spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero and Hermogenes. Then did Erasmus take occasion to make the scoffing echo, '*Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone*,' and the echo answered in Greek, '*Ὄνε*,' *asine*." "In sum," he concludes, "the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather toward *copia* than weight."

We have now sufficiently characterized Bacon's polemics. The foregoing paragraph proves that he regarded what the philologists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries styled realism, as wholly distinct from the realism that his philosophy required. This latter I have ventured to call "real realism," in contrast with the verbal realism of the philologists, who knew roses and wine only as they were described in the verses of Anacreon and Horace.

Though there were many before Bacon, especially artists and craftsmen, who lived in communion with nature, and who, in manifold ways, transfigured and idealized her, and unveiled her glory; and though their sense for nature was, in a measure, highly cultivated, so that they attained to a practical understanding of her ways, yet this understanding of theirs was, so to speak, at its highest, merely instinctive; for it led them to no scientific deductions, and yielded them no thoughtful, sure, and legitimate dominion over her.

To the scholars of that day Bacon's doctrine was wholly new. It summoned them to leave for a while their books, which had been their vital element,—

> "And with untrammeled thought
> To talk with nature, face to face."

Thus Bacon was the father of the modern realists, and, as I shall take occasion to show hereafter, of realistic principles of instruction. Traces, moreover, are to be found in him of the harsh and repulsive features which characterize our modern matter-of-fact philosophy. As an instance in point, consider the sentence which he pronounced against the ancients; how he weighed them in the scales of his own philosophy, and found them wanting; how low an estimate he set upon what they did bring to pass, counting it all as the result of pure accident, because not arrived at by means of systematic induction. The exquisite sense of beauty, and the high culture of art of the ancients, seemed, in fact, to have been wholly ignored by the prosaic Bacon, as it is by the realists of the present age.

His method itself, likewise, and still more that which by virtue of this method he accomplished, in the way of observation and experiment, are open to many objections. He tells us that he is about to wed the human intellect to nature, and on this announcement we look to see a joyful marriage and a union of love. But, instead of this, he presents us with a slow and wearisome plan of a siege, for the reduction of the stronghold of nature, whom he apparently desires us to starve into a surrender. For proof of this we need only turn to his "*History of the Winds*," written upon this plan, to say nothing of numerous kindred paragraphs, scattered throughout the second book of his "*Novum Organum*." He had evidently convinced himself that, with the aid of his method of induction, men could as intelligently and surely advance to the accomplishment of their aims, in the subjection of nature, as an able general predicts, to a certainty, that a fortress, to which he has laid siege, will surrender within a given time. If earlier observers, without such method, had made any progress in the investigation of nature, this, according to Bacon, should be ascribed to accident. "But this method makes us independent of accident, for it is all-comprehending and infallible. Nay, it is a way in which the blind can not err, a way too which places the man of humble capacity on a level with the genius."

These words appear addressed to us by Pestalozzi and the Pestalozzians. But such a view is derogatory to the gifts which God has lavished upon his chosen children. What though Bacon, by the use of his method, has built a solid waggon track to Helicon? The soaring intellects of a Kepler and a Galileo need no such beaten course; they are already upon the mountain-top, before the waggoners are ready to set forth.

This *anti-genial* element of the Baconian method Goethe has treated with a well-merited severity. When a man of fertile imagin-

ation and keen insight fixes his attention upon one important fact, seizes the law revealed therein, and holds fast that law, the results that he brings to pass are more far-reaching in their scope and influence, than when an adust and hackneyed plodder, wearys himself through long years in a methodical heaping together of myriads of isolated and less important facts, without once detecting the character and essence of the simplest of them all. For consider how truth flashed in upon the mind of Galileo, while watching the vibrations of a pendant chandelier, "a striking proof," says Goethe, "that for the man of genius, one fact is better than a thousand." For, according to him, in scientific researches every thing depends on what may be styled the "aperçu," or the instantaneous, intuitive recognition of the principle that underlies a given phenomenon.

But some one will ask, "do you then reject Bacon's method of induction in all its particulars?" By no means. It is only this idea of an equalizing scale applied to the mind, and his view that there is no other road to knowledge than the one that *he* has marked out, that merit our reproof.

In fact, Bacon himself, with a most happy inconsistency, often employs expressions that disarm all attack. For instance, take the following: "When a man brings to the contemplation of nature an open sense and a mind that is unentangled by the prejudices of tradition, he needs no such method." The favorites of fortune, the miracle-workers, as Luther calls them, are gifted with this unclouded vision; to this class Goethe himself belonged. With a lively sensibility, a refined organism, and a passionate love for nature, he needed not that any should say to him, 'open thine eyes and look around thee.' To him, the author of the lines,

> "Nature is good and kind
> Who clasps me to her breast,"

a marriage between the soul and the outward world was already a settled fact. "They that are whole need not a physician." But these miracle-workers are, alas, too rare; and most men must make use of a method which shall stimulate their sluggish spirits into life and energy.

As it regards the manner in which Bacon illustrated his method, as in the "*History of the Winds*," so severely commented upon by Goethe, he should be judged, in a measure, by the general tone of natural science in his own age. To Goethe's eloquent apology for "aperçus" or intuitive perceptions, Bacon might have replied, "your principles underlying phenomena, are what I have denominated 'forms,' which I nevertheless can not unveil by means of a single

fact taken symbolically, but only by induction, by a comparison of many facts, representing the varied shapes of one and the same Proteus."

In short, despite the objectionable manner in which Bacon, here and there, endeavored, in the concrete, to maintain, realize, and prove the deep and solid foundation-principles which he advanced, the truth of those principles remains yet unassailed; and, like a vital germ, they have grown, and are bearing fruit even to the present day. Bacon originated no school, but something greater and wider in its scope. He was the founder of the direct mode of questioning nature, a mode open alike to all, whatever their talent or abilities. He was, as we have before intimated, the creator of the practical experimentalism of the present day, which explores the world for material to work up into manufactured fabrics, and to him may be ascribed the present prevailing tendency, of the English nation especially, to utilitarianism, to that perfect subjection of nature, by the aid of science, that will lead men finally to a true rational magic.

* * * * * * *

I have now endeavored to present a brief abstract of Bacon's philosophy. I have also occasionally adverted to the influence which it has exerted upon mental culture, and, as a consequence, upon methods of instruction; an influence which, at the distance of two centuries, is still in the ascendant. But there are also many passages in the "*De augmentis scientiarum*" which have a direct bearing upon education. Of this nature is the second chapter of the Sixth Book, in which he treats of "prudentia traditiva," or knowledge delivered, and characterizes various methods of teaching. He gives the preference to the *genetic method*, where the teacher "transplants knowledge into the scholar's mind, as it grew in his own." Whatever is imparted in this way, will take root, flourish, and bear fruit. He commends aphorisms: "For representing a knowledge broken, they do invite men to inquire farther; whereas systems, carrying a show of a total, do secure men as if they were at farthest." "Methods should vary according to the subject to be taught, for in knowledge itself there is great diversity."

In one place he treats most strenuously and earnestly of the importance of education. "A gardener," he says, "takes more pains with the young than with the full-grown plant; and men commonly find it needful, in any undertaking, to begin well. We give scarce a thought to our teachers, and care little for what they may be, and yet we are forever complaining, because rulers are rigid in the matter

of laws and penalties, but indifferent to the right training of the young.

To this Bacon adds a panegyric upon the schools of the Jesuits, by way of introduction to another paragraph on education. It is as follows:—

"As it regards teaching, this is the sum of all direction: take example by the schools of the Jesuits; for better do not exist. However, I will add, according to my wont, a few scattered thoughts on this head. Collegiate training for young men and boys excels, in my opinion, that of the family or of the school. For not only are greater incentives to action to be found at colleges, but there too the young have ever before their eyes men of dignified bearing and superior scholarship, who command their respect, and whom they grow insensibly to imitate. In short, there is hardly a particular in which colleges do not excel. In regard to the course and order of instruction, my chief counsel would be to avoid all digests and epitomes of learning; for they are a species of imposture, giving men the means to make a show of learning, who have it not. Moreover, the natural bent of individual minds should be so far encouraged, that a scholar, who shall learn all that is required of him, may be allowed time in which to pursue a favorite study. And furthermore, it is worth while to consider, and I think this point has not hitherto received the attention that its importance demands, that there are two distinct modes of training the mind to a free and appropriate use of its faculties. The one begins with the easiest, and so proceeds to the more difficult; the other, at the outset, presses the pupil with the more difficult tasks, and, after he has mastered these, turns him to pleasanter and easier ones: for it is one method to practice swimming with bladders, and another to practice dancing with heavy shoes. It is beyond all estimate, how much a judicious blending of these two methods will profit both the mental and the bodily powers. And so to select and assign topics of instruction, as to adapt them to the individual capabilities of the pupils,—this, too, requires a special experience and judgment. A close observation and an accurate knowledge of the different natures of pupils is due from teachers to the parents of these pupils, that they may choose an occupation in life for their sons accordingly. And note further, that not only does every one make more rapid progress in those studies to which his nature inclines him, but again that a natural disinclination, in whatever direction, may be overcome by the help of special studies. For instance, if a boy has a light, inattentive, and inconstant spirit, so that he is easily diverted, and his attention can not be readily fixed, he

will find advantage in the mathematics, in which a demonstration must be commenced anew whenever the thoughts wander even for a moment.

These cautions respecting mental training may not, at the first glance, appear to abound either in weight or wisdom; but, acted on, they are both fruitful and efficient. For as the wronging or cherishing of seeds or young plants is that, that is most important to their thriving, and as it was noted that the first six kings, being in truth as tutors of the state of Rome in the infancy thereof, was the principal cause of the eminent greatness of that state which followed; so the culture and manurance of minds in youth hath such a forcible, though unseen operation, as hardly any length of time or contention of labor can countervail it afterward. And it is not amiss to observe how small and mean faculties, gotten by education, yet when they fall into great men or great matters, do work great and important effects, whereof I will give a notable example. And the rather, as I find that the Jesuits also have not neglected the cultivation of these lesser graces of the scholar, in which, as it seems to me, they have shown sound judgment. I speak of that art which, followed for a livelihood, brings reproach, but, used in education, does the best of service,—I mean the acting of plays. This strengthens the memory, gives volume to the voice, power to the expression, ease to the bearing, grace to the gestures, and imparts a wonderful degree of self-confidence, thus thoroughly fitting young men for the demands of a public career. Tacitus relates that a certain stage-player, Vibulenus, by his faculty of playing, put the Panonnian armies into an extreme tumult and combustion. For there arising a mutiny among them, upon the death of Augustus Cæsar, Blæsus, the lieutenant, had committed some mutineers, which were suddenly rescued; whereupon Vibulenus got to be heard speak, which he did in this manner: 'These poor innocent wretches, appointed to cruel death, you have restored to behold the light; but who shall restore my brother to me, or life unto my brother, that was sent hither in message from the legions of Germany, to treat of the common cause? And he hath murdered him this last night by some of his fencers and ruffians, that he hath about him for his executioners upon soldiers. Answer, Blæsus, what is done with his body? The mortalest enemies do not deny burial; when I have performed my last duties to the corpse, with kisses, with tears, command me to be slain besides him, so that these my fellows, for our good meaning, and our true hearts to the legions, may have leave to bury us.' With which speech he put the army into an infinite fury and uproar; whereas truth was, he had no

brother, neither was there any such matter, but he played it merely as if he had been upon the stage."

It should be understood, however, that this passage on education is isolated, and by no means in connection with the general philosophical system of Bacon. It is surprising that the man who said, "It is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge than in God's kingdom of heaven, that no man shall enter into it, except he become first as a little child," did not adhere to this sentiment, and carry it into all his speculations. When he taught that "men must abjure all traditional and inherited views and notions, so that with an open and unworn sense they might come to the observation of nature," why did he not apply his doctrine to that class, who know nothing by tradition, and who have nothing to unlearn,—I mean to children? Why did he not build anew the science of education upon the solid basis of realism? Instead of this, we find nothing but an ill-assorted farrago of good, bad, and indifferent. I have already expressed my disapproval of the pernicious influence of the educational tenets of the Jesuits, which Bacon so highly recommends, especially their *primum mobile*, the principle of emulation. Much might be urged also against some of the features of seminaries and colleges. His advocacy of theatrical representations in schools is, singularly enough, supported by the above example from Tacitus; which, more nearly considered, is truly hideous, an example of a stage-player, who, in the reign of Tiberius, with the aid of surpassing eloquence, palmed off upon the Pannonian legions a wholesale lie, and so instigated them to a rebellion against their general. But he forgot to add, that Drusus most fitly recompensed the ill-omened orator for his all too potent speech with the loss of his head. Why did not Bacon, keen as he ordinarily proved himself in argument, rather use this example to condemn theatrical representations in schools, inasmuch as these representations very often pass from a mimic jest into a too serious familiarity with lies and deceit?

Meanwhile some of his views in the passage above quoted, as, against over hasty methods of imparting instruction, in favor of a judicious interchange between the easier and the more difficult branches of learning, and the like, are timely and encouraging.

But, though these doctrines insure their own reception, we ought not too hastily to conclude that Bacon's highest claims in the cause of education are based upon them. These claims proceed much rather from the fact, which I can not too often repeat, that he was the first to break out of the beaten track, and to address scholars, who lived and moved in the languages and writings of antiquity, yea, who

were mostly echoes of the old Greeks and Romans, and who had no higher ambition than to be so,—to address them in such language as the following: "Be not wrapped up in the past, there is an actual present lying all about you; look up and behold it in its grandeur. Turn away from the broken cisterns of traditional science, and quaff the pure waters that flow sparkling and fresh forever from the unfathomable fountain of the creation. Go to nature and listen to her many voices, consider her ways and learn her doings; so shall you bend her to your will. For knowledge is power."

These doctrines have exerted an incalculable influence, especially in England, where theoretical and practical natural philosophy are, in the manner indicated by Bacon, united, and where this union has been marvelously fruitful of results. Their influence, moreover, may be traced, at quite an early period, in the department of education. The first teacher who imbibed the views of Bacon was, most probably, Ratich. But we have the distinct acknowledgment from that most eminent of the teachers of the seventeenth century, Comenius, of his indebtedness to Bacon. In the year 1633, he brought out a work upon natural philosophy; and, in the preface to this work, he adverted to his own obligations to Bacon. He here called the "*Instauratio Magna*" "a most admirable book. I regard it as the most brilliant of the philosophical works of the present century. I am disappointed, however, that the keen-eyed Verulam, after furnishing us with the true key to nature, has not himself opened her mysteries, but has only showed us by a few examples how they may be opened, and so left the task to future generations." In another paragraph he says: "Do not we, as well as the ancients, live in the garden of nature? Why then should not we, as well as they, use our eyes and our ears? Why must we learn the works of nature from any other teachers than these, our senses? Why, I ask, shall we not throw aside our dead books, and read in that living volume around us, in which vastly more is contained than it is possible for any man to record; especially too that the pleasure and the profit to come from its perusal are both so much the greater? In experience too, we are so many centuries in advance of Aristotle."

With this eminent example of Bacon's influence in the department of instruction, I shall close. Were I to cite additional instances, I should be compelled to anticipate much of the following history. In this the connection of our modern realists, their schools of industry, polytechnic schools, and the like, with the doctrines of Bacon, will be so abundantly and so repeatedly demonstrated, as to justify me in styling him the founder and originator of modern realism, and of realistic principles of instruction.

To this admirable exposition of Lord Bacon's contribution to the science of education, in his inductive method of investigating nature, we append, from the "*Essays Civil and Moral*," Essay XXXIX, entitled "*Of Custom and Education*," with explanatory notes and annotations, by Archbishop Whately, contained in the edition lately (1858,) issued by C. S. Francis & Co., New York.

ESSAY XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after[1] as[2] they have been accustomed: and therefore, as Machiavel well noteth (though in an evil-favored instance,) there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate[3] by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings, but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood: but Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not[4] so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary[5] resolution is made equipollent to custom, even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is every where visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men,) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpse of their husbands. The lads of Sparta,[6] of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as quecking.[7] I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put

1. After. *According to.* "That ye seek not *after* your own heart."—*Num.*, xv: 39. "He who was of the bondwoman was born *after* the flesh."—*Gal.*, iv: 23. "Deal not with us *after* our sins"—*Litany.*

2. As. *That.* See page 23.

3. Corroborate. *Corroborated; strengthened; made firm.*

"His heart is *corroborate.*"—*Shakespeare.*

4. Nor—Are not. This double negative is used frequently by old writers.

"*Nor* to no Roman else."—*Shakespeare.*

"Another sort there be, that will
Be talking of the fairies still,
Nor never can they have their fill."—*Drayton.*

5. Votary. *Consecrated by a vow.*

6. Cic. *Tuscul. Dial.*, ii: 14.

7. Quech (properly quich.) *To move; to stir.*

"Underre her feet, there as she sate,
An huge great lyon laye, that mote appalle
An hardy courage; like captived thrall
With a strong iron chain and collar bounde—
Not once he could nor move nor *quich.*"—*Spenser.*

up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe,[1] and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice.

Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body; therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavor to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see in languages, the tone is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth, than afterward; for it is true, the late learners can not so well take up the ply, except it be in some minds, that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare; but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate, and conjoined, and collegiate, is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth,[2] emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his[3] exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication[4] of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds: but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

ANNOTATIONS.

"*Men's thoughts are much according to their inclinations: their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions, but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed.*"

This remark, like many others, Bacon has condensed in Latin into the very brief and pithy apophthegm which I have given in the "*Antitheta on Nature in Men.*" "Cogitamus secundum naturam; loquimur secundum præcepta; sed agimus secundum consuetudinem." Of course, Bacon did not mean his words to be taken literally in their utmost extent, and without any exception or modification; as if natural disposition and instruction had nothing to do with conduct. And, of course, he could not mean any thing so self-contradictory as to say that *all* action is the result of custom: for it is plain that, in the first instance, it must be *by* actions that a custom is formed.

But he uses a strong expression, in order to impress it on our mind that, for practice, custom is the most essential thing, and that it will often overbear both the original disposition, and the precepts which have been learnt: that whatever a man may inwardly think, and (with perfect sincerity) say, you can not fully depend on his conduct till you know how he has been *accustomed* to act. For, continued

1. Withs. *Twigs, or bands of twigs* "If they bind me with seven green *withs*, then shall I be weak."—*Judges*, xvi: 7

2. Comfort. *To strengthen as an auxiliary; to help.* (The meaning of the original Latin word, *Conforto.*) "Now we exhort you brethren, *comfort* the feeble-minded."—1 *Thess.*, v: 14.

3. His. *Its.* "But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed *his* own body."—1 *Cor.*, xv: 38.

4. Multiplication upon. "Increase and *multiply upon* us thy mercy."—*Collect for the 4th Sunday after Trinity.*

action is like a continued stream of water, which *wears* for itself a *channel*, that it will not easily be turned from. The bed which the current had gradually scooped at first, afterward confines it.

Bacon is far from meaning, I conceive, when he says that "men speak as they have learned," to limit himself to the case of *insincere* professions; but to point out how much easier it is to learn to repeat a lesson correctly, than to bring it into practice, when custom is opposed to it.

This is the doctrine of one whom Bacon did not certainly regard with any undue veneration—Aristotle; who, in his "*Ethics*," dwells earnestly on the importance of being early accustomed to right practice, with a view to the formation of virtuous habits. And he derives the word "ethics" from a Greek word signifying custom; even as the word "morality" is derived from the corresponding Latin word "mos."

It is to be observed that, at the present day, it is common to use the words "custom" and "habit" as synonymous; and often to employ the latter where Bacon would have used the former. But, strictly speaking, they denote respectively the *cause* and the effect. Repeated acts constitute the "custom;" and the "habit" is the condition of mind or body thence resulting. For instance, a man who has been *accustomed* to rise at a certain hour, will have acquired the *habit* of waking and being ready to rise as soon as that hour arrives. And one who has made it his *custom* to drink drams, will have fallen into the *habit* of craving for that stimulus, and of yielding to that craving; and so of the rest.

Those are, then, in error who disparage (as Mrs. Hannah More does) all practice that does not spring from a formed habit. For instance, they censure those who employ children as almoners, handing them money or other things to relieve the poor with. For, say they, no one can *give* what is not his own; there is no charity, unless you part with something that you might have kept, and which it is a self-denial to part with. The answer is, that if the child does this readily and gladly, he has *already learnt* the virtue of charity; but if it is a *painful* self-denial which you urge him to, as a duty, you are creating an association of charity with pain. On the contrary, if you accustom him to the pleasure of seeing distress relieved, and of being the instrument of giving pleasure, and doing good, the desire of this gratification will lead him, afterward, to part with something of his own, rather than forego it. Thus it is—to use Horace's comparison—that the young hound is trained for the chase in the woods, from the time that he barks at the deer-skin in the hall.[1]

The precept is very good, to begin with swimming with corks.

There is an error somewhat akin to the one I have been combating, which may be worth noticing here. Declamations are current in the present day against the iniquity of giving a bias to the minds of young persons, by teaching them our own interpretation of the Sacred Volume, instead of leaving them to investigate for themselves; that is, against endeavoring to place them in the same situation with those to whom those very Scriptures were written; instead of leaving them to struggle with difficulties which the Scriptures nowhere contemplate or provide against. The maintainers of such a principle would do well to consider, whether it would not, if consistently pursued, prove too much. Do you not, it might be asked, bias the minds of children, by putting into their hands the Scriptures them-

1. . . . . "Venaticus, ex quo
Tempore cervinam pellam latravit in aula,
Militat in silvis catulus."—Book *Horace*, i. ep. 2, l. 65.

selves, as the infallible word of God? If you are convinced that they are so, you must be sure that they will stand the test of unprejudiced inquiry. Are you not, at least, bound in fairness to teach them, at the same time, the systems of ancient mythology, the doctrines of the Koran, and those of modern philosophers, that they may freely choose amongst all? Let any one who is disposed to deride the absurdity of such a proposal consider whether there is any objection to it, which would not equally lie against the exclusion of systematic religious instruction, or, indeed, systematic training in any science or art. It is urged, however, that since a man must *wish* to find the system true in which he has been *trained*, his judgment must be unduly biased by that wish. It would follow, from this principle, that no physician should be trusted, who is not utterly indifferent whether his patient recovers or dies, and who is not wholly free from any favorable hope from the mode of treatment pursued; since, else his mind must be unfairly influenced by his wishes!

"*The predominancy of custom is every where visible; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before; as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom.*"

This "predominancy of custom" is remarkably exemplified in the case of soldiers who have long been habituated to obey, as if by a mechanical impulse, the word of command.

It happened, in the case of a contemplated insurrection in a certain part of the British Empire, that the plotters of it sought to tamper with the soldiers who were likely to be called out against them; and, for this purpose, frequented the public houses to which the soldiers resorted, and drew them into conversation. Reports of these attempts reached the officers; who, however, found that so little impression was made, that they did not think it needful to take any notice of them. On one occasion it appeared that a sergeant of a Scotch regiment was so far talked over as to feel and express great sympathy with the agitators, on account of their alledged grievances, as laid before him by the seducer. "Weel, now, I did na ken that; indeed, that seems unco hard; I can na wonder that ye should complain o' that," &c., &c.

The other, seeking to follow up his blow, then said: "I suppose now such honest fellows as you, if you were to be called out against us, when we were driven to rise in a good cause, would never have the heart to *fire* on poor fellows who were only seeking liberty and justice." The sergeant replied (just as he was reaching down his cap and belt, to return to barracks,) "*I'd just na advise ye to try!*"

He felt conscious—misled as he had been respecting the justice of the cause—that, whatever might be his private opinions and inward feelings, if the word of command were given to "make ready, present, fire," he should instinctively obey it.

And this is very much the case with any one who has been long drilled in the ranks of a *party*. Whatever may be his natural disposition—whatever may be the judgment his unbiased understanding dictates on any point—whatever he may inwardly feel, and may (with perfect sincerity) have said—when you come to action, it is likely that the habit of going along with his party will prevail. And the more *general and indefinite* the purpose for which the party, or society (or by whatever name it may be called) is framed, and the less *distinctly specified* are its objects, the more will its members be, usually, under the control and direction of its leaders.

I was once conversing with an intelligent and liberal-minded man, who was expressing his strong disapprobation of some late decisions and proceedings of the leading persons of the society he belonged to, and assuring me that the greater part of the subordinates regarded them as wrong and unjustifiable. "But," said I, "they will nevertheless, I suppose, *comply*, and act as they are required?" "Oh, yes, they *must* do that!"

Of course, there are many various *degrees* of partisanship, as there are also different degrees of custom in all other things; and it is not meant that all who are in any degree connected with any party must be equally devoted adherents of it. But I am speaking of the tendency of party-spirit, and describing a party-man *so far forth* as he is such. And persons of much experience in human affairs lay it down accordingly as a maxim, that you should be very cautious how you fully *trust* a party-man, however sound his own judgment, and however pure the principles on which he acts, when left to himself. A sensible and upright man, who keeps himself quite unconnected with party, may be *calculated* on as likely to *act* on the views which you have found him to take on each point. In some things, perhaps, you find him to differ from you; in others to agree; but when you have learnt what his sentiments are, you know in each case what to *expect*. But it is not so with one who is connected with, and consequently controlled by, a party. In proportion as he is so, he is not fully his own master; and in some instances you will probably find him take you quite by surprise, by assenting to some course quite at variance with the sentiments which you have heard him express—probably with perfect sincerity—as his own. When it comes to action, a formed habit of following the party will be likely to prevail over every thing. At least, "*I'd just na advise ye to try!*"

It is important to keep in mind that—as is evident from what has been said just above—habits are formed, not at one stroke, but gradually and insensibly; so that, unless vigilant care be employed, a great change may come over the character, without our being conscious of any. For, as Dr. Johnson has well expressed it, "The diminutive chains of habit are seldom heavy enough to be felt, till they are too strong to be broken."

And this is often strongly exemplified in the case just adverted to—that of party-spirit. It is not often that a man, all at once, resolves to join himself to a party; but he is drawn in by little and little. Party is like one of those perilous whirlpools sometimes met with at sea. When a vessel reaches the outer edge of one of them, the current moves so slowly, and with so little of a curve, that the mariners may be unconscious of moving in any curve at all, or even of any motion whatever. But each circuit of the spiral increases the velocity, and gradually increases the curve, and brings the vessel nearer to the center. And perhaps this rapid motion, and the direction of it, are for the first time perceived, when the force of the current has become irresistible.

"It is true that a man *may*, if he will, withdraw from, and disown, a party which he had formerly belonged to. But this is a step which requires no small degree of moral courage. And not only are we strongly tempted to shrink from taking such a step, but also our dread of doing so is likely rather to mislead our reason than to overpower it. A man will *wish* to think it justifiable to adhere to the party; and this wish is likely to bias his judgment, rather than to prevail on him to act contrary to his judgment. For, we know how much the judgment of men is likely to be *biased*, as well as how much they are tempted to acquiesce in something *against* their judgment, when earnestly pressed by the majority of

those who are acting with them—whom they look up to—whose approbation encourages them—and whose censure they can not but dread.

"Some doctrine, suppose, is promulgated, or measure proposed, or mode of procedure commenced, which some members of a party do not, in their unbiased judgment, approve. But any one of them is disposed, first to *wish*, then to *hope*, and lastly to *believe*, that those are in the right whom he would be sorry to think wrong. And again, in any case where his judgment may still be unchanged, he may feel that it is but a *small* concession he is called on to make, and that there are *great* benefits to set against it; and that, after all, he is perhaps called on merely to *acquiesce silently* in what he does not quite approve; and he is loth to incur censure, as lukewarm in the good cause—as presumptuous—as unfriendly toward those who are acting with him. To be "a breaker up of the Club" (ἑταιριας διαλυτης) was a reproach, the dread of which, we learn from the great historian of Greece, carried much weight with it in the transactions of the party warfare he is describing. And we may expect the like in all similar cases.

"One may sometimes hear a person say, in so many words—though far oftener in his conduct—'It is true, I do not altogether approve of such and such a step; but it is insisted on as essential, by those who are acting with us; and if we were to hold out against it, we should lose their co-operation; which would be a most serious evil. There is nothing to be done, therefore, but to comply.'"

"*Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom.*"

Education may be compared to the grafting of a tree. Every gardener knows that the *younger* the wilding-stock is that is to be grafted, the easier and the more effectual is the operation; because, then, one scion put on just above the root, will become the main stem of the tree, and all the branches it puts forth will be of the right sort. When, on the other hand, a tree is to be grafted at a considerable age (which may be very successfully done,) you have to put on twenty or thirty grafts on the several branches; and afterward you will have to be watching from time to time for the wilding-shoots, which the stock will be putting forth, and prunning them off. And even so one, whose character is to be *reformed* at mature age, will find it necessary, not merely to implant a right principle once for all, but also to bestow a distinct attention on the correction of this, that, and the other bad habit.

It is wonderful that so many persons should confound together being accustomed to certain *objects*, and accustomed to a certain mode of *acting*. Aristotle, on the contrary, justly remarks that opposite habits are formed by means of the same things (εκ των αυτων, και δια των αυτων,) treated in opposite ways; as, for instance, humanity and inhumanity—by being accustomed to the view of suffering, with and without the effort to relieve it. Of two persons who have been accustomed to the sight of much human misery, one, who has been used to pass it by without any effort to relieve it, will become careless and hardened to such spectacles; while another, who has been in the practice of *relieving* sufferers, will acquire a strong habit of endeavoring to afford relief. These two persons will both have been accustomed to the same *objects*, but will have acquired opposite *habits*, from being accustomed to *act* in opposite ways.

Suppose that there is in your neighborhood a loud bell, that is rung very early every morning, to call the laborers in some great manufactory. At first, and for some time, your rest will be broken by it; but, if you accustom yourself to lie still, and try to compose yourself, you will become, in a few days, so *used*

to it, that it will not even wake you. But any one who makes a point of rising immediately at the call, will become so *used to it* in the *opposite* way, that the sound will never fail to rouse him from the deepest sleep. Both will have been accustomed to the same bell, but will have formed opposite habits from their contrary modes of action.

But it must not be forgotten that education resembles the grafting of a tree in this point, also, that there must be some affinity between the stock and the graft, though a very important practical difference may exist; for example, between a worthless crab, and a fine apple. Even so, the new nature, as it may be called, superinduced by education, must always retain some relation to the original one, though differing in most important points. You can not, by any kind of artificial training, make *any* thing of *any* one, and obliterate all trace of the natural character. Those who hold that this *is* possible, and attempt to effect it, resemble Virgil, who (whether in ignorance or, as some think, by way of "poetical license,") talks of grafting an oak on an elm: "glandesque sues fregere sub ulmis."

One of Dr. Johnson's paradoxes, more popular in his time than now, but far from being now exploded, was, that a given amount of ability may be turned in any direction, "even as a man may walk this way or that." And so he can; because walking is the action for which the legs are fitted; but, though he may use his eyes for looking at this object or that, he can not hear with his eyes, or see with his ears. And the eyes and ears are not more different than, for instance, the poetical faculty, and the mathematical. "Oh, but if Milton had turned his *mind* to mathematics, and if Newton had turned his mind to poetry; the former might have been the great mathematician, and the latter the great poet." This is open to the proverbial reply, "If my aunt had been a man, she would have been my uncle." For, the supposition implied in these *ifs* is, that Milton and Newton should have been quite different characters from what they were.

"*. . . Minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare.*"

And as admirable as it is rare. Such minds may indeed print their opinions, but do not stereotype them. Nor does the self-distrust, the perpetual care, the diligent watchfulness, the openness to conviction, the exercise of which is implied in Bacon's description, necessarily involve a state of painful and unceasing doubt. For, in proportion as a man is watchfully and prayerfully on his guard against the unseen current of passions and predjudices, which is ever tending to drive him out of the right course, in the same degree he will have reason for cherishing an humble hope that He, the Spirit of Truth, is, and will be, with him, to enlighten his understanding, to guide his conduct, and to lead him onward to that state in which Faith shall be succeeded by sight, and hope by enjoyment.

"*The force of custom, copulate, and conjoined, and collegiate, is far greater.*"

For this reason it is, that what is said or done by very inferior persons, is the best sign of what is *commonly* said or done in the place and time in which they live. A man of resolute character, and of an original turn of thought, being more likely to resist this force of "copulate and collegiate custom," does not furnish so good a sign of what are the *prevailing* opinions and customs. Hence the proverb:—

"A straw best shows
How the wind blows."

A bar of heavy metal would not be perceptibly influenced by the wind.

I wish I could feel justified in concluding this head without saying any thing of Bacon's own character; without holding him up as himself a lamentable example of practice at variance with good sentiments, and sound judgment, and right precepts. He thought well, and he spoke well; but he had *accustomed* himself to act very far from well. And justice requires that he should be held up as a warning beacon to teach all men an important lesson; to afford them a sad proof that no intellectual power—no extent of learning—not even the most pure and exalted moral sentiments, confined to theory, will supply the want of a diligent and watchful conformity in practice to christian principle. All the attempts that have been made to vindicate or palliate Bacon's moral conduct, tend only to lower, and to lower very much, the standard of virtue. He appears but too plainly to have been worldly, ambitious, covetous, base, selfish, and unscrupulous.[1] And it is remarkable that the Mammon which he served proved but a faithless master in the end. He reached the highest pinnacle, indeed, to which his ambition had aimed; but he died impoverished, degraded, despised, and broken-hearted. His example, therefore, is far from being at all seductive.

But let no one, thereupon, undervalue or neglect the lessons of wisdom which his writings may supply, and which we may, through divine grace, turn to better account than he did himself. It would be absurd to infer that, because Bacon was a great philosopher, and far from a good man, therefore you will be the better man for keeping clear of his philosophy. His intellectual superiority was no more the cause of his moral failures, than Solomon's wisdom was of his. You may be as faulty a character as either of them was, without possessing a particle of their wisdom, and without seeking to gain instruction from it. The intellectual light which they enjoyed did not, indeed, keep them in the right path; but you will not be the more likely to walk in it, if you quench any light that is afforded you.

The Canaanites of old, we should remember, dwelt in "a good land, flowing with milk and honey," though they worshiped not the true God, but served abominable demons, with sacrifices of the produce of their soil, and even with the blood of their children. But the Israelites were invited to go in, and take possession of "well-stored houses that they builded not, and wells which they digged not;" and they "took the labors of the people in possession:" only, they were warned to beware, lest, in their prosperity and wealth, they should "forget the Lord their God," and to offer to Him the first fruits of their land.

Neglect not, then, any of the advantages of intellectual cultivation, which God's providence has placed within your reach; nor "think scorn of that pleasant land," and prefer wandering by choice in the barren wilderness of ignorance; but let the intellect, which God has endowed you with, be cultivated as a servant to *Him*, and then it will be, not a master, but an useful servant, to *you*.

1. This censure of Bacon has actually been complained of as undeserved; not on the ground that his *conduct* was any better than it is but too well known to have been, but on the ground that his *writings* contain excellent views of Gospel truth!

This is exactly the doctrine of the ancient Gnostics; who held that their (so-called) *knowledge* [Gnosis] of the Gospel would save them, though leading a vicious life.

But, when instances of such teaching in our own days are adduced (as unhappily may be done to a great extent,) some persons—including some who are themselves of blameless life—resolutely shut their ears to evidence, and will not be brought to perceive, or at least to acknowledge, that any such thing as Gnosticism exists among us, or that we are in danger of antinomian doctrine.

So strong is the force of party!

LORD BACON AND ARCHBISHOP WHATELY ON STUDIES.

BACON'S ESSAY L. OF STUDIES.

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness,[1] and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business; for, expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshaling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make[2] judgment wholly by their rules, is the humor of a scholar; they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience—for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them, for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously;[3] and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would[4] be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that[5] he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtle; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend: 'Abeunt studia in mores'[6]—nay, there is no stond[7] or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought[8]

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1 Privateness. *Privacy.* 2 Make. *Give.*

3 Curiously. *Attentively.* "At first I thought there had been no light reflected from the water. but observing it more *curiously*, I saw within it several spots which appeared darker than the rest."—*Sir Isaac Newton.*

4 Would. *Should.* 5 That. *What.*

6 "Manners are influenced by studies." 7 Stond. *Hindrances.*

8 Wrought. *Worked.* "Who, through faith, *wrought* righteousness."—*Heb.* xi 33.

"How great is Thy goodness, which Thou hast *wrought* for them that trust in Thee!"—*Psalm* xxxi. 19.

out by fit studies, like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises—bowling is good for the stone and reins,[1] shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like; so, if a man's wits be wandering, let him study the mathematics, for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences,[2] let him study the schoolmen, for they are 'cymini sectores;'[3] if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases—so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

ANTITHETA ON STUDIES.

PRO.	CONTRA.
"Lectio est conversatio cum prudentibus; actio fere cum stultis."	"Quæ unquam ars docuit tempestivum artis usum?"
"*In reading, we hold converse with the wise; in the business of life, generally with the foolish.*"	"*What art has ever taught us the suitable use of an art?*"
"Non inutiles scientiæ existimandæ sunt, quarum in se nullus est usus, si ingenia acuant, et ordinent."	"Artis sæpissime ineptus usus est, ne sit nullus."
"*We should not consider even those sciences which have no actual practical application in themselves, as without value, if they sharpen and train the intellect.*"	"*A branch of knowledge is often put to an improper use, for fear of its being idle.*"

ANNOTATIONS BY ARCHBISHOP WHATELY.

"*Crafty men contemn studies.*"

This contempt, whether of crafty men or narrow-minded men, often finds its expression in the word "smattering;" and the couplet is become almost a proverb—

> "A little learning is a dangerous thing;
> Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

But the poet's remedies for the dangers of a little learning are both of them impossible. None can "drink deep" enough to be, in truth, anything more than very superficial; and every human being, that is not a downright idiot, must *taste*.

It is plainly impossible that any man should acquire a knowledge of all that is to be known, on *all* subjects. But is it then meant that, on each particular subject on which he does learn anything at all, he should be perfectly well informed? Here it may fairly be asked, what is the "well?"—how much knowledge is to be called "little" or "much?" For, in many departments, the very utmost that had been acquired by the greatest proficients, a century and a half back, falls short of what is familiar to many a boarding-school miss now. And it is likely that our posterity, a century and a half hence, will in many things be just as much

1 Reins. *Kidneys; inward parts.* "Whom I shall see for myself, though my *reins* be consumed within me."—*Job* xix. 27.

2 Differences. *Distinctions.*

3 "Splitters of cummin." Vid. *A. L.* I. vii 7.

in advance of us. And in most subjects, the utmost knowledge that any man can attain to, is but "a little learning" in comparison of what he remains ignorant of. The view resembles that of an American forest, in which, the more trees a man cuts down, the greater is the expanse of wood he sees around him.

But supposing you define the "much" and the "little" with reference to the existing state of knowledge in the present age and country, would any one seriously advise that those who are not proficients in astronomy should remain ignorant whether the earth moves or the sun?—that unless you are complete master of agriculture, as far as it is at present understood, there is no good in your knowing wheat from barley?—that unless you are such a Grecian as Porson, you had better not learn to construe the Greek Testament?

The other recommendation of the poet, "taste not"—that is to say, have no learning—is equally impossible. The truth is, every body has, and every body ought to have, a slight and superficial knowledge—a "smattering," if you will—of more subjects than it is possible for the most diligent student to acquire thoroughly. It is very possible, and also very useful, to have that slight smattering of chemistry which will enable one to distinguish from the salts used in medicine, the oxalic acid, with which, through mistake, several persons have been poisoned. Again, without being an eminent botanist, a person may know—what it is most important to know—the difference between cherries and the berries of the deadly nightshade; the want of which knowledge has cost many lives.

Again, there is no one, even of those who are not profound politicians, who is not aware that we have Rulers; and is it not proper that he should understand that government is necessary to preserve our lives and property? Is he likely to be a worse subject for knowing that? That depends very much on the kind of government you wish to establish. If you wish to establish an unjust and despotic government—or, if you wish to set up a false religion—then it would be advisable to avoid the danger of enlightening the people. But if you wish to maintain a good government, the more the people understand the advantages of such a government, the more they will respect it; and the more they know of true religion, the more they will value it.

There is nothing more general among uneducated people than a disposition to socialism, and yet nothing more injurious to their own welfare. An equalization of wages would be most injurious to themselves, for it would, at once, destroy all emulation. All motives for the acquisition of skill, and for superior industry, would be removed. Now, it is but a *little* knowledge of political economy that is needed for the removal of this error; but that little is highly useful.

Again, every one knows, no matter how ignorant of medicine, that there is such a thing as disease. But as an instance of the impossibility of the "taste not" recommendation of the poet, a fact may be mentioned, which perhaps is known to most. When the cholera broke out in Poland, the peasantry of that country took it into their heads that the nobles were poisoning them in order to clear the country of them; they believed the rich to be the authors of that terrible disease; and the consequence was that the peasantry rose in masses, broke into the houses of the nobility, and finding some chloride of lime, which had been used for the purpose of disinfecting, they took it for the poison which had caused the disease; and they murdered them. Now, that was the sort of "little learning" which was very dangerous.

Again we can not prevent people from believing that there is some superhuman

Being who has regard to human affairs. Some clowns in the Weald of Kent, who had been kept as much as possible on the "taste not" system,—left in a state of gross ignorance,—yet believed that the Deity did impart special powers to certain men; and that belief, coupled with excessive stupidity, led them to take an insane fanatic for a prophet. In this case, this "little learning" actually caused an insurrection in his favor, in order to make him king, priest and prophet of the British empire; and many lives were sacrificed before this insane insurrection was put down. If a "little learning" is a "dangerous thing," you will have to keep people in a perfect state of idiotcy in order to avoid that danger. I would, therefore, say that both the recommendations of the poet are impracticable.

The question arises, what are we to do? Simply to impress upon ourselves and upon all people the importance of laboring in that much neglected branch of human knowledge—the knowledge of our own ignorance;—and of remembering that it is by a confession of real ignorance that real knowledge must be gained. But even when that further knowledge is not attained, still even the knowledge of the ignorance is a great thing in itself; so great, it seems, as to constitute Socrates the wisest of his time.

Some of the chief sources of *unknown* ignorance may be worth noticing here. They are to be found in our not being aware: 1. How inadequate a medium language is for conveying thought. 2. How inadequate our very minds are for the comprehension of many things. 3. How little we need understand a word which may yet be familiar to us, and which we may use in reasoning. This piece of ignorance is closely connected with the two foregoing. (Hence, frequently, men will accept as an explanation of a phenomenon, a mere statement of the difficulty in other words.) 4. How utterly ignorant we are of efficient causes; and how the philosopher who refers to the law of gravitation the falling of a stone to the earth, no further explains the phenomenon than the peasant, who would say it is the nature of it. The philosopher knows that the stone obeys the *same* law to which all *other* bodies are subject, and to which, for convenience, he gives the name of gravitation. His knowledge is only more *general* than the peasant's; which, however, is a vast advantage. 5. How many words there are that express, not the nature of the thing they are applied to, but the manner in which they *affect us;* and which, therefore, give about as correct a notion of those things, as the word "crooked" would, if applied to a stick half immersed in water. (Such is the word *Chance*, with all its family.) 6. How many causes may, and usually do, conduce to the same effect. 7. How liable the faculties, even of the ablest, are to occasional failure; so that they shall overlook mistakes (and those often the most at variance with their own established notions) which, *when once exposed*, seem quite gross even to inferior men. 8. How much all are biassed, in all their moral reasonings, by self-love, or perhaps, rather, partially to *human nature*, and other passions. 9. Dugald Stewart would add very justly, How little we know of *matter;* no more indeed than of mind; though all are prone to attempt explaining the phenomena of mind by those of matter: for, what is *familiar* men generally consider as *well known*, though the fact is oftener otherwise.

The errors arising from these causes, and from not calculating on them,—that is, in short, from ignorance of our own ignorance, have probably impeded philosophy more than all other obstacles put together.

Certain it is, that only by this ignorance of our ignorance can "a little learning"

become "a dangerous thing." The dangers of knowledge are not to be compared with the dangers of ignorance. A man is more likely to miss his way in darkness than in *twilight:* in twilight than in full sun. And those contemners of studies who say (with Mandeville, in his *Treatise against Charity-schools*) "If a horse knew as much as a man, I should not like to be his rider," ought to add, "If a man knew as little as a horse, I should not like to trust him to ride." It is indeed possible to educate the children of the poor so as to disqualify them for an humble and laborious station in life; but this mistake does not so much consist in the *amount* of the knowledge imparted, as in the *kind* and the *manner* of education. Habits early engrafted on children, of regular attention,—of steady application to what they are about,—of prompt obedience to the directions they receive,—of cleanliness, order, and decent and modest behavior, can not but be of advantage to them in after life, whatever their station may be. And certainly, their familiar acquaintance with the precepts and example of Him who, when all stations of life were at his command, chose to be the reputed son of a poor mechanic, and to live with peasants and fishermen; or, again, of his apostle Paul, whose own hands "ministered to his necessities," and to those of his companions:—such studies, I say, can surely never tend to unfit any one for a life of humble and contented industry.

What, then, is the "smattering"—the imperfect and superficial knowledge—that really does deserve contempt? A slight and superficial knowledge is justly condemned, when it is put in the place of more full and exact knowledge. Such an acquaintance with chemistry and anatomy, *e. g.* as would be creditable, and not useless, to a lawyer, would be contemptible for a physician; and such an acquaintance with law as would be desirable for him, would be a most discreditable smattering for a lawyer.

It is to be observed that the word smattering is applied to two different kinds of scanty knowledge—the *rudimentary* and the *superficial;* though it seems the more strictly to belong to the latter. Now, as it is evident that no one can learn all things perfectly, it seems best for a man to make some pursuit his main object, according to, first, his *calling;* secondly, his *natural bent;* or thirdly, his *opportunities:* then, let him get a slight knowledge of what else is worth it, regulated in his choice by the same three circumstances; which should also determine, in great measure, where an elementary and where a superficial knowledge is desirable. Such as are of the most dignified and philosophical nature are most proper for elementary study; and such as we are the most likely to be called upon to practice for ourselves, the most proper for superficial; *e. g.*, it would be to most men of no practical use, and, consequently, not worth while, to learn by heart the meaning of some of the Chinese characters; but it might be very well worth while to study the principles on which that most singular language is constructed; *contra*, there is nothing very curious or interesting in the structure of the Portuguese language; but if one were going to travel in Portugal, it would be worth while to pick up some words and phrases. If both circumstances conspire, then, both kinds of information are to be sought for; and such things should be learned a little at *both ends;* that is, to understand the elementary and fundamental *principles*, and also to know some of the most remarkable *results*—a little of the rudiments, and a little of what is most called for in practice. *E. g.*, a man who has not made any of the physical or mathematical sciences his favorite pursuit, ought yet to know the principles of geometrical reasoning, and the elements of

mechanics; and also to know, by rote, something of the magnitude, distances, and motions of the heavenly bodies, though without having gone over the intermediate course of scientific demonstration.

Grammar, logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics, [or the philosophy of mind,] are manifestly studies of an *elementary* nature, being concerned about the instruments which we employ in effecting our purposes; and ethics, which is, in fact, a branch of metaphysics, may be called the elements of conduct. Such knowledge is far from showy. Elements do not much come into sight; they are like that part of a bridge which is under water, and is therefore least admired, though it is not the work of least art and difficulty. On this ground it is suitable to females, as least leading to that pedantry which learned ladies must ever be peculiarly liable to, as well as least exciting that jealousy to which they must ever be exposed, while learning in them continues to be a *distinction.* A woman might, in this way, be very learned without any one's finding it out.

"*Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.*"

It would have been well if Bacon had added some hints as to the *mode* of study: *how* books are to be chewed, and swallowed, and digested. For, besides inattentive readers, who measure their proficiency by the pages they have gone over, it is quite possible, and not uncommon, to read most laboriously, even so as to get by heart the words of a book, without really *studying* it at all; that is, without employing the *thoughts* on the *subject.*

In particular, there is, in reference to Scripture,[1] "a habit cherished by some persons, of reading—assiduously, indeed—but without any attentive reflection and studious endeavor to ascertain the real sense of what they read—concluding that whatever impression is found to be left on the mind after a bare perusal of the words, must be what the sacred writers designed. They use, in short, little or none of that care which is employed on any other subject in which we are much interested, to read through each treatise consecutively as a whole,—to compare one passage with others that may throw light on it, and to consider what was the general drift of the author, and what were the occasions, and the persons he had in view.

"In fact, the real *students* of Scripture, properly so called, are, I fear, fewer than is commonly supposed. The theological student is often a student chiefly of some human system of divinity, fortified by *references* to Scripture, introduced from time to time as there is occasion. He proceeds—often unconsciously—by setting himself to ascertain, not what is the information or instruction to be derived from a certain narrative or discourse of one of the sacred writers, but what aid can be derived from them towards establishing or refuting this or that point of dogmatic theology. Such a mode of study surely ought at least not to be exclusively pursued. At any rate, it can not properly be called a *study of Scripture.*

"There is, in fact, a danger of its proving a great *hindrance* to the profitable study of Scripture; for so strong an association is apt to be established in the mind between certain expressions, and the *technical* sense to which they have been confined in some theological system, that when the student meets with them

1 See *Essays on the Difficulties of St. Paul's Epistles.* Essay X. page 233.

in Scripture, he at once understands them in that sense, in passages where perhaps an unbiassed examination of the context would plainly show that such was not the author's meaning. And such a student one may often find expressing the most unfeigned wonder at the blindness of those who can not find in Scripture such and such doctrines, which appear to him to be as clearly set forth there as words can express; which perhaps they are, on the (often gratuitous) *supposition* that those words are everywhere to be understood exactly in the sense which he has previously derived from some human system,—a system through which, as through a discolored medium, he views Scripture. But this is not to take Scripture for one's guide, but rather to make one's self *a guide* to Scripture.

"Others, again, there are, who are habitual readers of the Bible, and perhaps of little else, but who yet can not properly be said to *study* anything at all on the subject of religion, because, as was observed just above, they do not even attempt to exercise their mind on the subject, but trust to be sufficiently enlightened and guided by the mere act of perusal, while their minds remain in a passive state. And some, I believe, proceed thus on principle, considering that they are the better recipients of revealed truth the less they exercise their own reason.

"But this is to proceed on a totally mistaken view of the real province of reason. It would, indeed, be a great error to attempt *substituting* for revelation conjectures framed in our own mind, or to speculate on matters concerning which we have an imperfect knowledge imparted to us by revelation, and could have had, without it, none at all. But this would be, not to use, but to abuse, our rational faculties. By the use of our senses, which are as much the gift of the Creator as anything else we enjoy,—and by employing our reason on the objects around us, we can obtain a certain amount of valuable knowledge. And beyond this, there are certain other points of knowledge unattainable by these faculties, and which God has thought fit to impart to us by his inspired messengers. But *both* the volumes—that of Nature and that of Revelation—which He has thought good to lay before us, are to be carefully studied. On both of them we must diligently employ the faculties with which He, the Author of both, has endued us, if we would derive full benefit from his gifts.

"The telescope, we know, brings within the sphere of our own vision much that would be undiscernible by the naked eye; but we must not the less employ our eyes in making use of it; and we must watch and calculate the motions, and reason on the appearances, of the heavenly bodies, which are visible only through the telescope, with the same care we employ in respect of those seen by the naked eye.

"And an analogous procedure is requisite if we would derive the intended benefit from the pages of inspiration, which were designed not to save us the trouble of inquiring and reflecting, but to enable us, on some points, to inquire and reflect to better purpose,—not to supersede the use of our reason, but to supply its deficiencies."

Although, however, it is quite right, and most important, that the *thoughts* should be exercised on the subject of what you are reading, there is one mode of exercising the thoughts that is very hurtful; which is, that of *substituting conjectures* for attention to what the author says. *Preliminary* reflection on the subject is, as has been above said, very useful in many cases; though, by the way, it is unsafe as a preparation for the study of *Scripture;* and, in all studies, care should be taken to guard against allowing the judgment to be biased by

notions hastily and prematurely adopted. And again, *after* you have studied an author, it will be very advisable (supposing it is an uninspired and consequently fallible one) to reflect on what he says, and consider whether he is right, and how far.

But while *actually engaged* in perusal, attend to what the writer actually says, and endeavour fairly to arrive at *his* meaning, *before* you proceed to speculate upon it for yourself.

The study of a book, in short, should be conducted nearly according to the same rule that Bacon lays down for the study of nature. He warns philosophers, earnestly and often, against substituting for what he calls the "interrogatio naturæ," the "anticipatio naturæ;" that is, instead of attentive observation and experiment, forming conjectures as to what seems to us *likely*, or *fitting*, according to some hypothesis devised by ourselves. In like manner, in studying an author, you should *keep apart* interpretation and conjecture.

A good teacher warns a student of some book in a foreign language that he is learning, not to *guess* what the author is likely to have meant, and then twist the words into that sense, against the idiom of the language; but to be *led by* the words in the first instance; and then, if a difficulty as to the sense remains, to guess which of the possible meanings of the words is the most likely to be the right.

E. g. The words in the original of John xviii. 15, ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής, plainly signify "*the* other disciple;" and one of the commentators, perceiving that this is inconsistent with the opinion he had taken up, that this disciple was John himself, (since John had not been mentioned before, and the article, therefore, would make it refer to Judas, who alone had been just above named,) boldly suggests that the *reading must be wrong*, (though all the MSS. agree in it,) and that the article ought to be omitted, because it *spoils the sense;* that is, the sense which agrees with a *conjecture* adopted in defiance of the words of the passage.

This one instance may serve as a specimen of the way in which some, instead of interpreting an author, undertake to re-write what he has said.

The like rule holds good in other studies, quite as much as in that of a language. We should be ever on our guard against the tendency to read through *colored spectacles.*

Educational habits of thought, analogies, antecedent reasonings, feelings, and wishes, &c., will be always leading us to form some conjectural hypothesis, which is not necessarily hurtful, and may sometimes furnish a useful hint, but which must be most carefully watched, lest it produce an unfair bias, and lead you to strain into a conformity with it the words or the phenomena before you.

A man sets out with a conjecture as to what the Apostles are *likely* to have said, or *ought* to have said, in conformity with the the theological system he has learnt; or what the Most High may have done or designed; or what is or is not agreeable to the "analogy of faith," (see Campbell *on the Gospels;*) *i. e.*, of a piece with the christian system—namely, that which *he* has been taught, by fallible *men*, to regard as the christian system; and then he proceeds to examine Scripture, as he would examine with *leading questions* a witness whom he had summoned in his cause.

> "As the fool thinketh,
> So the bell chinketh."

Perhaps he "*prays through*" all the Bible; not with a candid and teachable

mind, seeking instruction, but unconsciously praying that he may *find himself in the right.* And he will seldom fail.

> "Hic liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque;
> Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua."

> "In this book many students seek each one to find
> The doctrine or precept that's most to his mind:
> And each of them finds what they earnestly seek;
> For as the fool thinks, even so the bells speak."

It is the same with philosophy. If you have a strong wish to find phenomena such as to confirm the conjectures you have formed, and allow that wish to bias your examination, you are ill-fitted for interrogating nature. Both that, and *the other volume* of the records of what God does,—Revelation,—are to be interrogated, not as *witnesses*, but as *instructors.* You must let all your conjectures *hang loose* upon you; and be prepared to learn *from* what is written in each of those volumes, with the aid of the conjectures of reason; not *from* reason, (nor, by the by, from feelings and fancies, and wishes, and human authority,) with Scripture for your *aid.*

This latter procedure, which is a very common one with theological students, may be called making an *anagram* of Scripture,—taking it to pieces and reconstructing it in the model of some human system of "Institutes:" building a temple of one's own, consisting of the stones of the true one pulled down and put together in a new fashion.

Yet divines of this description are often considered by others as well as by themselves, pre-eminently scriptural, from their continual employment of the *very words* of Scripture, and their readiness in citing a profusion of texts. But, in reality, instead of using a human *commentary* on Scripture, they use Scripture itself as a kind of commentary on some human system. They make the *warp* human, and interweave an abundance of Scripture as a *woof;* which is just the reverse of the right procedure. But this may be called, truly, in a certain sense, "*taking* a text *from* Scripture," "preaching such and such a doctrine *out of* Scripture," and "*improving* Scripture."

Thus it is that men, when comparing their opinions with the standard of God's Word, suffer these opinions to *bend the rule* by which they are to be measured. But he who studies the Scriptures should remember that he is consulting the Spirit of Truth, and if he would hope for his aid, through whose enlightening and supporting grace alone those Scriptures can be read with advantage, he must search honestly and earnestly for the truth.

"*Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted.*"

With respect to the deference due to the opinions (written or spoken) of intelligent and well-informed men, it may be remarked, that *before* a question has been fully argued, there is a presumption that they are in the right; but *afterwards*, if objections have been brought which they have failed to answer, the presumption is the other way. The wiser, and the more learned, and the more numerous, are those opposed to you, and the more strenuous and persevering their opposition, the greater is the probability that if there were any flaw in your argument they would have refuted you. And therefore your adhering to an opposite opinion from theirs, so far from being a mark of arrogant contempt, is, in reality, the strongest proof of a high respect for them. For example—The

strongest confirmation of the fidelity of the translations of Scripture published by the Irish School Commissioners, is to be found in the many futile attempts, made by many able and learned men, to detect errors in them.

This important distinction is often overlooked.

"*Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man.*"

Writing an Analysis, table of Contents, Index, or Notes to any book, is very important for the study, properly so called, of any subject. And so, also, is the practice of *previously* conversing or writing on the subject you are about to study.

I have elsewhere alluded to this kind of practice,[1] and suggested to the teacher "to put before his pupils, *previously* to their reading each lesson, some questions pertaining to the matter of it, requiring of them answers, oral or written, the best they can think of *without* consulting the book. Next, let them read the lesson, having other questions, such as may lead to any needful explanations, put before them as they proceed. And afterwards let them be examined (introducing numerous examples framed by themselves and by the teacher) as to the portion they have learned, in order to judge how far they remember it.

"Of the three kinds of questions,—which may be called, 1, *preliminary* questions; 2, questions of *instruction;* and 3, questions of *examination*,—the last alone are, by a considerable portion of instructors, commonly employed. And the elementary books commonly known as 'catechims,' or 'books in question and answer,' consist, in reality, of questions of this description.

"But the second kind—what is properly to be called instructive questioning—is employed by all who deserve to be reckoned good teachers.

"The first kind—the preliminary questioning—is employed (systematically and constantly) but by few. And, at first sight, it might be supposed by those who have not had experience of it, that it would be likely to increase the learner's difficulties. But if any well-qualified instructor will but carefully and judiciously try the experiment (in teaching any kind of science,) he will be surprised to find to how great a degree this exercise of the student's mind on the subject will contribute to his advancement. He will find that what has been taught in the mode above suggested, will have been learnt in a shorter time, will have been far the more thoroughly understood, and will be fixed incomparably the better in the memory."

Curiosity is as much the parent of attention, as attention is of memory; therefore the first business of a teacher—first, not only in point of time, but of importance—should be to excite, not merely a general curiosity on the subject of the study, but a particular curiosity on particular points in that subject. To teach one who has no curiosity to learn, is to sow a field without ploughing it.

And this process saves a student from being (as many are) intellectually damaged by having a very good memory. For an unskillful teacher is content to put before his pupils what they have to learn, and ascertaining that they remember it. And thus those of them whose memory is ready and attentive, have their mind left in a merely passive state, and are like a person always carried about in a sedan chair, till he has almost lost the use of his limbs. And then it is made a wonder that a person who has been so well taught, and who was so quick in

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1 See Preface to *Easy Lessons on Reasoning*. Page v.

learning and remembering, should not prove an able man; which is about as reasonable as to expect that a capacious cistern, if filled, should be converted into a perennial fountain. Many are saved, by the deficiency of their memory, from being spoiled by their education; for those who have no extraordinary memory, are driven to supply its defects by *thinking*. If they do not remember a mathematical demonstration, they are driven to devise one. If they do not exactly retain what Aristotle or Smith have said, they are driven to consider what they were *likely* to have said, or ought to have said. And thus their faculties are invigorated by exercise.

Now, this kind of exercises a skillful teacher will afford to *all;* so that no one shall be spoiled by the goodness of his memory.

A very common practice may be here noticed, which should be avoided, if we would create a habit of studying with profit—that of making children *learn by rote* what they do not *understand.* "It is done on this plea—that they will hereafter learn the meaning of what they have been thus taught, and will be able to make a practical use of it."[1] But no attempt at economy of time can be more injudicious. Let any child whose capacity is so far matured as to enable him to comprehend an explanation,—*e. g.*, of the Lord's Prayer,—have it *then* put before him for the first time, and when he is made acquainted with the meaning of it, set to learn it by heart; and can any one doubt that, in less than a half a day's application, he would be able to repeat it fluently? And the same would be the case with other forms. All that is learned by rote by a child before he is competent to attach a meaning to the words he utters, would not, if all put together, amount to so much as would cost him, when able to understand it, a week's labor to learn perfectly. Whereas, it may cost the toil, often the vain toil, of many years, to unlearn the habit of *formalism*—of repeating words by rote without attending to their meaning; a habit which every one conversant with education knows to be in all subjects most readily acquired by children, and with difficulty avoided even with the utmost care of the teacher; but which such a plan must inevitably tend to generate. It is often said, and very truly, that it is important to form early habits of piety; but to train a child in one kind of habit, is not the most likely way of forming the opposite one; and nothing can be more contrary to true piety, than the Romish superstition (for such in fact it is) of attaching efficacy to the repetition of a certain form of words as a charm, independent of the understanding and of the heart.

"It is also said, with equal truth, that we ought to take advantage of the facility which children possess of learning; but to infer from thence, that Providence designs us to make such a use (or rather abuse) of this gift as we have been censuring, is as if we were to take advantage of the readiness with which a new-born babe swallows whatever is put into its mouth, to dose it with ardent spirits, instead of wholesome food and necessary medicine. The readiness with which children learn and remember words, is in truth a most important advantage if rightly employed; viz., if applied to the acquiring that mass of what may be called *arbitrary* knowledge of insulated facts, which *can only* be learned by rote, and which is necessary in after life; when the acquisition of it would both be more troublesome, and would encroach on time that might otherwise be better employed. Chronology, names of countries, weights and measures, and indeed all the *words* of any language, are of this description. If a child had even ten times the ordi-

1 *London Review.* No. xi., pages 412, 413.

nary degree of the faculty in question, a judicious teacher would find abundance of useful employment for it, without resorting to any that could possibly be detrimental to his future habits, moral, religious, or intellectual."

One very useful precept for students, is never to *remain long* puzzling out any difficulty; but lay the book and the subject aside, and return to it some hours after, or next day; after having turned the attention to something else. Sometimes a person will weary his mind for several hours in some efforts (which might have been spared) to make out some difficulty; and next day, when he returns to the subject, will find it quite easy.

The like takes place in the effort to recollect some *name*. You may fatigue yourself in vain for hours together; and if you turn to something else (which you might as well have done at once) the name will, as it were, flash across you without an effort.

There is something analogous to this, in reference to the scent of dogs. When a wounded bird, for instance, has been lost in the the thicket, and the dogs fail, after some search, to find it, a skillful sportsman always draws them off, and hunts them elsewhere for an hour, and then brings them back to the spot to try afresh; and they will often, then, find their game readily: though, if they had been hunting for it all the time, they would have failed.

It seems as if the dog—and the mind—having got into a kind of *wrong* track, continued in the same error, till drawn completely away elsewhere.

Always trust, therefore, for the overcoming of a difficulty, not to *long continued* study after you have once got bewildered, but to *repeated* trials, at intervals.

It may be here observed, that the student of any science or art should not only distinctly understand all the technical language, and all the rules of the art, but also learn them by heart, so that they may be remembered as familiarly as the alphabet, and employed *constantly* and with scrupulous exactness. Otherwise, technical language will prove an encumbrance instead of an advantage, just as a suit of clothes would be, if instead of putting them on and wearing them, one should carry them about in his hand.

"*There is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies.*"

It is a pity that Bacon did not more fully explain the mode in which different kinds of studies act on the mind. As an exercise of the reasoning faculty, pure mathematics is an admirable exercise, because it consists of *reasoning* alone, and does not encumber the student with any exercise of *judgment:* and it is well always to begin with learning one thing at a time, and to defer a combination of mental exercises to a later period. But then it is important to remember that mathematics does *not* exercise the *judgment;* and consequently, if too exclusively pursued, may leave the student very ill qualified for moral reasonings.

"The definitions, which are the principles of our reasoning, are very *few*, and the axioms still fewer; and both are, for the most part, *laid down* and *placed before the student in the outset;* the introduction of a new definition or axiom being of comparatively rare occurrence, at wide intervals, and with a *formal* statement, besides which, there is no room for *doubt* concerning either. On the other hand, in all reasonings which regard matters of fact, we introduce, almost at *every step*, fresh and fresh propositions (to a very great number) which had not been elicited in the course of our reasoning, but are taken for granted; viz., facts,

and laws of nature, which are here the principles of our reasoning, and *maxims*, or 'elements of belief,' which answer to the axioms in mathematics. If, at the opening of a treatise, for example, on chemistry, on agriculture, on political economy, &c., the author should make, as in mathematics, a formal statement of all the propositions he intended to assume as granted, throughout the whole work, both he and his readers would be astonished at the number; and, of these, many would be only probable, and there would be much room for doubt as to the *degree* of probability, and for judgment in ascertaining that degree.

"Moreover, mathematical axioms are always employed precisely *in the same simple form: e. g.*, the axiom that 'the things equal to the same are equal to one another,' is cited, whenever there is need, in those very words; whereas the maxims employed in the other class of subjects, admit of, and require, continual modifications in the application of them. *E. g.*, 'the stability of the laws of nature,' which is our constant assumption in inquiries relating to natural philosophy, appears in many different shapes, and in some of them does not possess the same complete certainty as in others; *e. g.*, when, from having always observed a certain sheep ruminating, we infer, that this individual sheep will continue to ruminate, we assume that 'the property which has hitherto belonged to this sheep will remain unchanged;' when we infer the same property of all sheep, we assume that 'the property which belongs to this individual belongs to the whole species;' if, on comparing sheep with some other kinds of horned animals,[1] and finding that all agree in ruminating, we infer that 'all horned animals ruminate,' we assume that 'the whole of a genus or class are likely to agree in any point wherein many species of that genus agree:' or in other words, 'that if one of two properties, &c., has *often* been found accompanied by another, and never without it, the former will be *universally* accompanied by the latter;' now all these are merely different forms of the maxim, that 'nature is uniform in her operations,' which, it is evident, varies in expression in almost every different case where it is applied, and the application of which admits of every degree of evidence, from perfect moral certainty, to mere conjecture.

"The same may be said of an infinite number of principles and maxims appropriated to, and employed in, each particular branch of study. Hence, all such reasonings are, in comparison of mathematics, very complex; requiring so much *more* than that does, beyond the process of merely deducing the conclusion logically from the premises: so that it is no wonder that the longest mathematical demonstration should be so much more easily constructed and understood than a much shorter train of just reasoning concerning real facts. The former has been aptly compared to a long and steep, but even and regular, flight of steps, which tries the breath, and the strength, and the perseverance only; while the latter resembles a short, but rugged and uneven, ascent up a precipice, which requires a quick eye, agile limbs, and a firm step; and in which we have to tread now on this side, now on that—ever considering, as we proceed, whether this or that projection will afford room for our foot, or whether some loose stone may not slide from under us. There are probably as many steps of pure reasoning in one of the longer of Euclid's demonstrations, as in the whole of an argumentative treatise on some other subject, occupying perhaps a considerable volume.

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1 Viz., having horns *on the skull*. What are called the horns of the rhinoceros are quite different in origin, and in structure, as well as in situation, from what are properly called horns.

"It may be observed here that mathematical reasoning, as it calls for no exercise of judgment respecting probabilities, is the best kind of introductory exercise; and from the same cause, is apt, when too exclusively pursued, to make men incorrect moral reasoners.

"As for those ethical and legal reasonings which were lately mentioned as in some respects resembling those of mathematics, (viz., such as keep clear of all assertions respecting facts,) they have this difference; that not only men are not so completely *agreed* respecting the maxims and principles of ethics and law, but the meaning also of each term can not be absolutely, and for ever, fixed by an arbitrary definition; on the contrary, a great part of our labor consists in distinguishing accurately the various senses in which men employ each term,—ascertaining which is the most proper,—and taking care to avoid confounding them together.

"It may be worth while to add in this place, that as a candid disposition,—a hearty desire to judge fairly, and to attain truth,—are evidently necessary with a view to give fair play to the reasoning powers, in subjects where we are liable to a bias from interest or feelings, so, a fallacious perversion of this maxim finds a place in the minds of some persons; who accordingly speak disparagingly of *all* exercise of the reasoning faculty in moral and religious subjects; declaiming on the insufficiency of *mere* intellectual power for the attainment of truth in such matters,—on the necessity of appealing to the heart rather than to the head, &c., and then leading their readers or themselves to the conclusion that the less we *reason* on such subjects the safer we are.

"But the proper office of candor is to *prepare* the mind not for the *rejection* of all evidence, but for the right *reception* of evidence;—not to be a *substitute* for reasons, but to enable us *fairly to weigh* the reasons on both sides. Such persons as I am alluding to are in fact saying that since just weights *alone*, without a just balance, will avail nothing, therefore we have only to take care of the scales, and let the weights take care of themselves.

"This kind of tone is of course most especially to be found in such writers as consider it expedient to inculcate on the mass of mankind what—there is reason to suspect—they do not themselves fully believe, and which they apprehend is the more likely to be rejected the more it is investigated."

A curious anecdote (which I had heard, in substance, some years before) was told me by the late Sir Alexander Johnstone. When he was acting as temporary governor of Ceylon, (soon after its cession,) he sat once as judge in a trial of a prisoner for a robbery and murder; and the evidence seemed to him so conclusive, that he was about to charge the jury (who were native Cingalese) to find a verdict of guilty. But one of the jury asked and obtained permission to examine the witnesses himself. He had them brought in one by one, and cross-examined them so ably as to elicit the fact that they were *themselves* the perpetrators of the crime, which they afterwards had conspired to impute to the prisoner. And they were accordingly put on their trial and convicted.

Sir A. J. was greatly struck by the intelligence displayed by this juror; the more, as he was only a small farmer, who was not known to have had any remarkable advantages of education. He sent for him, and after commending the wonderful sagacity he had shown, inquired eagerly what his studies had been. The man replied that he had never read but one book, the only one he possessed, which had long been in his family, and which he delighted to study in his leisure

hours. This book he was prevailed on to show to Sir A. J., who put it into the hands of one who knew the Cingalese language. It turned out to be a translation into that language of a large portion of Aristotle's *Organon*. It appears that the Portuguese, when they first settled in Ceylon and other parts of the East, translated into the native languages several of the works then studied in the European Universities; among which were the Latin versions of Aristotle.

The Cingalese in question said that if his understanding had been in any degree cultivated and improved, it was to that book he owed it.

It is very important to warn all readers of the influence likely to be exercised in the formation of their opinions, *indirectly*, and by works not professedly argumentative, such as Poems and Tales. Fletcher of Saltoun said, he would let any one have the making of the laws of a country, if he might have the making of their ballads.

An observation in the *Lectures on Political Economy* on one cause which has contributed to foster an erroneous opinion of the superior moral purity of poor and half-civilized countries, is equally applicable to a multitude of other cases, on various subjects. "One powerful, but little suspected cause, I take to be, an early familiarity with poetical descriptions of pure, unsophisticated, rustic life, in remote, sequestered, and unenlightened districts;—of the manly virtue and practical wisdom of our simple forefathers, before the refinements of luxury had been introduced;—of the adventurous wildness, so stimulating to the imagination, of savage or pastoral life, in the midst of primæval forests, lofty mountains, and all the grand scenery of uncultivated nature. Such subjects and scenes are much better adapted for poets, than thronged cities, workshops, coalpits, and iron-foundries. And poets, whose object is to please, of course keep out of sight all the odious or disgusting circumstances pertaining to the life of the savage or the untutored clown, and dwell exclusively on all the amiable and admirable parts of that simplicity of character which they feign or fancy. Early associations are thus formed, whose influence is often the stronger and the more lasting, from the very circumstance that they are formed *unconsciously*, and do not come in the form of propositions demanding a deliberate assent. Poetry does not profess to aim at conviction; but it often leaves impressions which affect the reasoning and the judgment. And a false impression is perhaps oftener conveyed in other ways than by sophistical argument; because *that* rouses the mind to exert its powers, and to assume, as it were, a reasoning mood."[1]

The influence exercised by such works is overlooked by those who suppose that a child's character, moral and intellectual, is formed by those books only which are put into his hands with that *design*. As hardly anything can accidentally touch the soft clay without stamping its mark on it, so, hardly any reading can interest a child without contributing in some degree, though the book itself be afterwards totally forgotten, to form the character; and the parents, therefore, who, merely requiring from him a certain course of *study*, pay little or no attention to story-books, are educating him they know not how.

And here, I would observe that in books designed for children there are two extremes that should be avoided. The one, that reference to religious principles

1 In an article in a Review I have seen mention made of a person who discovered the falsity of a certain doctrine (which, by the way, is nevertheless a true one, that of Malthus,) *instinctively*. This kind of instinct, *i. e.* the habit of forming opinions at the suggestion rather of feeling than of reason, is very common.

in connection with matters too trifling and undignified, arising from a well-intentioned zeal, causing a forgetfulness of the maxim whose notorious truth has made it proverbial, "Too much familiarity breeds contempt." And the other is the contrary, and still more prevailing extreme, arising from a desire to preserve a due *reverence* for religion, at the expense of its useful application in conduct. But a line may be drawn which will keep clear of both extremes. We should not exclude the association of things sacred with whatever are to *ourselves* trifling matters, (for "these little things are great" to children,) but, with whatever is viewed by *them* as trifling. Every thing is great or small in reference to the parties concerned. The private concerns of any obscure individual are very insignificant to the world at large, but they are of great importance to himself. And all worldly affairs must be small in the sight of the Most High; but irreverent familiarity is engendered in the mind of any one, then, and then only, when things sacred are associated with such as are, to him, insignificant things.

And here I would add that those works of fiction are worse than unprofitable that inculcate morality, with an exclusion of all reference to religious principle. This is obviously and notoriously the character of Miss Edgeworth's moral tales. And so entire and resolute is this exclusion, that it is maintained at the expense of what may be called poetical truth; it destroys, in many instances, the probability of the tale, and the naturalness of the characters. That Christianity *does* exist, every one must believe as an incontrovertible truth; nor can any one deny that, whether true or false, it does exercise,—at least is supposed to exercise,—an influence on the feelings and conduct of some of the believers in it. To represent, therefore, persons of various ages, sex, country, and station in life, as practicing, on the most trying occasions, every kind of duty, and encountering every kind of danger, difficulty, and hardship, while none of them ever makes the least reference to a religious motive, is as decidedly at variance with reality,—what is called in works of fiction *unnatural*,—as it would be to represent Mahomet's enthusiastic followers as rushing into battle without any thought of his promised paradise. This, therefore, is a blemish *in point of art*, which every reader possessing taste must perceive, whatever may be his religious or non-religious persuasion. But a far higher, and more important, question than that of taste is involved. For though Miss Edgeworth may entertain opinions which would not permit her, with consistency, to attribute more to the influence of religion than she has done, and in that case may stand acquitted, *in foro conscientiæ*, of willfully suppressing anything which she acknowledges to be true and important; yet, as, a writer, it must still be considered as a great blemish, in the eyes at least of those who think differently, that virtue should be studiously inculcated, with scarcely any reference to what they regard as the mainspring of it,—that vice should be traced to every other source except the want of religious principle,—that the most radical change from worthlessness to excellence should be represented as wholly independent of that Agent which they consider as the only one that can accomplish it,—and that consolation under affliction should be represented as derived from every source, except the one which they look to as the only true and sure one. "Is it not because there is no God in Israel, that ye have sent to inquire of Baalzebub, the God of Ekron?" This vital defect in such works should be constantly pointed out to the young reader; and he should be warned that, to realize the picture of noble, disinterested, thorough-going virtue, presented in such and such an instance, it is absolutely necessary to resort to those

principles which in these fictions are unnoticed. He should, in short, be reminded that all these "things that are lovely and of good report," which have been placed before him, are the genuine fruits of the Holy Land; though the spies who have brought them bring also an evil report of that land, and would persuade us to remain wandering in the wilderness.

The student of history, also, should be on his guard against the indirect influence likely to be exercised on his opinions. On this point I take the liberty of quoting a passage from my *Lectures on Political Economy*:—

"An injudicious reader of history is liable to be misled by the circumstance, that historians and travelers occupy themselves principally (as is natural) with the relation of whatever is *remarkable*, and different from what commonly takes place in their own time or country. They do not dwell on the ordinary transactions of human life, (which are precisely what furnish the data on which political economy proceeds,) but on every thing that appears an exception to general rules, and in any way such as could not have been anticipated. The sort of information which the political economist wants is introduced, for the most part, only incidentally and obliquely; and is to be collected, imperfectly, from scattered allusions. So that if you will give a rapid glance, for instance, at the history of these islands, from the time of the Norman conquest to the present day, you will find that the differences between the two states of the country, in most of the points with which our science is conversant, are but very imperfectly accounted for in the main outline of the narrative.

"If it were possible that we could have a full report of the common business and common conversation, in the markets, the shops, and the wharfs of Athens and Piræus, for a single day, it would probable throw more light on the state of things in Greece at that time, in all that political economy is most concerned with, than all the histories that are extant put together.

"There is a danger, therefore, that the mind of the student, who proceeds in the manner I have described, may have been even drawn off from the class of facts which are, for the purpose in question, most important to be attended to.

"For, it should be observed that in all studies there is a danger to be guarded against, which Bacon, with his usual acuteness, has pointed out: that most men are so anxious to make or seek for some application of what they have been learning, as not unfrequently to apply it improperly, by endeavoring, lest their knowledge should lie by them idle, to bring it to bear on some question to which it is irrelevant; like Horace's painter, who, being skillful in drawing a cypress, was for introducing one into the picture of a shipwreck. Bacon complains of this tendency among the logicians and metaphysicians of his day, who introduced an absurd and pernicious application of the studies in which they had been conversant, into natural philosophy: 'Artis sæpe ineptus fit usus, *ne sit nullus.*' But the same danger besets those conversant in every other study likewise, (political economy of course not excepted,) that may from time to time have occupied a large share of each man's attention. He is tempted to seek for a solution of every question on every subject, by a reference to his own favorite science or branch of knowledge; like a schoolboy when first intrusted with a knife, who is for trying its edge on every thing that comes in his way.

"Now in reference to the point immediately before us, he who is well read in history and in travels should be warned of the danger (the more on account of the real high importance of such knowledge) of misapplying it,—of supposing

that because political economy is conversant with *human transactions*, and he is acquainted with so much greater an amount of *human transactions* than the generality of men, he must have an advantage over them in precisely the same degree, in discussing questions of political economy. Undoubtedly he *has* a great advantage, if he is careful to keep in view the true principles of the science; but otherwise he may even labor under a *dis*-advantage, by forgetting that (as I just now observed) the kind of transactions which are made most prominent and occupy the chief space, in the works of historians and travelers, are usually not those of every-day life, with which political economy is conversant. It is in the same way that an accurate *military survey* of any district, or a series of sketches accompanying a *picturesque* tour through it, may even serve to mislead one who is seeking for a knowledge of its *agricultural* condition, if he does not keep in mind the different objects which different kinds of survey have in view.

"Geologists, when commissioning their friends to procure them from any foreign country such specimens as may convey an idea of its geological character, are accustomed to warn them against sending over collections of *curiosities—i. e.* specimens of spars, stalactites, &c., which are accounted, in that country, curious, from being *rarities*, and which consequently convey no correct notion of its general features. What they want is, specimens of the *commonest* strata,—the stones with which the roads are mended, and the houses built, &c. And some fragments of these, which in that country are accounted mere rubbish, they sometimes, with much satisfaction, find *casually adhering* to the specimens sent them as curiosities, and constituting, for their object, the most important part of the collection. Histories are in general, to the political economist, what such collections are to the geologist. The casual allusions to common, and what are considered insignificant matters, conveying to him the most valuable information.

"An injudicious study of history, then, may even prove a hindrance instead of a help to the forming of right views of political economy. For not only are many of the transactions which are, in the historian's view, the most important, such as are the least important to the political economist, but also a great proportion of them consists of what are in reality the greatest *impediments* to the progress of a society in wealth: viz., wars, revolutions, and disturbances of every kind. It is not in consequence of these, but in spite of them, that society has made the progress which in fact it has made. So that in taking such a survey as history furnishes of the course of events, for instance, for the last eight hundred years, (the period I just now alluded to,) not only do we find little mention of the causes which have so greatly increased national wealth during that period, but what we chiefly do read of is, the *counteracting* causes; especially the wars which have been raging from time to time, to the destruction of capital, and the hindrance of improvement. Now, if a ship had performed a voyage of eight hundred leagues, and the register of it contained an account chiefly of the contrary winds and currents, and made little mention of favorable gales, we might well be at a loss to understand how she reached her destination; and might even be led into the mistake of supposing that the contrary winds had forwarded her in her course. Yet such is history!"

In reference to the study of history, I have elsewhere remarked upon the importance, among the intellectual qualifications for such a study, of a vivid imagination,—a faculty which, consequently, a skillful narrator must himself possess, and to which he must be able to furnish excitement in others. Some may, per-

haps, be startled at this remark, who have been accustomed to consider imagination as having no other office than to *feign* and to falsify. Every faculty is liable to abuse and misdirection, and imagination among the rest; but it is a mistake to suppose that it necessarily tends to pervert the truth of history, and to mislead the judgment. On the contrary, our view of any transaction, especially one that is remote in time or place, will necessarily be imperfect, generally incorrect, unless it embrace something more than the bare outline of the occurrences,—unless we have before the mind a lively idea of the scenes in which the events took place, the habits of thought and of feeling of the actors, and all the circumstances connected with the transaction; unless, in short, we can in a considerable degree transport ourselves out of our own age, and country, and persons, and imagine ourselves the agents or spectators. It is from consideration of all these circumstances that we are enabled to form a right judgment as to the facts which history records, and to derive instruction from it. What we imagine may indeed be merely *imaginary*, that is, unreal; but it may again be what actually does or did exist. To say that imagination, if not regulated by sound judgment and sufficient knowledge, may chance to convey to us false impressions of past events, is only to say that man is fallible. But such false impressions are even *much the more* likely to take possession of those whose imagination is feeble or uncultivated. They are apt to imagine the things, persons, times, countries, &c., which they read of, as much less different from what they see around them than is really the case.

The practical importance of such an exercise of imagination to a full, and clear, and consequently profitable view of the transactions related in history, can hardly be over-estimated. In respect of the very earliest of all human transactions, it is matter of common remark how prone many are to regard with mingled wonder, contempt, and indignation, the transgression of our first parents; as if they were not a fair sample of the human race; as if any of us would not, if he had been placed in precisely the same circumstances, have acted as they did. The Corinthians, probably, had perused with the same barren wonder the history of the backslidings of the Israelites; and needed that Paul should remind them, that these things were written for their example and admonition. And all, in almost every portion of history they read, have need of a corresponding warning, to endeavor to fancy themselves the persons they read of, that they may recognize in the accounts of past times the portraiture of our own. From not putting ourselves in the place of the persons living in past times, and entering fully into all their feelings, we are apt to forget how probable many things might appear, which we know did not take place; and to regard as perfectly chimerical, expectations which we know were not realized, but which, had we lived in those times, we should doubtless have entertained; and to imagine that there was no *danger* of those evils which, were, in fact, escaped. We are apt also to make too little allowances for prejudices and associations of ideas, which no longer exist precisely in the same form among ourselves, but which, perhaps, are not more at variance with right reason than others with which ourselves are infected.

"*Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability.*"

We should, then, cultivate, not only the cornfields of our minds, but the pleasure-grounds also. Every faculty and every study, however worthless they may be, when not employed in the service of God,—however debased and pol-

luted when devoted to the service of sin,—become ennobled and sanctified when directed, by one whose constraining motive is the love of Christ, towards a good object. Let not the Christian, then, think "scorn of the pleasant land." That land is the field of ancient and modern literature—of philosophy, in almost all its departments—of the arts of reasoning and persuasion. Every part of it may be cultivated with advantage, as the Land of Canaan when bestowed upon God's peculiar people. They were not commanded to let it lie waste, as incurably polluted by the abominations of its first inhabitants; but to cultivate it, and dwell in it, living in obedience to the divine laws, and dedicating its choicest fruits to the Lord their God.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

[Compiled from Creasey's "*Eminent Etonians.*"]

Eton has never seen within her walls a more accomplished gentleman, in the best sense of the word, or a more judicious ruler, than she received in 1624, when Sir Henry Wotton became her Provost. He was born in 1568, at Bocton Hall in Kent, the family mansion of his father, Sir Robert Wotton. He was the youngest of four sons, and as such was destined to receive but a moderate income from his father; but he also received from him, what is far more valuable than all pecuniary endowments, an excellent education, worthy of the talents on which it was bestowed. His boyhood was passed at Winchester, and thence he removed, first, to New College, and subsequently to Queen's College, Oxford. He was highly distinguished at Oxford for his proficiency in all academical studies; while he at the same time made himself a master of modern languages; and he also displayed, on several occasions, the elegance of his genius in the lighter departments of literature. On his father's death, in 1589, he left England, and made the tour of France, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries; and on his return, in 1596, he was chosen as Secretary to Queen Elizabeth's favorite, the Earl of Essex. On the fall of Essex, Wotton fearing to be implicated in the ruin of his patron, fled into France, whence he again went to Italy, and took up his abode at Florence. Soon after his arrival there, the Grand Duke of Tuscany having discovered, from some intercepted letters, a plot to poison James, King of Scotland, employed Wotton to go to Scotland secretly, and apprise that prince of his danger. Wotton assumed the name and guise of an Italian; executed his commission with great skill, and returned to Florence after having left a strong impression on the Scottish King of his learning, zeal, and diplomatic ability. On James' accession to the English throne, he sent for Wotton to court, gave him the honor of knighthood, and after pronouncing a high eulogium on him, declared his intention thenceforth to employ him as an ambassador.

Accordingly, during the greater part of James' reign, Sir Henry

represented his sovereign abroad. His first mission was to Venice, where he formed a close intimacy with the celebrated Paolo Sarpi, and had peculiar advantages of watching the refinements and devices of Italian policy during the contest that was then being carried on between the Roman See and the Venetians; in which the sagacious firmness of the most subtle of Aristocracies was pitted against the craft and intrigue of the Vatican.

Wotton returned from Venice in 1610, when he suddenly found his favor at court unexpectedly clouded. This arose from the discovery of a sentence which he had written at Augsburg, in his outward journey to Venice. As we possess a biography of Sir Henry, from the pen of his friend Izaak Walton, it is best in this and other parts of Sir Henry's career to adopt the quaint but expressive language of the old king of the anglers. Walton says:—

At his [Sir Henry's] first going embassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta, where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingenuousness, (those that are esteemed the vertuosi of that nation,) with whom he passing an evening in merriment, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his Albo, (a book of white paper which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them,) Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an embassador, in these very words:—

"Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ."

Walton tries to represent this as an unlucky Latin translation of an English pun. Walton says that Sir Henry "could have been content that his Latin could have been thus Englished:—

"An ambassador is an honest man sent to LIE abroad for the good of his country."

But the word *lie* (being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn) was not so expressed in Latin as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this *albo* almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man with a restless spirit and a malicious pen, who in his books against King James prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King and his Embassador, Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice; and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness or worse in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him; and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two apologies, one to Velserus (one of the chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed and given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous book of Scioppius; and another apology to King James, which were so ingenious, so clear, so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear at the receipt of it to declare publicly, *That Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offense.*

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favor than formerly he had been.

It has been truly remarked, that old Izaak must be mistaken in

supposing that Sir Henry in this sentence only intended a poor English pun, and forgot that the Latin translation failed to convey his joke. Wotton, we may be sure, *thought* in Latin, when he wrote the words; and his jest was not without some sharp earnestness.

Indeed, Sir Henry's opinion of the position of an ambassador may be gathered from another anecdote which Walton relates of him:—

A friend of Sir Henry Wotton's, being desirous of the employment of an ambassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his negotiations; to whom he willingly gave this for an infallible aphorism:—

"That to be in safety to himself and serviceable to his country, he should always and on all occasions speak the *truth*. (It seems a State-paradox.) For, says Sir Henry Wotton, you shall never be believed; and by this means your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account; and 'twill also put your adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

Wotton, indeed, seems to have thought that all travelers, though not diplomatists, required some degree of Machiavellian skill. Milton, when about to leave England for his travels in France and Italy, obtained an introduction to Sir Henry, and received from him, among other directions, the celebrated precept of prudence—"*I pensieri stretti, ed il viso sciolto.*" "The thoughts reserved, but the countenance open."

After his first Venetian embassage, Wotton was employed by James in missions to the United Provinces, the Duke of Savoy, to the Emperor, and other German princes on the affairs of the unfortunate Elector Palatine. He was also twice again sent ambassador to Venice; and his final return from "that pleasant country's land" was not till James' death in 1624. Wotton thus passed nearly twenty years as a diplomatist in foreign courts, during which, as well as during his former travels—

Πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νοὸν ἔγνω.

Wotton, like Ulysses, thus gained deep insight into the human mind, and also into the varying manners and conventional standards of right and wrong, which prevail among different men, and which the Latin poet indicates, when he translates the Homeric line by—

"Qui *mores* hominum multorum vidit et *urbes*."

This knowledge produced in Wotton, not the misanthropy which it too often has generated in men of a less kindly temperament, but a charitable spirit in dealing with each individual phase of human weakness, and a truly catholic love of goodness and of honesty, wherever found, and by whomsoever displayed. The patience which he eminently possessed, was sorely tried during the first year after his final return to England. Large sums were due to him from the state,

for his diplomatic expenses; he had been forced to sell his little patrimony; and the sordid cares of daily and domestic want were now pressing hard on him in the decline of life. In this strait he received from the Crown the Provostship of Eton, when it fell vacant in July, 1625. His feelings on obtaining it may best be expressed in the language of Walton, who, doubtless, had often heard them from Sir Henry's own lips.

It pleased God, that in this juncture of time the Provostship of his Majesty's College of Eton became void by the death of Thomas Murray, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerful suitors to the king. Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Sisiphus) rolled the restless stone of a state employment, and knowing experimentally, that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a college was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest, both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require; did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends, to procure it. By which means, and quitting the king of his promised reversionary offices, and a piece of honest policy, (which I have not time to relate,) he got a grant of it from his Majesty.

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the statutes of the College; by which he conceived himself bound to enter into holy orders, which he did; being made deacon with convenient speed. Shortly after, as he came in his surplice from the church service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him; to whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the King, by whose goodness I now am in this condition; a condition, which that Emperor Charles the Fifth seemed to approve: who, after so many remarkable victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave his crown, and the cares that attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy retreat to a cloisteral life, where he might by devout meditations consult with God, (which the rich or busy men seldom do,) and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions. And after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from 'Him that makes the outgoings of the morning to praise him;' even from my God, who I daily magnify for this particular mercy, of an exemption from business, a quiet mind and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation; in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his times. After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and authors in divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But when he was once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind; and those still increased by constant company at his table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure. But some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling; which he would usually call his idle time, not idly spent: saying, he would rather live five May months, than forty Decembers.

A common love of angling created and cemented the friendship between Sir Henry Wotton and Izaak Walton. We owe to it the exquisite biography which Walton wrote of his friend, and the collection of Sir Henry's works, which Walton edited after Wotton's death. The spot where the two friends loved to practice the patient art of the rod and line is well known, and deservedly honored. About a quarter of a mile below the college, at one of the most pic-

turesque bends of the river, there is, or was, an ancient eel fishery, called Black Pots.

One of the most exquisite passages in Walton's book on angling is devoted to the just praises of Sir Henry Wotton, and incorporates some poetry of the good Provost, which we may well believe to have been composed at Black Pots, and which also merits quotation for its beauty.

My next and last example shall be that undervaluer of money, the late Provost of Eton College, Sir Henry Wotton, a man with whom I have often fished and conversed, a man whose foreign employments in the service of this nation, and whose experience, learning, wit, and cheerfulness made his company to be esteemed one of the delights of mankind: this man, whose very approbation of angling were sufficient to convince any modest censurer of it, this man was also a most dear lover and frequent practicer of the art of angling; of which he would say, "'Twas an employment for his idle time, which was then not idly spent: for angling was after a tedious study a rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits, a diverter of sadness, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a moderator of passions, a procurer of contentedness;" and that it "begat habits of peace and patience in those that professed and practiced it." Indeed, my friend, you will find angling to be like the virtue of humility, which has a calmness of spirit, and a world of other blessings attending upon it.

Sir, this was the saying of that learned man, and I do easily believe that peace and patience and a calm content did cohabit in the cheerful heart of Sir Henry Wotton; because I know that when he was beyond seventy years of age he made this description of a part of the present pleasure that possessed him, as he sat quietly in a summer's evening on a bank a-fishing; it is a description of the spring, which, because it glided as soft and sweetly from his pen, as that river does at this time, by which it was then made, I shall repeat unto you.

ON A BANK AS I SATE A-FISHING.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SPRING.

And now all Nature seemed in love,
The lusty sap began to move;
New juice did stir th' embracing vines,
And birds had drawn their valentines.
The jealous trout, that low did lie,
Rose at a well dissembled fly.
There stood my friend, with patient skill,
Attending of his trembling quill.
Already were the eaves possessed
With the swift pilgrim's daubed nest.
The groves already did rejoice
In Philomel's triumphing voice.

The showers were short; the weather mild;
The morning fresh, the evening smiled.

* * * * *

The fields and gardens were beset
With tulip, crocus, violet;
And now, though late, the modest rose
Did more than half a blush disclose.
Thus all looked gay, all full of cheer,
To welcome the new liveried year.

These were the thoughts that then possessed the undisturbed mind of Sir Henry Wotton.

Eton received great benefit from the zeal with which Sir Henry devoted himself to the improvement of the school; and from the sound sense and kindly spirit with which that zeal was accompanied. Boyle, in his autobiographical fragment, when he describes his own early education, speaks with praise and fondness of Wotton. He

says that Sir Henry was not only a fine gentleman himself, but skilled in making others so, and he expressly mentions that the school was then very much thronged with the young nobility of the land. Walton thus farther describes Sir Henry's life as Provost:—

He was a great lover of his neighbors, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better. He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning; for whose encouragement he was (besides many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of *pillars*, on which he caused to be choicely drawn, the pictures of divers of the most famous *Greek* and *Latin historians*, *poets*, and *orators;* persuading them not to neglect *rhetoric*, because *Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon: And* he would often say, *That none despised eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it.* He would also often make choice of observations, out of those *historians* and *poets:* but he would never leave the school without dropping some choice *Greek* or *Latin apothegm* or sentence; such as were worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar. He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the *school*, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose *discourse* and *behavior*, he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of *education;* of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity. He was a great enemy to *wrangling disputes on religion:* concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to show the readiness of his wit. Having in *Rome* made acquaintance with a pleasant *priest*, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper *music* at *church*, the priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the choir this question writ in a small piece of paper: *Where was your religion to be found before Luther?* To which question Sir Henry Wotton presently under-writ: *My religion was to be found* then, *where yours is not to be found* now, *in the* written Word of God. To another that asked him, *Whether a Papist may be saved?* he replied, *You may be saved without knowing that. Look to yourself.* To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice: *Pray, Sir, forbear till you have studied the points better; for the wise Italians have a proverb—He that understands amiss, concludes worse;* and take heed of thinking, *the farther you go from the Church of Rome*, the nearer you are to God.

Sir Henry's own letter to King Charles, in which he explains the motives through which he took holy orders, is preserved in the collection of his works, and it were injustice to his memory not to cite it:—

My most dear and dread Sovereign,—

As I gave your Majesty foreknowledge of my intention to enter into the Church, and had your gracious approvement therein, so I hold it a sacred duty to your Majesty, and satisfaction to myself, to inform you likewise by mine own hand, both how far I have proceeded and upon what motives; that it may appear unto your Majesty (as I hope it will) an act of conscience and of reason, and not greediness and ambition. Your Majesty will be therefore pleased to know that I have lately taken the degree of Deacon; and so far am I from aiming at any higher flight out of my former sphere, that there I intend to rest. Perhaps I want not some persuaders, who, measuring me by their affections, or by your Majesty's goodness, and not by mine own defects or ends, would make me think that yet before I do die I might become a great prelate. And I need no persuasion to tell me, that if I would undertake the pastor function, I could peradventure by casualty, out of the patronages belonging to your Royal College, without further troubling of your Majesty, cast some good benefice upon myself, whereof we have

one, if it were vacant, that is worth more than my Provostship. But as they were strucken with horror who beheld the majesty of the Lord descending upon the Mount *Sinai*, so, God knows, the nearer I approach to contemplate His greatness, the more I tremble to assume any cure of souls even in the lowest degree, that were bought at so high a price. *Premant torcular qui vindemiarunt.* Let them press the grapes, and fill the vessels, and taste the wine, that have gathered the vintage. But shall I sit and do nothing in the porch of God's house, whereunto I am entered? God himself forbid, who was the supreme mover. What service, then, do I propound to the Church? or what contentment to my own mind? First, for the point of conscience, I can now hold my place canonically, which I held before but dispensatively, and withal I can exercise an archidiaconal authority annexed thereunto, though of small extent, and no benefit, yet sometimes of pious and necessary use. I comfort myself also with this Christian hope, that gentlemen and knights' sons, who are trained up with us in a seminary of Churchmen, (which was the will of the holy Founder,) will by my example (without vanity be it spoken) not be ashamed, after the sight of courtly weeds, to put on a surplice. Lastly, I consider that this resolution which I have taken is not unsuitable even to my civil employments abroad, of which for the most part religion was the subject; nor to my observations, which have been spent that way in discovery of the *Roman* arts and practices, whereof I hope to yield the world some account, though rather by my pen than by my voice. For though I must humbly confess that both my conceptions and expressions be weak, yet I do more trust my deliberation than my memory: or if your Majesty will give me leave to paint myself in higher terms, I think I shall be bolder against the faces of men. This I conceived to be a piece of my own character; so as my private study must be my theater, rather than a pulpit; and my books my auditors, as they are all my treasure. Howsoever, if I can produce nothing else for the use of Church and State, yet it shall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life, to compose some hymns unto His endless glory, who hath called me, (for which His Name be ever blessed,) though late to His service, yet early to the knowledge of His truth and sense of His mercy. To which ever commending your Majesty and your royal action with most hearty and humble prayers, I rest,

Your Majesty's most devoted poor servant.

Sir Henry passed fifteen honorable, useful, and happy years as Provost of Eton. He designed several literary works, among which was a life of Luther, which, at the King's request, he laid aside in order to commence a history of England; but he made but little progress in this last-mentioned work. He also wrote some portions of an intended treatise on Education, which he styled *Moral Architecture*, to distinguish it from a former treatise, published by him, on *Architecture*, which was justly celebrated for the soundness of its principles and the grace of its style.

Sir Henry Wotton died on the fifth of December, 1639. He was never married. He was buried according to his desire, in the Chapel of the College, and on his monument was placed, as directed by him in his last will, the following inscription :—

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus Auctor:
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.
Nomen alias quære.

Which may be rendered as follows:

Here lies the first Author of this sentence:
THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.
Inquire his name elsewhere.

A PHILOSOPHICAL SURVEY OF EDUCATION:

OR, MORAL ARCHITECTURE.*

BY SIR HENRY WOTTON.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO THE KING.

May it please your Majesty—I need no other motive to dedicate this discourse, which followeth, unto your Majesty, than the very subject itself, so properly pertaining to your sovereign goodness: for thereby you are *Pater Patriæ*. And it is none of the least attributes wherewith God hath blessed both your royal person and your people, that you are so. On the other side, for mine own undertaking thereof, I had need say more. I am old and childless; and though I were a father of many, I could leave them nothing, either in fortune or in example. But having long since put forth a slight pamphlet about the *Elements of Architecture*, which yet hath been entertained with some pardon among my friends, I was encouraged, even at this age, to essay how I could build a *Man;* for there is a moral, as well as a natural or artificial *compilement*, and of better materials: which truly I have cemented together rather in the plain *Tuscan* (as our VITRUVIUS termeth it) than in the *Corinthian* form. Howsoever, if your Majesty be graciously pleased to approve any part of it, who are so excellent a judge in all kind of *structure*, I shall much glory in mine own endeavor. If otherwise, I will be one of the first myself that shall pull it in pieces, and condemn it to rubbage and ruin. And so, wishing your Majesty (as to the best of kings) a longer life than any of the soundest works of nature or art, I ever rest,

Your Majesty's most devoted poor subject and servant,

H. WOTTON.

A SURVEY OF EDUCATION.

THIS TREATISE (well may it now proceed) having since the first conception thereof, been often traversed with other thoughts—yea, and sometimes utterly forsaken—I have of late resumed again, out of hope (the common flatterer) to find at least some indulgent interpretation of my pains; especially in an honest endeavor of such public consequence as this is above all other. For if any shall think *Education* (because it is conversant about children) to be but a private and domestic duty, he will run some danger, in my opinion, to have been ignorantly bred himself. Certain it is, that anciently the best composed estates did commit this care more to the magistrate than to the parent; and certain likewise, that the best authors have chosen rather to handle it in their politics, than in their economics. As both writers and rulers well knowing what a stream and influence it hath into government. So great indeed, and so diffusive, that albeit good laws

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* Reprinted from the Third Edition of *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*. London, 1672.

have been reputed always the nerves or ligaments of human society, yet are they (be it spoken with the peace of those grave professors) no way comparable in their effects to the rules of good nurture; for it is in civil, as it is in natural plantations, where young tender trees (though subject to the injuries of air, and in danger even of their own flexibility) would yet little want any after-underproppings and shoarings, if they were at first well fastened in the root.

Now my present labor will (as I foresee) consist of these pieces:

First, There must proceed a way how to discern the natural capacities and inclinations of children.

Secondly, Next must ensue the culture and furnishment of the mind.

Thirdly, The moulding of behavior, and decent forms.

Fourthly, The tempering of affections.

Fifthly, The quickening and exciting of observations and practical judgment.

Sixthly, and the last in order, but the principal in value, being that which must knit and consolidate all the rest, is the timely instilling of conscientious principles and seeds of religion.

These six branches will, as I conceive, embrace the whole business; through which I shall run in as many several chapters or sections. But before I launch from the shores, let me resolve a main question which may be cast in my way: whether there be indeed such an infallible efficacy, as I suppose, in the care of nurture and first production; for if that supposal should fail us, all our anchorage were loose, and we should but wander in a wide sea.

Plutarch, I remember to the same purpose, in the first of his Tractates, which place this subject well deserved, endeavoreth by sundry similitudes, wherein that man had a prompt and luxurious fancy, to show us the force of Education; all which, in sooth, might have been well forborne, had be but known what our own countrymen have of late time disclosed among their magnetical experiments. There they tell us, that a rod or bar of iron having stood long in a window, or elsewhere, being thence taken, and by the help of a cork or the like thing being balanced in water, or in any other liquid substance where it may have a free mobility, will bewray a kind of unquietude and discontentment till it attain the former position. Now it is pretty to note, how in this natural *theorem* is involved a moral conclusion of direct moment to the point we have in hand.

For if such an unpliant and stubborn mineral as iron is above any other, will acquire by mere continuance a secret appetite, and (as I may term it) an habitual inclination to the site it held before, then how much more may we hope, through the very same means, (*education* being nothing else but a constant plight and *inurement*,) to induce by custom good habits into a reasonable creature? And so, having a little smoothed my passage, I may now go on to the *chapters*.

1. TOUCHING THE SEARCH OF NATURAL CAPACITIES AND INCLINATIONS.

Of the two things propounded in this chapter, I must begin with *capacities:* for the manurement of wits is like that of soils, where before either the pains of *tilling*, or the charge of *sowing*, men use to consider what the mould will bear, heath or grain. Now this, peradventure at the first view, may seem in children a very slight and obvious inquiry; that age being so open and so free, and yet void of all art to disguise or dissemble either their appetites or their defects. Notwithstanding, we see it every day and every where subject to much error; partly by a very pardonable facility in the parents themselves, to over-prize their own

children, while they behold them through the vapors of affection, which alter the appearance, as all things seem bigger in misty mornings. Nay, even strangers, and the most disinterested persons, are yet, I know not how, commonly inclined to a favorable conceit of little ones; so cheap a thing it is to bestow nothing but hope. There is likewise on the other side, as often failing by an undervaluation; for, in divers children, their ingenerate and seminal powers (as I may term them) lie deep, and are of slow disclosure; no otherwise than in certain vegetables, which are long before they shoot up and appear, and yet afterwards both of good and great increase; which may serve to excite care, and to prevent despair in parents: for if their child be not such a speedy spreader and brancher, like the vine, yet perchance he may prove *proles tarde crescentis olivæ*, and yield, though with a little longer expectation, as useful and more sober fruit than the other. And, I must confess, I take some delight in these kind of comparisons; remembering well what I have often heard my truly noble and most dear nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon, say, out of his exquisite contemplations and philosophical practice: that Nature surely (if she be well studied) is the best *moralist*, and hath much good counsel hidden in her bosom.

Now here then will lie the whole business, to set down beforehand certain signatures of hopefulness, or *characters*, (as I will rather call them, because that word hath gotten already some entertainment among us,) whereby may be timely descried what the child will prove in probability. These *characters* must necessarily be either impressed in the outward person, like stamps of nature, or must otherwise be taken from some emergent act of his mind; wherein of the former sort:

The first is that which first incurreth into sight; namely, the child's color or complexion, (as we vulgarly term it,) and thence perchance some judgment of the predominant humor.

The next is the structure and conformation of the limbs.

And the third is a certain spirituous resultance from the other two, which makes the countenance.

The second kind of these *characters* (which are rather mental than personal) be of such variety (because minds are more active than bodies) that I purpose, for the plainest delivery, to resolve all my gatherings touching both kinds into a *rhapsody* of several observations; for I dare not give them the authoritative title of *aphorisms*, which yet, when I shall have mustered them, if their own strength be considered rather in troop than singly, as they say, by pole, may perchance make a reasonable moral *prognostic*.

The Observations.

There are in the course of human life, from our cradles upward, certain periods or degrees of change, commonly (as the ancients have noted) every seven years, whereof the two first *septenaries*, and half of the third, or thereabouts, I will call the obsequious age, apt to imbibe all manner of impressions; which time of the suppleness of obedience is to be plied by parents, before the stiffness of will come on too fast.

There is no complexion, or composition in children, either privileged from bad proof, or prejudiced from good. Always I except prodigious forms, and mere natural impotencies, which are unmanageable *in toto genere*, and no more to be cultivated than the sands of *Arabia*.

More ordinary imperfections and distortions of the body in figure, are so far from excluding all hope, that we usually see them attended with some notable compensation one way or other, whereof our own time hath produced with us no slight example in a great minister of state, and many other.

I am yet willing to grant, that generally in nature the best outward *shapes* are also the likeliest to be consociated with good inward *faculties;* for this conclusion hath somewhat from the *Divine Light:* since God himself made this great *world* (whereof *man* is the little *model*) of such harmonious beauty in all the parts, to be the receptacle of his perfectest creature.

Touching such conjectures as depend on the complexions of children: albeit I make no question but all kinds of wits and capacities may be found under all *tinctures* and *integuments;* yet I will particularly describe one or two with some preference, though without prejudice of the rest.

The first shall be a *palish clearness*, evenly and smoothly spread, not over-thin and washy, but of a pretty solid consistence; from which equal distribution of the *phlegmatic humor*, which is the proper allay of fervent blood, I am wont to hope (where I see it) will flow a future quietude and serenitude in the affections, and a discreet sweetness and moderation in the manners; not so quick perchance of conceit, as slow to passion, and commonly less inventive than judicious; howsoever, for the most part, proving very plausible, insinuant, and fortunate men.

The other is, the pure sanguine *melancholic tincture*, wherein I would wish five parts of the first to three of the second; that so there may be the greater portion of that which must illuminate and enrich the fancy, and yet no scant of the other, to fix and determine the judgment; for surely the right natural definition of a wise habit is nothing else but a plentifulness and promptness in the storehouse of the mind, of clear imaginations well fixed.

Marcilius Ficinus (the deep *Florentine Platonic*) increaseth these proportions, requiring eight to two in the foresaid humors, and withal adding two more of pure choler. But of that I shall speak more among the inward motions, purposely here forbearing it, where I only contemplate the superficial appearance.

In the outward frame and fabric of the body, which is the next object after complexion, an erect and forward stature, a large breast, neat and pliant joints, and the like, may be good significants of health, of strength, or agility, but are very foreign arguments of wit. I will therefore only say somewhat of the *head* and *eye*, as far as may conduce to my present scope.

The head in a child I wish great and round, which is the capablest figure, and the freest from all restraint and compression of the parts; for since in the section of bodies we find man, of all sensible creatures, to have the fullest brain to his proportion, and that it was so provided by the Supreme Wisdom, for the lodging of the intellective faculties, it must needs be a silent character of hope, when, in the *economical* providence of nature, (as I may term it,) there is good store of roomage and receipt where those powers are stowed: as commonly we may think husbanding men to foresee their own plenty, who prepare beforehand large barns and granaries. Yet *Thucydides* (anciently one of the excellentest wits in the learnedst part of the world) seems (if *Marcellinus* in his life have well described him) to have been somewhat taper-headed, as many of the *Genoesers* are at this day in common observation, who yet be a people of singular sagacity: yea, I call not impertinently to mind, that one of my time in *Venice* had wit enough to become the civil head of that grave *republic*, who yet for the littleness

of his own natural head was surnamed *Il Donato Testolina.* But the obtrusion of such particular instances as these are unsufficient to disauthorize a note grounded upon the final intervention of nature.

The *eye* in children (which commonly let them roll at pleasure) is of curious observation, especially in point of discovery; for it loveth, or hateth, before we can discern the heart; it consenteth, or denieth, before the tongue; it resolveth, or runneth away, before the feet: nay, we shall often mark in it a dullness, or apprehensiveness, even before the understanding. In short, it betrayeth in a manner the whole state of the mind, and letteth out all our fancies and passions as it were by a window. I shall therefore require in that organ, without poetical conceits, (as far as may concern my purpose, be the color what it will,) only a settled vivacity, not wandering, nor stupid; yet, I must confess, I have known a number of dull-sighted, very sharp-witted men.

The truth is, that if in these external marks, or signatures, there be any certainty, it must be taken from that which I have formerly called *the total resultance:* by which, what I mean, I shall more properly explain in the third *section,* when I come to handle the general air of the person and carriage. I will now hasten to those more solid and conclusive *characters,* which, as I have said, are emergent from the mind, and which oftentimes do start out of children when themselves least think of it; for, let me tell you, nature is *proditorious.*

And first I must begin with a strange note: that a child will have *tantum ingenii quantum iræ;* that is, in my construction, as much wit as he hath waywardness. This rule we have cited by a very learned man,* somewhere out of *Seneca,* and exemplified by *Angelus Politianus,* (none of the meanest critics,) who, writing the life of *Pietro de Medici,* concludeth, that he was likely to prove a wise man, because he was a froward boy. Truly I have been many times tempted to wonder, notwithstanding the value of these authors, how so disordinate a passion, seated in the heart and boiling in the blood, could betoken a good constitution of the brain, which, above any other, is, or should be, the coldest part. But because all sudden motions must necessarily imply a quick apprehension of the first stirring cause, and that the dullest of other creatures are the latest offended, I am content for the present to yield it some credit.

We have another, somewhat of the same mould, from *Quintilian,* (whom I have ever thought, since any use of my poor judgment, both the elegantest and soundest of all the *Roman pens,*) that a child will have *tantum ingenii quantum memoriæ.* This, I must confess, will bear a stronger consequence of hope; for memory is not only considerable as it is in itself a good retention, but likewise as it is an infallible argument of good attention—a point of no small value in that age which a fair orange or a red apple will divert.

There is yet another in the same writer, and in the same place, where he handleth this very *theme*—How to descry capacities: that parents should mark whether their children be naturally apt to imitate; wherewith certainly all fine fancies are caught, and some little less than ravished. And we have a tradition of *Quintilian* himself, that when he saw any well-expressed image of grief, either in *picture* or *sculpture,* he would usually weep; for, being a teacher of oratory in school, he was perhaps affected with a passionate piece of *art,* as with a kind of *mute eloquence.* True it is indeed, which a great master† hath long before taught us, that man is of all creatures the most mimical, as a kind of near adjunct

* Capnio. † Aristotle in Rhetoricis.

to reason, arguing necessarily in those that can do it well, whether it be in *gestures*, in *styles*, in *speech*, in *fashion*, in *accents*, or howsoever, no shallow impression of similitudes and differences; about which, in effect, is conversant the whole wisdom of the world.

Besides these, I would wish parents to mark heedfully the witty excuses of their children, especially at suddens and surprisals; but rather to mark than pamper them, for that were otherwise to cherish untruth: whereof I shall speak more in the *final section.*

Again are to be observed not only his own crafty and pertinent evasions, but likewise with what kind of jests, or pleasant accidents, he is most taken in others; which will discover the very degree of his apprehension, and even reach as far as to the censuring of the whole nations, whether they be flat and dull, or of quick capacity; for surely we have argument enough at this day to conclude the ancient *Grecians* an ingenious people; of whom the vulgar sort, such as were haunters of *theaters*, took pleasure in the conceits of *Aristophanes;* reserving my judgment to other place upon the filthy obscenities of that and other authors, well arguing among Christians, when all is said, that the devil is one of the wittiest.

Again, it shall be fit to note, how prettily the child himself doth manage his pretty pastimes. This may well become an ordinary parent, to which so great an emperor as *Augustus* descended in the highest of his state, and gravest of his age, who collected (as *Suetonius* tells us) out of all the known world, especially from the *Syrians* and *Moors*, (where, by the way, we may note who were then reputed the sharpest nations,) little boys of the rarest festivity, to play before him at their ordinary sports. And indeed there is much to be noted, worthy of a sadder judgment in the wiliness of that age.

Again, I would have noted in children, not only their articulate answers, but likewise certain smiles and frowns upon incident occasions; which, though they be dumb and light passions, will discover much of that inward power which moveth them, especially when withal they lighten or cloud the whole face in a moment.

Lastly, let not his very dreams be neglected; for, without question, there is a great *analogy* between those apprehensions which he hath taken by day into his fancy, and his nocturnal impressions; particularly in that age which is not yet troubled with the fumes and cares of the world, so as the soul hath a freer and more defecated operation. And this is enough for the disclosing of a good capacity in the popular way which I have followed, because the subject is general.

Now for the second part of this chapter, touching inclinations: for after we know how far a child is capable, the next will be to know unto what course he is naturally most inclined. There must go before a main research, whether the child that I am to manage be of a good nature or no; as the same term is vulgarly taken, for an ingenious and tractable disposition: which being a fundamental point, and the first root of all virtuous actions, and though round about in every mother's mouth, yet a thing which will need very nice and narrow observation, I have spent some diligence in collecting certain private notes, which may direct this inquiry.

First, therefore, when I mark in children much solitude and silence, I like it not, nor any thing born before his time, as this must needs be in that sociable and exposed age, as they are for the most part. When, either alone or in company, they sit still without doing of any thing, I like it worse; for surely all dispositions

to idleness, or vacancy, even before they grow habits, are dangerous; and there is commonly but a little distance in time between doing of nothing, and doing of ill.

APHORISMS OF EDUCATION.

Time is the plainest legend, and every day a leaf is turned.

If we look abroad, we shall see many proceed yearly out of the schools of experience, whereas few, in comparison, are commended unto degrees by us: indeed the multitude of those schools infinitely exceeding our numbers; but especially because the means which they follow are far more obvious and easy. Libraries and lectures profiting none, but such as bring some measure of understanding with them; but the occurrents of the world being easily entertained by the weakest capacities, assisted only with common sense: neither therefore is this legend of time to be contemned by those whose wits are more pregnant, or studies furnished with greatest choice. The students of common law manifest the benefit arising from the use thereof; who, as by reading their year books they recover the experience by former ages: so by daily repair to the courts of justice, they suffer nothing of the present to pass unobserved. And I note, that whereas foreign universities (in conferring degrees) regard merely the performance of some solemn exercise, ours further require a certain expense of time, supposing (as I conceive) that howsoever exercise of form may be deceitfully dispatched of course, yet that he who lives some space among the assiduous advantages and helps of knowledge, (except he be of the society of the Antipodes, who turn night into day, and take no notice of what is done,) can not choose but receive so much upon ordinary observation, as may make him master of some art; which frequent opportunities, as they happily add something to those who are but idle lookers on, so, no doubt, they must advance perfection in those who are more studiously observant; every day presenting their judgments with matters examinable by the precepts they read, and most producing to their inventions, occurrents fit for further inquiry.

Every nature is not a fit stock to graft a scholar on.

The *Spaniard* (that wrote the *Trial of Wits*) undertakes to show what complexion is fit for every profession. I will not disable any for proving a scholar, nor yet dissemble that I have seen many happily forced upon that course to which by nature they seemed much indisposed. Sometimes the possibility of preferment prevailing with the credulous, expectation of less expense with the covetous, opinion of ease with the fond, and assurance of remoteness with the unkind parents, have moved them, without discretion, to engage their children in adventures of learning, by whose return they have received but small contentment. But they who are deceived in their first designs deserve less to be condemned, as such who (after sufficient trial) persist in their willfulness are no way to be pitied. I have known some who have been acquainted (by the complaints of governors, clamors of creditors, and confessions of their sons) what might be expected of them, yet have held them in with strong hand, till they have desperately quit, or disgracefully forfeited the places where they lived. Deprived of which, they might hope to avoid some misery, if their friends, who were so careful to bestow them in a college when they were young, would be so good as to provide a room for them in some hospital when they are old.

He seldom speeds well in his course, that stumbles at his setting forth.

I have ever been unwilling to hear, and careful not to utter, predictions of ill-success; oracles proceeding as well from superstitious ignorance, as curious learning: and what I deliver in these words, occasioned by examples past, I desire may be applied for prevention, rather than prejudice to any hereafter. To the same effect I heard a discreet censor lesson a young scholar, negligent at his first entrance to the elements of logic and philosophy, telling him that a child starved at nurse would hardly prove an able man. And I have known some who attended with much expectation at their first appearing, have stained the maidenhead of their credit with some negligent performance, fall into irrecoverable dislike with others, and hardly escape despair of themselves. They may make a better excuse, but not hope for more favor, who can impute the fault of their inauspicious attempts somewhere else—a circumstance necessarily to be considered where punishment is inflicted; but where reward is proposed for worth, it is as usually detained from those who could not, as from those who cared not to deserve it.

The way to knowledge by epitomes is too straight; by commentaries, too much about.

It is sufferable in any to use what liberty they list in their own manner of writing, but the contracting and extending the lines and sense of others, if the first authors might speak for themselves, would appear a thankless office; and if the readers did confer with the originals, they would confess they were not thoroughly or rightly informed. Epitomes are helpful to the memory, and of good private use, but set forth for public monuments, accuse the industrious writers of delivering much impertinency, and divert many to close and shallow cisterns, whose leisure might well be acquainted with more deep and open springs. In brief, what I heard sometimes spoken of *Ramus*, I believe of those thrifty compendiums: they show a short course to those who are contented to know a little, and a sure way to such whose care is not to understand much. Commentaries are guilty of the contrary extreme, stifling the text with infinite additions, and screwing those conceits from the words, which, if the authors were set on the rack, they would never acknowledge. He who is discreet in bestowing his pains, will suspect those places to be desert and barren, where the way can not be found without a guide; and leave curiosity in inquest of obscurities, which, before it receive content, doth lose or tire itself with digressions.

Discretion is the most universal art, and hath more professors than students.

Discretion, as I understand it, consists in the useful knowledge of what is fit and comely; of necessary direction in the practice of moral duties, but most esteemed in the composing and framing civil behavior: men ordinarily being better content to be dishonest, than to be conscious to themselves that they are unmannerly. Few study it, because it is attained rather by a natural felicity, than by any endeavor or pains; and many profess it, presuming on sufficiency to censure others; and as unable to discern themselves, concerning their own defects, as unaccustomed to be rightly informed. It little concerns men indifferent what we do in that kind; and our friends are either nothing offended therewith, or unwilling to offend us with their relation: our enemies seldom speak of it in our hearing, and when we hear, we as hardly believe them.

They who travel far, easily miss their way.

Travel is reputed a proper means to create men wise, and a possible to make them honest, because it forces circumspectness on those abroad, who at home are nursed in security; and persuadeth good behavior and temperance to such, who (far from friends and means) are willing to have little to do with the lawyer or physician. Men coming into other countries, as if born into a strange world, with some discretion above them, which teacheth both to distrust others, and keep themselves sober, and to shift off those homely fashions which nature and custom in their years of simplicity had put on them. But these effects are not general, many receiving more good in their bodies by the tossing of the ship, whilst they are at sea, than benefit in their minds by breathing in a foreign air when they come to land. Yet they are as desirous men should observe they have traveled, as careful in their travels to observe nothing; and therefore if they be not able to make it known by their relation and discourse, it shall appear by their clothes and gesture. Some attain to greater perfection, being able to show at what charge they have seen other places, by their excellency in some other rare vices, or irregularity in strange opinions. As the times are, he is commended that makes a saving voyage, and least discredits his travels, who returns the same man he went.

Somewhat of a gentleman gives a tincture to a scholar; too much stains him.

He who advised the philosopher (altogether devoted to the Muses) sometimes to offer sacrifice at the altars of the Graces, thought knowledge to be imperfect without behavior, which experience confirms, able to show, that the want thereof breeds as much disrespect to many scholars with the observers of ceremonies, as improper affectation moves distaste in some substantial judgments. Indeed slovenliness is the worst sign of a hard student, and civility the best exercise of the remiss; yet not to be exact in the phrase of compliment, or gestures of courtesy, the indifferent do pardon to those who have been otherwise busied; and rather deride, than applaud such, who think it perfection enough to have a good outside, and happiness to be seen amongst those who have better; pleasing themselves more in opinion of some proficiency, in terms of hunting or horsemanship, which few that are studious understand, than they blush to be known ignorant in that which every man ought to know. To which vanity I have known none more inclined than those whose birth did neither require, nor fortunes encourage them to such costly idleness; who at length made sensible by necessity, haply have the grace to repent, but seldom times the gift to recover

Books and friends are better received by weight than number.

The necessities of life do warrant multitude of employments, and the variety of natures excuse the diversity of delights; but to my discretion that course seems most desirable, whose business occasions no further trouble, nor leisure requires other recreations than may indifferently be entertained with books and friends. They are indeed happy who meet with such whom they may trust in both kinds; and undoubtedly wise, that can well apply them: the imperfect apprehension and misuse never producing any good effect. For so we see capacious understandings (by continual inquiry and perusal of all sorts of authors) thrive no better in their knowledge than some men of good disposition (addicted generally to acquaintance) are gainers by the reckoning, when they cast up their expense

of time. The hunger of the one breedeth a consumption, and the other's thirst not determining but by some humorous disease; nay, they who seem to respect choice, sometimes err perniciously; which the Frenchman observed, who maintained his country was much the worse by old men's studying the venom of policy, and young men's reading the dregs of fancy. And it is manifest that in our little commonwealth of learning, much disparagement is occasioned, when able spirits (attracted by familiarity) are inflamed with faction, and good natures (carried away with the stream of more pleasant company) are drowned in good fellowship.

Love that observes formality is seated rather in the brain than in the heart.

By formality, I mean something more than ceremony and compliment, (which are the gesture and phrase of dissemblers,) even a solemn reverendness, which may well consist with honesty; not but that I admire a constant gravity, which upon no assurance will bewray the least imperfection to any: but confess, I am far from suspecting simplicity, which (careful to observe more real duties towards all) is bold to trespass in points of *decorum* amongst some, which without blushing could not be confessed to others. A sign, from whence the greatest reasoner draws an argument of good affection, which (as divine charity covers many offenses) in the experience of common humanity is content to dispense with. And although policy shows it to be the safest course to give advantage to none, yet an ingenuous nature thinks that he is scarce able to distinguish betwixt an enemy and a friend, that stands wholly upon his own guard.

An enemy is better recovered by great kindness, than a friend assured.

There are some relics of goodness found even in the worst natures, and out of question seeds of evil in those who are esteemed best; whence it may appear less strange, that hearts possessed with rancor and malice are overcome with beneficence, and minds otherwise well qualified prove sometimes ungrateful; the one forced to confess satisfaction received far more than was due; the other, to acknowledge a debt of greater value than they are able to pay: howsoever, smaller courtesies seem not visible, great ones inducing an obligation upon public record.

The sincerest liberality consists in refusing, and the most innocent thrift in saving.

The bestowing of gifts is more glorious than the refusing of bribes; because gifts are commonly delivered in public, whereas men use not to confess what they owe, or offer what they ought not, before witnesses. But in true estimation, it is as honorable a virtue not to receive, as to disperse benefits; it being of greater merit wholly to abstain from things desirable, than after fruition to be content to leave them; as they who magnify single life prefer virginity much before widowhood. Yet some (in whom this kind of bounty is little observed) are unworthily censured for keeping their own, whom tenderness how to get honestly teacheth to spend discreetly; whereas such need no great thriftiness in preserving their own, who assume more liberty in exacting from others.

Commendations proceeding from subtlety, captive the object; from simplicity, the author.

There is a skill to purchase, and pay debts only with fair words, drawing on good offices, and requiting them with commendations; the felicity whereof hath

made flattery the most familiar rhetoric, a leaving the old method of persuasion, by insinuating the worth of him who desires to receive, and with more ease raising a self-conceit in the man who is apt to swallow such light bribery, and not often indisposed to digest unthankfulness so curiously seasoned. But it is no great inconvenience that kindness should be bestowed *gratis*, or upon cheap conditions; the loss is, when men of plain meaning adventure on the exchange and use of this coin, who, forward to profess their belief, image the credit of their wisdom on the behavior of such, whose actions are not within their power, and become bound in suretyship, without the help of a scrivener: which inconsiderate affection makes many earnest speakers in defense of injuries done to others, and silent patients of wrongs unexpectedly befalling themselves; desire to make good their error, pressing their tongues to so unjust service; or care to dissemble it, debarring them from the general liberty of poor complaint.

Expectation prepareth applause with the weak, and prejudice with the stronger judgments.

The fashion of commending our friends' abilities before they come to trial, sometimes takes good effect with the common sort, who, building their belief on authority, strive to follow the conceit of their betters; but usually amongst men of independent judgments, this bespeaking of opinion breeds a purpose of stricter examination; and if the report be answered, procures only a bare acknowledgment; whereas, if nothing be proclaimed or promised, they are perhaps content to signify their own skill in testifying another's desert: otherwise great wits, jealous of their credit, are ready to suppress worth in others, to the advancing of their own, and (if more ingenuous) no farther just than to forbear detraction; at the best rather disposed to give praise upon their own accord, than to make payment upon demand or challenge.

The testimony of sufficiency is better entertained than the report of excellency.

The nature of some places necessarily requires men competently endowed, but where there is choice none think the appointment to be a duty of justice bound to respect the best desert: nay, the best conceive it a work of free bounty, which men of mean qualities are likely to acknowledge, and the worldly make it a business of profit, unto which the most deserving are least apt to subscribe. But besides these unlucky influences from above, this cross success may be occasioned either by the too great confidence of those who hope to rise, or the jealous distrust of such as are already raised, whilst they too much presuming on their own desert, neglect all auxiliary strength, these suspecting some diminution to their own, stop the passage of another's worth; that being most certain, *Alterius virtuti invidet, qui diffidit suæ.*

He that appears often in the same place, gets little ground in the way to credit.

Familiar and frequent use, which makes things (at first ungrateful) by continuance pleasing or tolerable, takes away the luster from more excellent objects, and reduceth them from the height of admiration, to the low degrees of neglect, dislike, and contempt; which were not strange, if it wrought only among the vulgar, whose opinion (like their stomachs) is overcome with satiety, or men of something a higher stage, the edge of whose sight is abated and dulled by long gazing; but the same entertainment is given by the judicious and learned, either because they observe some defects, which at first sight are less visible; or the actors in this

kind betray weakness in their latter attempts, usually straining so high at first, that they are not able to reach again in the rest; or by this often obtrusion not required, discover a good conceit of their own graces; and men so well affected to themselves are generally so happy as to have little cause to complain of corivals.

The active man riseth not so well by his strength, as the expert by his stirrup.

They that climb towards preferment or greatness by their own virtue, get up with much ado and very slowly; whereas such as are raised by other means, usually ascend lightly and appear more happy in their sudden advancements, sometimes by the only strength of those who stand above, exercising their power in their dependents commonly by subordinate helps and assistance, which young men happily obtain from the commendations of friends, old men often compass by the credit of their wealth, who have a great advantage in that they are best able to purchase, and likely soonest to leave the room.

Few men thrive by one only art, fewer by many.

Amongst tradesmen of meaner sort, they are not poorest whose shop windows open over a red lattice; and the wealthiest merchants employ scriveners for security at home, as much as factors for their advantage abroad, both finding not more warrantable gains by negotiating with the industrious, than profitable returns by dealing with unthrifts. The disposition of the time hath taught this wisdom to more ingenuous professions, which are best entertained when they come accompanied with some other respects, whence preciseness is become a good habit to plead in, and papistry a privy commendation to the practice of physic, contentious zeal making most clients, and sensual superstition yielding the best patients. They who are intent by diverse means to make progress in their estate, can not succeed well, as he that would run upon his hands and feet makes less speed than one who goes as nature taught him; the untoward moving of some unskillful parts, hindering the going forward of those which are better disposed.

It is good to profess betimes, and practice at leisure.

There is a saying, *that the best choice is of an old physician, and a young lawyer:* the reason supposed, because where errors are fatal, ability of judgment and moderation are required; but where advantages may be wrought upon, diligence and quickness of wit are of more special use. But if it be considered who are generally most esteemed, it will appear that opinion of the multitude sets up the one, and the favor of authority upholds the other; yet in truth, a man's age and time are of necessary regard, such of themselves succeeding best, who in these or any other professions, neither defer their resolutions too long, nor begin their practice too soon; whereas ordinarily, they who are immaturely adventurous, by their insufficiency hurt others; they who are tedious in deliberation, by some improvidence hinder themselves.

Felicity shows the ground where industry builds a fortune.

Archimedes, the great engineer, (who, in defending *Syracuse* against *Marcellus*, showed wonderful experiments of his extraordinary skill,) was bold to say, *that he would remove the world out of his place, if he had elsewhere to set his foot.* And truly I believe so far, that otherwise he could not do it: I am sure,

so much is evident in the architecture of fortunes; in the raising of which the best art or endeavor is able to do nothing, if it have not where to lay the first stone; for it is possible with the like skill to raise a frame when we have matter, but not to create something out of nothing: the first being the ordinary effect of industry, this only of divine power. Indeed, many from very mean beginnings have aspired to very eminent place, and we usually ascribe it to their own worth, which no doubt in some is great; yet as in religion we are bound to believe, so in truth the best of them will confess, that the first advantage was reached out merely by a divine hand, which also, no doubt, did always assist their after endeavors. Some have the felicity to be born heirs to good estates, others to be made so beyond their hopes. Marriage (besides the good which oftentimes it confers directly) collaterally sometimes helps to offices, sometimes to benefices, sometimes to dignities. Many rise by relation and dependence, it being a happy step to some, to have fallen on a fortunate master, to some on a foolish, to some (few) on a good. There are divers other means, of which, as of these, I am not so fit to speak, but truly considered, they are all out of our own power, which he that presumeth most can not promise himself; and he that expects least, sometimes attains.

JOHN MILTON.

To make this Journal the repository of the History and Literature of the great subject to which it is exclusively devoted, we shall enrich our pages from time to time with some of the most valuable contributions which have been made in past years by eminent scholars and educators, either in independent treatises, or occasional suggestions, for the improvement of systems, institutions or methods of education. With this view, and because of its large scope and generous spirit, and not because its details are of immediate use, we republish the TRACTATE of John Milton, the most resplendent name for genius and culture, in prose and poetry, in English literature, on the reforming of education, which he deemed "one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on"—"the only genuine source of political and individual liberty, the only true safeguard of states, the bulwark of their prosperity and renown." The design of this essay—first published amid the revolutionary upbreak of English society, in the year 1644—was not to unfold a scheme of general education, necessarily limited and superficial in its course of study, but to map out the vast domain of literature and science, which pupils of ample leisure and fortune, and of the highest industry, and emulative ardor, with teachers of the best learning and genius, could successfully traverse and master. Its aim was far beyond anything attained at that day by the university scholars of England, and its details anticipates reforms in the direction of practical science, which after the lapse of two hundred years, are now likely to be generally introduced into the educational schemes of that country. Its diligent perusal can not but inflame any ingenuous mind "with a love of study and the admiration of virtue," and its precepts faithfully followed, can not but fit men "to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." We can not more appropriately introduce this essay than by an account of Milton's education, principally in his own vigorous and eloquent prose.

John Milton was born in London on the 9th of December, 1608. His father was a man of education and property, and gave his son every facility for acquiring a consummate education. To his mother's excellence of character and deeds of charity, Milton bears willing

testimony in his *second* eloquent defence of the people of England. His early training was partly under a private tutor, named Thomas Young, a man of learning and piety, who inspired his pupil with respect and affection; and partly in one of the public schools of London, that of St. Paul's, then presided over by Alexander Gill. On the 12th of February he entered a pensioner, [not dependent on the foundation for support, but paid for his board and tuition] of Christ's College, in the University at Cambridge, being sixteen years and two months old. After a residence of seven years, devoted to literature and the arts, as then taught, he left in the year 1632, having taken in regular course, the two degrees of bachelor and master of arts.*

On quitting the university, Milton took up his abode with his father, who had purchased a property in the village of Horton, in Buckinghamshire, devoting himself to the most thorough and comprehensive course of reading—"beholding the bright countenance of Truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies," and embodying his observations of nature and his pure and beautiful imaginings into the immortal verse of L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, of Lycidas and Comus; and above all, moulding and consolidating his own character and life into "a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honorablest things."

Of this period of his life, in his apology, Milton says,—"My morning haunts are, where they should be, at home, not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring; in winter, often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labor, or to devotion; in summer, as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier; to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have it full fraught; then with useful and generous labors, preserving the body's health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations." Milton made no pretension to a life without "some recreating intermission of labor and serious things,"—but sought in cheerful conversation, and with the harmonies

* To one of his opponents, who asserted that he had been "vomited out of the University after having spent there a riotous youth, he replied in his "Apology for Smectymnuus;"—"It hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publicly, with all grateful mind the more than ordinary favor and respect which I found, above any of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of the College, wherein I spent some years, who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is signified, many ways, how much better it would content them if I could stay, as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection toward me."

of music heard or performed, and in lofty fable and romance, to retouch his spirit to fresh issues, and prepare himself for hardier tasks.

"Next—for hear me out now, readers, that I may tell whither my younger feet wandered,—I betook me among those lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all Christendom. There I read, in the oath of every knight, that he should defend to the expense of his best blood, or even of his life, if it so befall him, the honor and chastity of virgin or matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such dear adventure of themselves had sworn. Also this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt spur, or the laying a sword upon his shoulder to stir him up, both by his counsel and his arms, to secure and protect the weakness of attempted chastity;" and then those books, read in hours of recreation, "proved to him so many incitements to the love and observation of virtue." But his strong protection against the seductions of vice was not in the laureat fraternity of poets, or the shady spaces of philosophy, but his early home religious culture. "Last of all,—not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was always had of me, with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained in the precepts of the Christian religion."

But his education was not yet complete. On the death of his mother, he visited the continent, and especially Italy, "the seat of civilization, and the hospitible domicil of every species of erudition." In a tour of fifteen months, he made the personal acquaintance of several men of genius, "whose names the world will not willingly let die;" among them, Grotius, and Galileo; and was everywhere received by men of learning, on a footing of equality, which only great conversational powers and sound scholarship could sustain. Of this portion of his life, we fortunately have a brief record from his own pen in reply to some utterly unfounded charges of his unscrupulous assailants, both as to his motives for travel, and his manner of life while abroad.

"On my departure, the celebrated Henry Wotton who had long been king James' ambassador at Venice, gave me a signal proof of his regard, in an elegant letter which he wrote, breathing not only the warmest friendship, but containing some maxims of conduct which I found very useful in my travels. The noble Thomas Scudamore, king Charles' ambassador, to whom I carried letters of recom-

mendation, received me most courteously at Paris. His lordship gave me a card of introduction to the learned Hugo Grotins, at that time ambassador from the Queen of Sweden to the French court: whose acquaintance I anxiously desired, and to whose house I was accompanied by some of his lordship's friends. A few days after, when I set out for Italy, he gave me letters to the English merchants on my route, that they might show me any civilities in their power.

Taking ship at Nice, I arrived at Genoa, and afterwards visited Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. In the latter city, which I have always more particularly esteemed for the elegance of its dialect, its genius and its taste, I stopped about two months, when I contracted an intimacy with many persons of rank and learning, and was a constant attendant at their literary parties; a practice which prevails there, and tends so much to the diffusion of knowledge and the preservation of friendship.

No time will ever abolish the agreeable recollections which I cherish of Jacob Gaddi, Carolo Dati, Cultellero, Bonomotthai, Clementillo, Francisco, and many others.

From Florence I went to Siena, thence to Rome, where, after I had spent about two months in viewing the antiquities of that renowned city, where I experienced the most friendly attentions from Lucas Holstein, and other learned and ingenious men, I continued my route to Naples. There I was introduced by a certain recluse, with whom I had traveled from Rome, to John Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a nobleman of distinguished rank and authority, to whom Torquato Tasso, the illustrious poet, inscribed his book on friendship.

During my stay he gave me singular proofs of his regard; he himself conducted me around the city, and to the palace of the viceroy: and more than once paid me a visit at my lodgings. On my departure he gravely apologized for not having shown me more civility, which he said he had been restrained from doing, because I had spoken with so little reserve on matters of religion. When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England, made me alter my purpose, for I thought it base to be traveling for amusement abroad, while my fellow citizens were fighting for liberty at home. While I was on my way back to Rome, some merchants informed me that the English Jesuits had formed a plot against me, if I returned to Rome, because I had spoken too freely on religion; for it was a rule which I laid down to myself in those places, never to first begin any conversation on religion; but if any questions were put to me concerning my faith, to declare it without reserve or fear. I never-

theless, returned to Rome. I took no steps to conceal either my person or my character; and for about the space of two months I again openly defended, as I had done before, the reformed religion, in the very metropolis of popery. By the favor of God, I got safe back to Florence, where I was received with as much affection as if I had returned to my native country. There I stopped as many months as I had done before, except that I made an excursion for a few days to Lucca; and, crossing the Apenines, passed through Bologna and Ferrara to Venice. After I had spent a month surveying the curiosities of this city, and had put on board the ship the books which I had collected in Italy, I proceeded through Verona and Milan and along the Leman lake to Geneva.

The mention of this city brings to my recollection the slandering More, and makes me again call the Deity to witness, that in all those places in which vice meets with so little discouragement, and is practiced with so little shame, I never once deviated from the path of integrity and virtue, and perpetually reflected that, though my conduct might escape the notice of men, it could not elude the inspection of God. At Geneva I held daily conferences with John Deodati, the learned professor of Theology. Then pursuing my former route through France, I returned to my native country, after an absence of one year and about three months: at the time when Charles having broken the peace, was renewing what is called the Episcopal war with the Scots, in which the royalists being routed in the first encounter, and the English being universally and justly disaffected, the necessity of his affairs at last obliged him to convene a parliament. As soon as I was able I hired a spacious house in the city for myself and my books; where I again with rapture renewed my literary pursuits, and where I calmly awaited the issue of the contest, which I trusted to the wise conduct of Providence, and to the courage of the people."

Thus equipped by genius, "the inspired gift of God rarely vouchsafed, but yet to some in every nation," by learning at once elegant and profound, and by travel, under the most favorable opportunities of studying works of art, and of intercourse with refined society, and with aspirations of the most honorable achievements for the good of his race, and the glory of God, Milton did not feel it below his position or his hopes to become a teacher, to compose school-books, and to employ his great abilities in pointing out "the right path of a virtuous and noble education,—laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect, and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming."

What he might have accomplished in his own school, if he had converted it into an "ACADEMY," such as he described in his Tractate, which was to be "at once both school and university for a complete and generous education," except in mere professional training; had he devoted himself unreservedly, for any considerable time, to this work, with text-books of his own composing,* and with pupils† capable of receiving his instruction with the same acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry and thirst after knowledge as the instructor was imbued with," is now only left to conjecture. Apart from the direct fruit of his teaching, in giving to his country a succession of well-trained youth, a portion, at least, imbued with his own ingenuous and noble ardor, "inflamed with the love of learning and the admiration of virtue, and stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages,"—his example would indirectly have elevated the office of educator of the young in public estimation, and demonstrated the wisdom of securing for it the best talent and highest culture of the community. But the times called for such talents and scholarship as he possessed, in other walks less retired and peaceful; and, "when God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal." And, he did take the trumpet, and, in defence of the people of England, and of their right to institute a republican government, and of the liberty of the press, and of conscience in matters of religion, against prelates, priests, and kings, and their hirelings, he blew a blast, again and again, "of which all Europe rang, from side to side." And, although it was his lot to fall on "evil times and evil tongues,"—to see "the good old cause" of the commonwealth shipwrecked, and every species of licentiousness roll in like a flood over the land which he would gladly have made to smile with the triumphs of temperance, frugality, knowledge, and liberty, yet, not bating one jot of heart or hope, in his blindness and disappointment, he addressed himself to the achievement of his great poem, the PARADISE LOST.

Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Milton, with that spirit of depreciation which breathes throughout his notice of Milton's opinions, character and life, and which was prompted by his hatred of the great poet's religious and political sentiments, makes the following remarks on the educational labors of our author.

"Let not our veneration for Milton forbid us to look with some degree

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* Milton was the author of a Latin Grammar, a Treatise on Logic, and a Latin Lexicon.

† This is the language of one of his pupils, who adds that such teaching, with the right sort of youth, would have produced "prodigies of wit [mind] and learning."

of merriment on great promises and small performance, on the man who hastens home, because his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and, when he reaches the scene of action, vapors away his patriotism in a private boarding-school. This is the period of his life from which all his biographers seem inclined to shrink. They are unwilling that Milton should be degraded to a school-master; but, since it cannot be denied that he taught boys, one finds out that he taught for nothing, and another that his motive was only zeal for the propagation of learning and virtue; and, all tell what they do not know to be true, only to excuse an act which no wise man will consider as, in itself, disgraceful. His father was alive; his allowance was not ample, and he supplied its deficiencies by an honest and useful employment.

It is told that, in the art of education, he performed wonders; and, a formidable list is given of the authors, Greek and Latin, that were read in Aldergate street by youth between ten and fifteen or sixteen years of age. Those who tell or receive these stories should consider that nobody can be taught faster than he can learn. The speed of the horseman must be limited by the power of the horse. Every man that has ever undertaken to instruct others can tell what slow advances he has been able to make, and how much patience it requires to recall vagrant inattention, to stimulate sluggish indifference, and to rectify absurd misapprehension.

The purpose of Milton, as it seems, was to teach something more solid than the common literature of schools, by reading those authors that treat of physical subjects: such as the Georgick, and astronomical treatises of the ancients. This was a scheme of improvement which seems to have busied many literary projectors of that age. Cowley, who had more means than Milton of knowing what was wanting to the embellishments of life, formed the same plan of education in his imaginary college.

But, the truth is, that the knowledge of external nature, and the sciences which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and and wrong; the next is an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with those examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and Justice are virtues and excellencies of all times and of all places; we are perpetually moralists, but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intellectual nature is necessary; our speculations upon

matter are voluntary, and at leisure. Physiological learning is of such rare emergency that one may know another half his life, without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostatics or astronomy; but, his moral and prudential character immediately appears.

Those authors, therefore, are to be read at schools that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, and most materials for conversation; and, these purposes are best served by poets, orators, and historians.

Let me not be censured for this digression, as pedantic or paradoxical; for, if I have Milton against me, I have Socrates on my side. It was his labor to turn philosophy from the study of nature to speculations upon life; but, the innovators whom I oppose are turning off attention from life to nature. They seem to think that we are placed here to watch the growth of plants, or the motions of the stars. Socrates was rather of opinion that what we had to learn was, how to do good, and avoid evil.

Οτ̀ι τοι εν μεγαροισι κακον̀ αγάθονε τετυκ̀ται.

Of institutions, we may judge by their effects. From this wonder-working academy, I do not know that there ever proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge: its only genuine product, I believe, is a small history of poetry, written in Latin, by his nephew, Philips, of which, perhaps, none of my readers has ever heard.*

That in his school, as in every thing else which he undertook, he labored with great diligence, there is no reason for doubting. One part of his method deserves general imitation. He was careful to instruct his scholars in religion. Every Sunday was spent upon theology; of which he dictated a short system, gathered from the writers that were then fashionable in the Dutch universities.

He set his pupils an example of hard study and spare diet; only now and then he allowed himself to pass a day of festivity and indulgence with some gay gentlemen of Gray's Inn."

To these disparaging remarks we add a few sensible comments, by Rev. John Mitford, in his elegantly written life, prefixed to Pickering's Aldine edition of Milton's Poetical Works.

"The system of education which he adopted was deep and comprehensive; it promised to teach science with language, or rather, to make the study of languages subservient to the acquisition of scientific knowledge. Dr. Johnson has severely censured this method of instruction, but with arguments that might not unsuccessfully be met.

* We may be sure, at least, that Dr. Johnson had never seen the book he speaks of; for it is entirely composed in English, though its title begins with two Latin words, "Theatrum Poetarum; or, a complete Collection of the Poets, &c.," a circumstance that probably misled the biographer of Milton.

The plan recommended by the authority of Milton seems to be chiefly liable to objection, from being too extensive; and, while it makes authors of all ages contribute to the development of science, it, of course, must reject that careful selection, which can alone secure the cultivation of the taste. We may also reply to Johnson that, although all men are not designed to be astronomers, or geometricians, a knowledge of the principles on which the sciences are built, and the reasonings by which they are conducted, not only forms the most exact discipline which the mind can undergo, giving to it comprehension and vigor; but, is the only solid basis on which an investigation of the laws of nature can be conducted, or those arts improved that tend to the advantage of society, and the happiness of mankind.

Johnson says, we are not placed here to watch the planets, or the motion of the stars, but to do good. But, good is done in various ways, according to opportunities offered, and abilities conferred; a man whose natural disposition, or the circumstances of whose education lead to pursue astronomical discoveries, or the sublime speculations of geometry, is emphatically doing good to others, as he is extending the boundaries of knowledge, and to himself, as he is directing the energies of his mind to subjects of the most exalted contemplation."

Having, in the foregoing extract from Dr. Johnson, introduced an ungenerous fling of that great but prejudiced writer against the patriotism of JOHN MILTON, because, in the absence of any other opportunity of being equally useful to the cause in which his heart was enlisted, and until he was summoned by the parliament of England and its great Protector, "to address the whole collective body of people, cities, states, and councils of the wise and eminent, through the wide expanse of anxious and listening Europe," he saw fit to employ his great abilities in illustrating, by pen and example, the true principles and method of a generous and thorough education, "the only genuine source of political and individual liberty,—the only true safeguard of states," and to defend the cause of civil and religious freedom by his publications,—we will let the great champion of the commonwealth of England speak for himself, and refresh the patriotism of our own times by a few of his burning words, uttered over two hundred years ago in his "*Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.*"

"But against this dark array of long received opinions, superstitions, obloquy, and fears, which some dread even more than the enemy himself, the English had to contend; and all this under the light of better information, and favored by an impulse from above, they overcame with such singular enthusiasm and bravery, that, great as were the numbers engaged in the contest, the grandeur of conception and loftiness of spirit which were universally displayed, merited for each individual more than a mediocrity of fame; and Britain, which was formerly styled

the hot bed of tyranny, will hereafter deserve to be celebrated for endless ages, as a soil most genial to the growth of liberty. During the mighty struggle, no anarchy, no licentiousness was seen; no illusions of glory, no extravagant emulation of the ancients inflamed them with a thirst for ideal liberty; but the rectitude of their lives, and the sobriety of their habits, taught them the only true and safe road to real liberty, and they took up arms only to defend the sanctity of the laws and the rights of conscience.

Relying on the divine assistance, they used every honorable exertion to break the yoke of slavery; of the praise of which, though I claim no share to myself, yet I can easily repel any charge which may be adduced against me, either of want of courage or want of zeal. For though I did not participate in the toils or dangers of the war, yet I was at the same time engaged in a service not less hazardous to myself, and more beneficial to my fellow citizens, nor, in the adverse turns of our affairs, did I ever betray any symptoms of pusilanimity and dejection, or show myself more afraid than became me of malice or of death; for since from my youth I was devoted to the pursuits of literature, and my mind had always been stronger than my body, I did not court the labors of a camp, in which any common person would have been of more service than myself, but resorted to that employment in which my exertions were likely to be of most avail. Thus, with the better part of my frame I contributed as much as possible to the good of my country, and to the success of the glorious cause in which we were engaged; and I thought if God willed the success of such glorious achievements, it was equally agreeable to his will that there should be others by whom those achievements should be recorded with dignity and elegance; and that the truth which had been defended by arms, should also be defended by reason, which is the best and only legitimate means of defending it. Hence, while I applaud those who were victorious in the field, I will not complain of the province which was assigned me, but rather congratulate myself upon it and thank the Author of all good for having placed me in a station which may be an object of envy to others rather than of regret to myself.

I am far from wishing to make any vain or arrogant comparisons, or to speak ostentatiously of myself; but, in a cause so great and glorious, and particularly on an occasion when I am called by the general suffrage to defend the very defenders of that cause, I can hardly refrain from assuming a more lofty and swelling tone than the simplicity of an exordium may seem to justify: and as much as I may be surpassed in the powers of eloquence and copiousness of diction, by the illustrious orators of antiquity, yet the subject of which I treat was never surpassed in any age, in dignity or in interest. It has excited such general and such ardent expectation, that I imagine myself not in the forum or on the rostra, surrounded only by the people of Athens or of Rome, but about to address in this as in my former defence, the whole collective body of people, cities, states, and councils of the wise and eminent, through the wide expanse of anxious and listening Europe. I seem to survey, as from a towering height, the far extended tracts of sea and land, and innumerable crowds of spectators, betraying in their looks the liveliest, and sensations the most congenial with my own. Here I behold the stout and manly prowess of the German, disdaining servitude; there the generous and lively impetuosity of the French; on this side, the calm and stately valor of the Spaniard; on that, the composed and wary magnanimity of the Italian. Of all the lovers of liberty and virtue, the magnanimous and the wise, in whatever quarter they may be found, some secretly favor, othesr openly approve; some greet me with congratulation and applause; others who had long been proof against conviction, at last yield themselves captive to the force of truth. Surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine that, from the columns of Hercules to the Indian Ocean, I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty which they so long had lost; and that the people of this island are transporting to other countries a plant of more beneficial qualities, and more noble growth than that which Triptolemus is reported to have carried from region to region; that they are disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities, kingdoms, and nations."

In further notice of the charges against himself, and especially that his loss of sight was a judgment for using his eyes in writing against

the divine rights of kings, and in defence of the people of England for dethroning and beheading their monarch, he thus speaks:

"Respecting my blindness; * * * I must submit to my affliction. It is not so wretched to be blind, as it is not to be capable of enduring blindness. But why should I not endure a misfortune which it behooves every one to be prepared to endure, if it should happen; which may, in the common course of things, happen to any man; and which has been known to happen to the most distinguished and virtuous persons in history. Shall I mention those wise and ancient bards, whose misfortunes the gods are said to have compensated by superior endowments, and whom men so much revered that they chose rather to impute their want of sight to the injustice of heaven than to their own want of innocence or virtue? [After citing the virtues of Tiresias, Timoleon, Appius Claudius, Metellus, the incomparable Doge Dandolo, and the patriarch Isaac—] Did not our Saviour himself clearly declare that that poor man whom he restored to sight had not been born blind, either on account of his own sins, or of the sins of his progenitors? and with respect to myself, though I have accurately examined my conduct, and scrutinized my soul, I call thee, O God, the searcher of hearts, to witness, that I am not conscious, either in the more early, or in the later periods of my life, of having committed any enormity which might deservedly have marked me out as a fit object for such calamitous visitation. But since my enemies boast that this affliction is only a retribution for the transgressions of my pen, I again invoke the Almighty to witness, that I never, at any time, wrote any thing which I did not think agreeable to truth, to justice and to piety. This was my persuasion then, and I feel the same persuasion now. Nor was I prompted to such exertions by the influence of ambition, by the lust of lucre or of praise; it was only the conviction of duty and the feeling of patriotism, a disinterested passion for the extension of civil and religious liberty.

Thus, therefore, when I was publicly solicited to write a reply to the defence of the royal cause, when I had to contend with the pressure of sickness, and with the apprehension of soon losing the sight of my remaining eye, and when my medical attendants clearly announced that if I did engage in the work, it would be irreparably lost, their premonitions caused no hesitation and inspired no dismay. My resolution was unshaken, though the alternative was the loss of my sight, or the desertion of duty. Let, then, the calumniators of the divine goodness cease to revile, or to make me the object of their superstitious imaginations. Let them consider that my situation, such as it is, is neither the object of my shame or of my regret; that I am not depressed by any sense of the divine displeasure, and that in the solace and the strength which have been infused into me from above, I have been able to do the will of God; that I oftener think on what he hath bestowed than on what he hath withheld, and that in my consciousness of rectitude I feel a treasured store of tranquility and delight.

But if the choice were necessary, I would prefer my blindness to that of my adversaries;—theirs is a cloud spread over the mind which darkens both the light of reason and conscience;—mine keeps from my view only the colored surfaces of things, while it leaves me at liberty to contemplate the beauty and stability of virtue and truth. There is, as the apostle has remarked, a way to strength through weakness. Let me be the most feeble creature alive, as long as my feebleness seems to invigorate the energies of my rational and immortal spirit; as long as in that obscurity in which I am enveloped, the light of the divine presence more clearly shines,—then, in proportion as I am weak, I shall be invincibly strong; and in proportion as I am blind, I shall more clearly see. O, that I may be perfected by feebleness and irradiated by obscurity! And indeed, in my blindness I enjoy, in no inconsiderable degree, the favor of the Deity, who regards me with more tenderness as I am able to behold nothing but himself! Alas for him who insults me, who maligns and merits public execration! For the divine law not only shields me from injury, but almost renders me too sacred to attack; not, indeed, so much from the privation of sight, as from the overshadowing of those heavenly wings which seem to have occasioned this obscurity, and which, when occasioned, he is wont to illuminate with an interior light more precious and more pure. To this I ascribe the more tender assiduities of my friends, their soothing attentions, their kind visits, their reverential observances. Nor do persons of prin-

cipal distinction suffer me to be bereaved of comfort, when they see me bereaved of sight amid the exertions which I made, the zeal which I showed, and the dangers which I run for the liberty which I love. They do not strip me of the badge of honor which I have once worn; they do not deprive me of the places of public trust to which I have been appointed, nor do they abridge my salary or emoluments. Thus, while both God and man unite in solacing me under the height of my affliction, let no one lament my loss of sight in so honorable a cause!"

After paying an eloquent tribute of gratitude and praise to Cromwell, Bradshaw, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Overton, Whitlocke, Lawrence, and others who distinguished themselves and served their country by their exertions in the senate and in the field, Milton closes with advice worthy to be held in everlasting remembrance with the Farewell Address of George Washington.

"To these men, whose talents are so splendid, and whose worth has been so thoroughly tried, you would, without doubt, do right to trust the protection of our liberties; nor would it be easy to say to whom they might more safely be entrusted. Then, if you leave the church to its own government, and relieve yourself and the other public functionaries from a charge so onerous, and so incompatible with your functions; and will no longer suffer two powers, so different as the civil and the ecclesiastical, to commit fornication together, and by their mutual and delusive aids in appearance to strengthen, but in reality to weaken, and finally to subvert each other; if you shall remove all power of persecution out of the church, (but, persecution will never cease, so long as men are bribed to preach the gospel by a mercenary salary, which is forcibly extorted, rather than gratuitously bestowed, which serves only to poison religion and to strangle truth,) you will then effectually have cast those money-changers out of the temple, who do not merely truckle with doves but with the Dove itself, with the Spirit of the Most High. Then, since there are often in a republic men who have the same itch for making a multiplicity of laws, as some poetasters have for making many verses, and, since laws are usually worse in proportion as they are more numerous, if you shall not enact so many new laws as you abolish old, which do not operate so much as warnings against evil, as impediments in the way of good; and, if you shall retain only those which are necessary, which do not confound the distinctions of good and evil, which, while they prevent the frauds of the wicked, do not prohibit the innocent freedoms of the good, which punish crimes, without interdicting those things which are lawful only on account of the abuses to which they may occasionally be exposed. For, the intention of laws is to check the commission of vice; but, liberty is the best school of virtue, and affords the strongest encouragements to the practice. Then, if you make a better provision for the education of our youth than has hitherto been made, if you prevent the promiscuous instruction of the docile and the indocile, of the idle and the diligent, at the public cost, but reserve the rewards of learning for the learned, and of merit for the meritorious. If you permit the free discussion of truth, without any hazard to the author, or any subjection to the caprice of an individual, which is the best way to make truth flourish and knowledge abound, the censure of the half-learned, the envy, the pusillanimity, or the prejudice which measures the discoveries of others, and, in short, every degree of wisdom, by the measure of its own capacity, will be prevented from doling out information to us according to their own arbitrary choice. Lastly, if you shall not dread to hear any truth, or any falsehood, whatever it may be, but if you shall least of all listen to those who think that they can never be free till the liberties of others depend on their caprice, and who attempt nothing with so much zeal and vehemence as to fetter, not only the bodies but the minds of men, who labor to introduce into the state the worst of all tyrannies, the tyranny of their own depraved habits and pernicious opinions; you will always be dear to those who think not merely that their own sect or faction, but that all citizens, of all descriptions, should enjoy equal rights and equal laws. If there be any one who thinks that this is not liberty enough, he appears to me to be rather inflamed with the lust of ambition or of anarchy than with the love of a genuine and well-regulated liberty; and particularly, since the circumstances of

the country, which has been so convulsed by the storms of faction, which are yet hardly still, do not permit us to adopt a more perfect or desirable form of government.

For, it is of no little consequence, O citizens, by what principles you are governed, either in acquiring liberty, or in retaining it when acquired. And, unless that liberty, which is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, which alone is the fruit of piety, of justice, of temperance, and unadulterated virtue, shall have taken deep root in your minds and hearts, there will not long be wanting one who will snatch from you by treachery what you have acquired by arms. War has made many great whom peace makes small. If, after being released from the toils of war, you neglect the arts of peace, if your peace and your liberty be a state of warfare, if war be your only virtue, the summit of your praise, you will, believe me, soon find peace the most adverse to your interests. Your peace will be only a more distressing war; and, that which you imagined liberty, will prove the worst of slavery. Unless, by the means of piety, not frothy and loquacious, but operative, unadulterated, and sincere, you clear the horizon of the mind from those mists of superstition which arise from the ignorance of true religion, you will always have those who will bend your necks to the yoke, as if you were brutes, who, notwithstanding all your triumphs, will put you up to the highest bidder, as if you were mere booty made in war; and, will find an exuberant source of wealth in your ignorance and superstition. Unless you will subjugate the propensity to avarice, to ambition, and sensuality, and expel all luxury from yourselves and from your families, you will find that you have cherished a more stubborn and intractable despot at home than you ever encountered in the field; and, even your very bowels will be continually teeming with an intolerable progeny of tyrants. Let these be the first enemies whom you subdue; this constitutes the campaign of peace; these are triumphs, difficult, indeed, but bloodless; and far more honorable than those trophies which are purchased only by slaughter and by rapine. Unless you are victors in this service, it is in vain that you have been victorious over the despotic enemy in the field. For, if you think that it is a more grand, a more beneficial, or a more wise policy, to invent subtle expedients for increasing the revenue, to multiply our naval and military force, to rival in craft the ambassadors of foreign states, to form skillful treaties and alliances, than to administer unpolluted justice to the people, to redress the injured, and to succor the distressed, and speedily to restore to every one his own, you are involved in a cloud of error; and, too late, will you perceive, when the illusion of those mighty benefits has vanished, that, in neglecting these, which you now think inferior considerations, you have only been precipitating your own ruin and despair. The fidelity of enemies and allies is frail and perishing, unless it be cemented by the principles of justice; that wealth and those honors, which most covet, readily change masters; they forsake the idle, and repair where virtue, where industry, where patience flourish most. Thus nation precipitates the downfall of nation; thus, the more sound part of one people subverts the more corrupt, thus you obtained the ascendant over the royalists. If you plunge into the same depravity, if you imitate their excesses, and hanker after the same vanities, you will become royalists as well as they, and liable to be subdued by the same enemies, or by others in your turn; who, placing their reliance on the same religious principles, the same patience, the same integrity and discretion which made you strong, will deservedly triumph over you who are immersed in debauchery, in the luxury and the sloth of kings. Then, as if God was weary of protecting you, you will be seen to have passed through the fire, that you might perish in the smoke; the contempt which you will then experience will be great as the admiration which you now enjoy; and, what may in future profit others, but can not benefit yourselves, you will leave a salutary proof what great things the solid reality of virtue and of piety might have effected, when the mere counterfeit and varnished resemblance could attempt such mighty achievements, and make such considerable advances towards the execution. For, if either, through your want of knowledge, your want of constancy, or your want of virtue, attempts so noble, and actions so glorious, have had an issue so unfortunate, it does not, therefore, follow, that better men should be either less daring in their projects or less sanguine in their hopes. But, from such an abyss of corruption into which you so readily fall, no one, not even Cromwell himself, nor a whole nation of Brutuses, if they were alive, could deliver you if they would, or would deliver you if they could. For,

who would vindicate your right of unrestrained suffrage, or of choosing what representatives you liked best, merely that you might elect the creatures of your own faction, whoever they might be, or him, however small might be his worth, who would give you the most lavish feasts, and enable you to drink to the greatest excess? Thus, not wisdom and authority, but turbulence and gluttony, would soon exalt the vilest miscreants from our taverns and our brothels, from our towns and villages, to the rank and dignity of senators. For, should the management of the republic be entrusted to persons to whom no one would willingly entrust the management of his private concerns; and the treasury of the state be left to the care of those who had lavished their own fortunes in an infamous prodigality? Should they have the charge of the public purse, which they would soon convert into a private, by their unprincipled peculations? Are they fit to be the legislators of a whole people who themselves know not what law, what reason, what right and wrong, what crooked and straight, what licit and illicit means? who think that all power consists in outrage, all dignity in the parade of insolence? who neglect every other consideration for the corrupt gratification of their friendships, or the prosecution of their resentments? who disperse their own relations and creatures through the provinces, for the sake of levying taxes and confiscating goods; men, for the greater part, the most profligate and vile, who buy up for themselves what they pretend to expose to sale, who thence collect an exhorbitant mass of wealth, which they fraudulently divert from the public service; who thus spread their pillage through the country, and, in a moment emerge from penury and rags to a state of splendor and of wealth? Who could endure such thievish servants, such vicegerents of their lords? Who could believe that the masters and the patrons of a banditti could be the proper guardians of liberty? or, who would suppose that he should ever be made one hair more free by such a set of public functionaries, (though they might amount to five hundred elected in this manner from the counties and boroughs,) when among them who are the very guardians of liberty, and to whose custody it is committed, there must be so many who know not either how to use or to enjoy liberty, who neither understand the principles nor merit the possession? But, what is worthy of remark, those who are the most unworthy of liberty are wont to behave most ungratefully toward their deliverers. Among such persons, who would be willing either to fight for liberty, or to encounter the least peril in its defence? It is not agreeable to the nature of things that such persons ever should be free. However much they may brawl about liberty, they are slaves, both at home and abroad, but without perceiving it; and, when they do perceive it, like unruly horses that are impatient of the bit, they will endeavor to throw off the yoke, not from the love of genuine liberty, (which a good man only loves, and knows how to obtain,) but from the impulses of pride and little passions. But, though they often attempt it by arms, they will make no advances to the execution; they may change their masters, but will never be able to get rid of their servitude. This often happened to the ancient Romans, wasted by excess, and enervated by luxury: and, it has still more so been the fate of the moderns; when, after a long interval of years, they aspired, under the auspices of Crescentius, Nomentanus, and, afterwards, of Nicolas Rentius, who had assumed the title of Tribune of the People, to restore the splendor and reëstablish the government of ancient Rome. For, instead of fretting with vexation, or thinking that you can lay the blame on any one but yourselves, know that to be free is the same thing as to be pious, to be wise, to be temperate and just, to be frugal and abstinent, and, lastly, to be magnanimous and brave; so, to be the opposite of all these is the same as to be a slave; and, it usually happens, by the appointment and, as it were, retributive justice of the Deity, that that people which cannot govern themselves, and moderate their passions, but crouch under the slavery of their lusts, should be delivered up to the sway of those whom they abhor, and made to submit to an involuntary servitude. It is also sanctioned by the dictates of justice and by the constitution of nature, that he who, from the imbecility or derangement of his intellect, is incapable of governing himself, should, like a minor, be committed to the government of another; and, least of all, should he be appointed to superintend the affairs of others or the interest of the state.

You, therefore, who wish to remain free, either instantly be wise, or, as soon as possible, cease to be fools; if you think slavery an intolerable evil, learn obedience to reason and the government of yourselves; and, finally, bid adieu to your

dissensions, your jealousies, your superstitions, your outrages, your rapine, and your lusts. Unless you will spare no pains to effect this, you must be judged unfit both by God and mankind, to be entrusted with the possession of liberty and the administration of the government; but, will rather, like a nation in a state of pupilage, want some active and courageous guardian to undertake the management of your affairs. With respect to myself, whatever turn things may take, I thought that my exertions on the present occasion would be serviceable to my country; and, as they have been cheerfully bestowed, I hope that they have not been bestowed in vain. And, I have not circumscribed my defence of liberty within any petty circle around me, but have made it so general and comprehensive, that the justice and the reasonableness of such uncommon occurrences, explained and defended, both among my countrymen and among foreigners, and which all good men can not but approve, may serve to exalt the glory of my country, and to excite the imitation of posterity. If the conclusion do not answer to the beginning, that is their concern; I have delivered my testimony, I would almost say, have erected a monument that will not readily be destroyed, to the reality of those singular and mighty achievements which were above all praise. As the epic poet, who adheres at all to the rules of that species of composition, does not profess to describe the whole life of the hero whom he celebrates, but only some particular action of his life, as the resentment of Achilles at Troy, the return of Ulysses, or the coming of Æneas into Italy; so it will be sufficient, either for my justification or apology, that I have heroically celebrated at least one exploit of my countrymen; I pass by the rest, for who could recite the achievements of a whole people? If, after such a display of courage and of vigor, you basely relinquish the path of virtue, if you do anything unworthy of yourselves, posterity will sit in judgment on your conduct. They will see that the foundations were well laid; that the beginning (nay, it was more than a beginning) was glorious; but, with deep emotions of concern, will they regret, that those were wanting who might have completed the structure. They will lament that perseverance was not conjoined with such exertions and such virtues. They will see that there was a rich harvest of glory, and an opportunity afforded for the greatest achievements, but that men only were wanting for the execution; while they were not wanting, who could rightly counsel, exhort, inspire, and bind an unfading wreath of praise round the brows of the illustrious actors in so glorious a scene."

WORDSWORTH

After reading these noble sentiments, we feel, with Wadsworth, that not only England, but our country, and the World hath need of just such men at this crisis of affairs.

> Milton! thou should'st be living at this hour:
> The world hath need of thee.
>
> * * * * We are selfish men:
> Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
> And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
> Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart:
> Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea:
> Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free.
> So didst thou travel on life's common way,
> In cheerful godliness; and yet, thy heart
> The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

We pass now to Milton's Tractate on Education, to which we have prepared brief Notes, referred to [1–72] in the text, which will be published in a subsequent article.

MILTON'S SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.

[From Masson's "*Life and Times of John Milton.*"]*

HOME EDUCATION OF MILTON.

MORE important in his case than contact with the world of city sights and city humors lying around the home of his childhood, was the training he received within that home itself. It is a warm and happy home. Peace, comfort and industry reign within it. During the day the scrivener is busy with his apprentices and clerks; but in the evening the family are gathered together—the father on one side, the mother on the other, the eldest girl and her brother John seated near, and little Kit lying on the hearth. A grave puritanic piety was then the order in the households of most of the respectable citizens of London; and in John Milton's home there was more than usual of the accompanying affection for puritanic habits and modes of thought. Religious reading and devout exercises would be part of the regular life of the family. And thus a disposition towards the serious, a regard for religion as the chief concern of life, and a dutiful love of the parents who so taught him, would be cultivated in Milton from his earliest years. Happy child, to have such parents; happy parents, to have such a child!

But the scrivener, though a serious man, was also a man of liberal culture. "He was an ingeniose man," says Aubrey; and Phillips, who could recollect him personally, says that while prudent in business, "he did not so far quit his generous and ingenious inclinations as to make himself wholly a slave to the world." His acquaintance with literature was that of a man who had been sometime at college. But his special faculty was music. He had so cultivated the art as to acquire in it a reputation above that of an ordinary amateur. He was a contributor with twenty-one of the first English composers then living, in a collection of madrigals published under the title of "*The Triumphs of Oriana,*" all originally intended to be sung at an entertainment in compliment to Queen Elizabeth. His name also appears in "*The Whole Book of Psalms,*" 1621, and "*The Tears and Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule,*" 1614. An organ and other instruments were part of the furniture in the house in Bread Street, and much of his spare time was given to musical study and practice. Hence we can readily understand the high place given by Milton to music in his "*Tractate on Education.*" The intervals of more severe labor, he said, might "both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music, heard or learnt—either while the skillful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties, which,

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* Vol. I. pp. 658. Republished by GOULD & LINCOLN.

if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners to smooth and make them gentle." Of this kind of education Milton had the full advantage. Often must he, as a child, have bent over his father while composing, or listened to him as he played. Not unfrequently of an evening, if one or two of his father's musical acquaintances dropped in, there would be voices enough in the Spread-Eagle for a little household concert. Then might the well-printed and well-kept set of the *Orianas* be brought out; and, each one present taking a suitable part, the child might hear, and always with fresh delight, his father's own madrigal:—

> Fair Oriana, in the morn,
> Before the day was born,
> With velvet steps on ground,
> Which made nor print nor sound,
> Would see her nymphs abed,
> What lives those ladies led:
> The roses blushing said,
> "O, stay, thou shepherd-maid!"
> And, on a sudden, all
> They rose, and heard her call.
> Then sang those shepherds and nymphs of Diana,
> "Long live fair Oriana, long live fair Oriana!"

They can remember little how a child is affected who do not see how from the words, as well as from the music of this song, a sense of fantastic grace would sink into the mind of the boy—how Oriana and her nymphs and a little Arcadian grass-plat would be before him, and a chorus of shepherds would be seen singing at the close, and yet, somehow or other, it was all about Queen Elizabeth! And so, if, instead of the book of Madrigals, it was the thin, large volume of Sir William Leighton's "*Tears and Lamentations*" that furnished the song of the evening.

Joining with his young voice in these exercises of the family, the boy became a singer almost as soon as he could speak. We see him going to the organ for his own amusement, picking out little melodies by the ear, and stretching his tiny fingers in search of pleasing chords. According to Aubrey, his father taught him music, and made him an accomplished organist.

But, in the most musical household, music fills up but part of the domestic evening; and sometimes it would not be musical friends, but acquaintances of more general tastes, that would step in to spend an hour or two in the Spread-Eagle.

Among the friends of the family were the Rev. Richard Stocke, the minister of the parish of Allhallows, Bread-street, "a constant, judicious, and religious preacher;" Humphrey Lownes, a printer and publisher; and John Lane, the author of "*Poetical Vision*," and continuation of the "*Squire's Tale*" in Chaucer, thus finishing that "story of Cambuscan bold," which, the son afterwards noted, had been left "half-told" by the great original. In the conversation of such men, Milton's boyhood had educational stimulus and food of the best quality.

MILTON'S BOOK AND SCHOOL TRAINING.

Writing in 1641, while his father was still alive, Milton describes his early scholastic education in these words:—"I had, from my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father, (whom God recompense) been exer-

cised to the tongues and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and the schools." And again, in another publication after his father was dead:—"My father destined me, while yet a little child, for the study of humane letters. * * * Both at the grammar-school and under other masters at home he caused me to be instructed daily."

PRIVATE TEACHERS.

The only teacher of Milton of whom we have a distinct account from himself, as one of his masters before he went to a regular grammar-school, or who taught him privately while he was attending such a school, was Thomas Young, afterwards a Puritan minister in Suffolk, and well known in his later life as a prominent divine of the Puritan party.

He was a Scotchman by birth. In one of his subsequent publications, at a time when it was not convenient for a Puritan minister of Suffolk to announce his name in full, he signed himself "*Theophilus Philo-Kuriaces Loncardiensis*," which may be translated "Theophilus Kirklover, native of Loncardy," where he was born in 1587. He was sent thence to the University of St. Andrews, where his name is found among the matriculations at St. Leonard's College in 1602. After completing his education in Arts there, and probably also becoming a licenciate of the Scottish Kirk, he migrated into England in quest of occupation—about the very time, it would seem, when the efforts of King James to establish Episcopacy in Scotland were causing commotion among the Scottish Kirkmen. He settled in or near London, and appears to have supported himself partly by assisting Puritan ministers, and partly by teaching.

From Young's subsequent career, and from the unusually affectionate manner in which Milton afterwards speaks of him, it is clear that however his gait and accent may have at first astonished Mrs. Milton, he was a man of many good qualities. The poet, writing to him a few years after he had ceased to be his pupil, speaks of the "incredible and singular gratitude he owed him on account of the services he had done him," and calls God to witness that he reverenced him as a father. And, again, more floridly in a Latin elegy, in words which may be translated thus:—

"Dearer he to me than thou, most learned of the Greeks (Socrates) to Cliniades (Alcibiades) who was the descendant of Telamon; and than the great Stagirite to his generous pupil (Alexander the Great) whom the loving Chaonis bore to Libyan Jove. Such as Amyntorides (Phœnix) and the Philyreian hero (Chiron) were to the king of the Myrmidones (Achilles, the pupil, according to the legend, of Phœnix and Chiron,) such is he also to me. First, under his guidance, I explored the recesses of the Muses, and beheld the sacred green spots of the cleft summit of Parnassus, and quaffed the Pierian cups, and, Clio favoring me, thrice sprinkled my joyful mouth with Castalian wine."

The meaning of which, in more literal prose, is that Young grounded his pupil well in Latin, gave him perhaps also a little Greek, and at the same time awoke in him a feeling for poetry, and set him upon the making of English and Latin verses.

How long Young's preceptorship lasted, can not be determined with precision. It certainly closed about 1622, when Young left England at the age of thirty-five, and became pastor of the congregation of English merchants settled in Hamburg.

MILTON AT ST PAUL'S SCHOOL.

From the first it had been the intention of Milton's father to send his son to one of the public schools in town, and before 1620 this intention had been carried into effect.

London was at that time by no means ill provided with schools. Besides various schools of minor note, there were some distinguished as classical seminaries. Notable among these was St. Paul's School in St. Paul's Churchyard, a successor of the old Cathedral School of St. Paul's, which had existed in the same place from time immemorial. Not less celebrated was Westminster School, founded anew by Elizabeth in continuation of an older monastic school which had existed in Catholic times. Ben Jonson, George Herbert, and Giles Fletcher, all then alive, had been educated at this school; and the great Camden, after serving in it as under-master, had held the office of head-master since 1592. Then there was St. Anthony's free school in Threadneedle street, where Sir Thomas More and Archbishop Whitgift had been educated—once so flourishing that at the public debates in logic and grammar between the different schools of the city, St. Anthony's scholars generally carried off the palm. In particular there was a feud on this score between the St. Paul's boys and the St. Anthony's boys—the St. Paul's boys nicknaming their rivals "Anthony's pigs," in allusion to the pig which was generally represented as following this Saint in his pictures; and the St. Anthony's boys somewhat feebly retaliating by calling the St. Paul's boys "Paul's pigeons," in allusion to the pigeons that used to hover about the cathedral. Though the nicknames survived, the feud was now little more than a tradition—St. Anthony's school having come sorely down in the world, while the pigeons of Paul's fluttered higher than ever. A more formidable rival in the city now to St. Paul's, was the free-school of the Merchant Tailors' Company, founded in 1561. Finally, besides these public day schools, there were schools of note kept by speculative schoolmasters on their own account; of which by far the highest in reputation was that of Thomas Farnabie, in Goldsmith's Rents, near Cripplegate.

Partly on account of its nearness to Bread-street, St. Paul's school was that chosen by the scrivener for the education of his son, when he was in or just over his twelfth year.*

There were in all eight classes. In the first or lowest the younger pupils were taught their rudiments; and thence, according to their proficiency, they were at stated times advanced into the other forms till they reached the eighth, whence, "being commonly by this time made perfect grammarians, good orators and poets, and well instructed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and sometimes in other Oriental tongues," they passed to the Universities. The curriculum of the school extended over from four to six years, the age of entry being from eight to twelve, and that of departure from fourteeen to eighteen.†

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* A description of St. Paul's School will be found on pages 141–142.

† For the account of St. Paul's School given in the text, the authorities are,—Stow, edit. 1603, pp. 74, 75; Fuller, Church History, Book V., Section 1; Mr. Cunningham, in his Handbook of London, article "Paul's School;" and, most of all, Strype in his edition of Stow, 1720, vol. I., pp. 163—169. Strype was himself a scholar of St. Paul's from 1657 to 1661, or about thirty-seven years after Milton. The original school was destroyed in the great fire of 1666; but Strype remembered the old building well, and his description of it is affectionately minute.

From the moment that Milton became a "pigeon of St. Paul's," all this would be familiar to him. The school-room, its walls and windows and inscriptions; the head-master's chair; the bust of Colet over it, looking down on the busy young flock gathered together by his deed and scheming a hundred years after he was dead; the busy young flock itself, ranged out in their eight forms, and filling the room with their ceaseless hum; the head-master and the sur-master walking about in their gowns, and occasionally perhaps the two surveyors from the Mercers dropping in to see—what man of any memory is there who does not know that this would impress the boy unspeakably, and sink into him so as never to be forgotten? For inquisitive boys, even the traditions of their school, if it has any, are of interest; and they soon become acquainted with them. And so in Milton's case, the names of old pupils of St. Paul's who had become famous, from Leland down to the still-living prodigy Camden, who (though he had been mainly educated elsewhere, had also for a time been a St. Paul's scholar) would be dwelt on with pleasure; and gradually also the names of the head-masters before Mr. Gill would come to be known in order, from Richard Mulcaster, Gill's immediate predecessor, back through Harrison, Malim, Cook, Freeman, and Jones, to John Rightwis, Lilly's successor and son-in-law, who had acted in a Latin play with his scholars before Wolsey, and so to Lilly himself, the great Abraham of the series, and the friend of Colet.

After all, however, the paramount influence of the school lay necessarily in the character and qualifications of the two masters for the time being. These, at the time with which we are concerned, were Mr. Gill, the head-master, and his son, Alexander Gill, the younger, then acting as usher.

Old Mr. Gill, as he now began to be called, partly to distinguish him from his son, and partly because he was verging on his fifty-seventh year, fully maintained the ancient credit of the school. According to Wood, he was "esteemed by most persons to be a learned man, a noted Latinist, critic and divine, and also to have such an excellent way of training up youth that none in his time went beyond it." Having looked over all that remains of the old gentleman to verify or disprove this judgment—to wit, three works published by him at intervals during his life—we can safely say that the praise does not seem overstated. The first of these works is a tract or treatise, originally published by him in 1601, seven years before his appointment to St. Paul's School, and written in 1597, when he was living as a teacher at Norwich. The tract is entitled "*A Treatise concerning the Trinity of Persons in Unitie of the Deitie*," and is in the form of a metaphysical remonstrance with one Thomas Mannering, an Anabaptist of Norwich, who "denied that Jesus is very God of very God," but said that he was "but man only, yet endued with the infinite power of God." Far more interesting, in reference to Gill's qualifications as a teacher, is his next work, the first edition of which was published in 1619, or just before the time with which we have to do. It is entitled "*Logonomia Anglica*," and is dedicated to King James. Part of the work is taken up with an argument on that new-old subject, the reform of the English Alphabet, so as to bring the spelling of words into greater consistency with their sound; and those who are interested in this subject will find some sensible matter upon it in Gill's book. By adding to the English Alphabet the two Saxon signs for the two sounds of *th*, and another Saxon sign or two, and by farther using points over the vowels to indicate their various sounds, he contrives an Alphabet somewhat like those of

our modern phonetic reformers, but less liable to objection from the point of view of Etymology; and he illustrates this Alphabet by spelling all the English words and passages in his book according to it. But the Spelling-Reform is by no means the main purpose of the book. It is, in fact, what we should now call a systematic grammar of the English tongue, written in Latin. Accordingly it is only in the first part that he propounds his spelling-reform; and the parts on Etymology, Syntax, and Prosody, possess quite a separate value. If Gill was only half as interesting in his school-room as he is in his book, he must have been an effective and even delightful teacher. For example, as an appendix to Syntax in general, he has a chapter on what he calls *Syntaxis Schematistica*, in which he trenches on what is usually considered a part of Rhetoric, and enumerates and explains the so-called tropes and figures of speech—Metaphor, Metonymy, Allegory, Irony, Climax, etc. This part of the book is studded with examples from the English poets, and above all from Spenser, showing a really fine taste in the selection.

The subsequent part of the work, on English Prosody, is, in like manner, illustrated by well-chosen examples; and, among other things, Gill discusses in it the compatibility of classical meters with the genius of the English tongue. The following passage, in which he refers to the supposed influence of Chaucer, exhibits what was apparently another of his crotchets, besides spelling-reform—to wit, the necessity of preserving the Saxon purity of our tongue against Latinisms. After maintaining that, even during the Danish and Norman invasions, the Saxon or English tongue of our island remained pure, he proceeds (we again translate from his Latin) thus:—

"At length about the year 1400, Geoffrey Chaucer, of unlucky omen, made his poetry famous by the use in it of French and Latin words. Hence has come down this new mange in our speaking and writing. * * O harsh lips, I now hear all around me such words as *common, vices, envy, malice;* even *virtue, study, justice, pity, mercy, compassion, profit, commodity, color, grace, favor, acceptance.* But whither, pray, in all the world have you banished those words which our forefathers used for these new-fangled ones? Are our words to be exiled like our citizens? Is the new barbaric invasion to extirpate the English tongue? O ye Englishmen, on you, I say, I call, in whose veins that blood flows, retain, retain what yet remains of our native speech, and, whatever vestiges of our forefathers are yet to be seen, on these plant your footsteps."

While thus working mainly in Philology, Mr Gill had not quite abandoned his Metaphysics. Some fifteen years after the time at which we have now arrived, he brought out his last and largest work, the "*Sacred Philosophy of the Holy Scriptures*"—a kind of detailed demonstration, as against Turks, Jews, Infidels, Heretics, and all gainsayers whatsoever, of the successive articles of the Apostles' Creed, on the principles of pure reason. It is not to be supposed but that in those days, when the idea of severing the secular from the religious in schools had not yet been heard of, his pupils would now and then have a touch of his Metaphysics as well as of his Philology. They were lucky if they had not also a touch of something else. "Dr. Gill, the father," says Aubrey in one of his MSS., "was a very ingeniose person, as may appear by his writings; notwithstanding, he had his moods and humors, as particularly his whipping fits. Often Dr. G. whipped Duncombe, who was afterwards a Colonel of Dragoons at Edgehill fight."

Young Gill, the usher or sur-master, was by no means so steady a man as his father. Born about 1597, he had been educated at St. Paul's School; had gone thence, on one of the Mercers' Exhibitions, to Trinity College, Oxford; and, after completing his course there, and taking orders, had come back to town about 1619, and dropped conveniently into the place of his father's assistant. For a time, either before or after this, he assisted the famous Farnabie in *his* school.

Such were the two men, not uninteresting in themselves, to whose lot it fell to be Milton's schoolmasters. He was under their care, as we calculate, at least four years—from 1620, when he had passed his eleventh year, to the winter or spring of 1624—5, when he had passed his sixteenth. During a portion of this time—most probably till 1622—he had the benefit also of Young's continued assistance at home.

St. Paul's School, it is to be remembered, was strictly a grammar-school—that is, a school for classical instruction only. But since Colet's time, in virtue of the great development which classical studies had received throughout the nation at large, the efficiency of the school within its assigned limits had immensely increased. Instead of peddling over Sedulius, and other such small practitioners of later or middle-age Latinity, recommended as proper class-books by Colet, the scholars of St. Paul's, as of other contemporary schools, were now led through very much the same list of Roman prose-writers and poets that are still honored in our academies. The practice of writing pure classical Latin, or what might pass for such, both in prose and in verse, was also carried to a perfection not known in Colet's time. But the improvement in Latin was as nothing compared with what had taken place in Greek. Although Colet in his testamentary recommendations to the Mercers had mentioned it as desirable that the head-master should know Greek as well as Latin, he had added, "if such a man can be gotten." That, indeed, was the age of incipient Greek in England. Colet had none himself; and that Lilly had mastered Greek, while residing in earlier life in Rhodes, was one of his distinctions. Since that time, however, the passion for Greek had spread; the battle between the Greeks and the Trojans, as the partizans of the new learning and its opponents were respectively called, had been fought out in the days of Ascham and Elizabeth; and, if Greek scholarship still lagged behind Latin, yet, in St. Paul's and other schools, Greek authors were read in fragments, and Greek exercises written, in anticipation of the more profound labors of the Universities. Probably Hebrew was taught optionally to a few of the highest boys.

Whatever support other instances may afford to the popular notion that the studious boys at school do not turn out the most efficient men in after life, the believers in that notion may save themselves the trouble of trying to prove it by means of Milton's boyhood.

Milton's own account of his habits as a schoolboy.—"My father destined me while yet a little boy for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight; which, indeed, was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches. All which not retarding my impetuosity in learning, he caused me to be daily instructed both at the grammar-school and under other masters at home; and then, when I had acquired various tongues, and also some not insignificant taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge, one of our two national universities."

Aubrey's account.—"When he went to school, when he was very young, he studied very hard, and sat up very late, commonly till twelve or one o'clock at night; and his father ordered the maid to sit up for him."

Wood's account.—"There (at Cambridge) as at school for three years before, 'twas usual with him to sit up till midnight at his book, which was the first thing that brought his eyes into danger of blindness. By this his indefatigable study he profited exceedingly."

Phillips' account.—(At Paul's School) "he was entered into the rudiments of learning, and advanced therein with * * admirable success, not more by the discipline of the school and the good instructions of his masters * * than by his own happy genius, prompt wit and apprehension, and insuperable industry; for he generally sat up half the night, as well in voluntary improvements of his own choice, as the exact perfecting of his school-exercises; so that at the age of fifteen he was full ripe for academical training."

The boy's studies were not confined to the classic tongues. "When at your expense," he says in a Latin poem addressed to his father in later years, "I had obtained access to the eloquence of the tongue of Romulus, and to the delights of Latium, and the great words, becoming the mouth of Jove, uttered by the magniloquent Greeks, you then advised me to add the flowers which are the pride of Gaul, and the speech which the new Italian, attesting the barbarian inroads by his diction, pours forth from his degenerate mouth, and the mysteries which are spoken by the prophet of Palestine." The application of these words extends beyond Milton's mere school-days; but it is probable that before they were over he had learnt to read French and Italian, and also something of Hebrew. In the letter to Young at Hamburg, already referred to, written in March, 1625, he acknowledges the gift of a Hebrew Bible which Young had sent him.

It is not to be supposed that the literature of his own country remained a closed field to a youth so fond of study, and who had already begun to have dreams for himself of literary excellence. Accordingly there is evidence that Milton in his boyhood was a diligent reader of English books, and that before the close of his school-time in 1624, he had formed some general acquaintance, at least, with the course of English literature from its beginnings to his own time.

MILTON AT CAMBRIDGE.

Milton was admitted a Pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, on the 12th of February, 1624—5.* He was one of the fourteen students whose names appear in the entry-book of the College as having been admitted during the half-year between Michaelmas, 1624, and Lady-day, 1625. In the remaining half of the same academic year—namely, from Lady-day to Michaelmas, 1625—there were thirty fresh entries. Milton, therefore, was one of forty-three students who commenced their academic course at Christ's College, in the year 1624—5.

Eight of these fourteen students who were admitted before Lady-day, enter

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* It may be well here to remind the reader of the reason for this double mode of dating. Prior to 1752, the year in England was considered to begin, not on the 1st of January, but on the 25th of March. All those days, therefore, intervening between the 31st of December and the 25th of March, which we should now date as belonging to a particular year, were then dated as belonging to the year preceding that. According to *our* dating, Milton's entry at Christ's College took place on the 12th of February, 1625; but in the *old* reckoning, that day was the 12th of February, 1624.

as "lesser pensioners," four as "sizars," and but one as a "greater pensioner." The distinction is one of rank. All the three grades pay for their board and education; and, in this respect, are distinct from the *scholars*, properly so called, who belong to the foundation. But the "greater pensioners," or "fellow-commoners," pay most; they are usually the sons of wealthy families; and they have the privilege of dining at the upper table in the common hall along with the fellows. The "sizars," on the other hand, are poorer students; they pay least; and, though receiving the same education as the others, have a lower rank, and inferior accommodation. Intermediate between the greater pensioners and the sizars, are the "lesser pensioners;" and it is to this class that the bulk of the students in all the Colleges at Cambridge belong. Milton, as the son of a London scrivener in good circumstances, took his natural place in becoming a "lesser pensioner." His school-fellow at St. Paul's, Robert Porey, who entered the College in the same year and month, and chose the same tutor, entered in the same rank. Milton's father and Porey's father must have made up their minds, in sending their sons to Cambridge, to pay, each about £50 a year, in the money of that day, for the expenses of their maintenance there.*

Christ's College, although not the first in point of numbers, was one of the most comfortable colleges in the University; substantially built; with a spacious inner quadrangle, a handsome dining-hall and chapel, good rooms for the fellows and students, and an extensive garden behind, provided with a bowling-green, a pond, alcoves and shady walks, in true academic taste.

In the year 1624—5, when Milton went to Cambridge, the total population of the town may have been seven or eight thousand. Then, as now, the distinction between "town" and "gown" was one of the fixed ideas of the place. While the town was governed by its mayor and aldermen and common-council, and represented in Parliament by two burgesses, the University was governed by its own statutes as administered by the Academic authorities, and was represented in Parliament by two members returned by itself.

Into the little world of Christ's College—forming a community by itself, when all the members were assembled, of some two hundred and fifty persons, and surrounded again by that larger world of the total University to which it was related as a part—we are to fancy Milton introduced in the month of February, 1624—5, when he was precisely sixteen years and two months old. He was a little older, perhaps, than most youths then were on being sent to the University. Still it was the first time of his leaving home, and all must have seemed strange to him. To put on for the first time the gown and cap, and to move for the first time through unfamiliar streets, observing college after college, each different from the others in style and appearance, with the majestic Kings's conspicuous in the midst; to see for the first time the famous Cam, and to walk by its banks,—these would be powerful sensations to a youth like Milton.

A matter of some importance to the young Freshman at College, after his choice of a tutor, is his choice of chambers. Tradition still points out at Christ's College the rooms which Milton occupied. They are in the older part of the building, on the left side of the court, as you enter through the street-

* In the autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, he tells us that, when he went as a fellow-commoner to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1618, his father would not make him a larger allowance than £50 a year, which, with the utmost economy, he could barely make sufficient. If this was a stingy sum for a "fellow-commoner," it was probably about the proper sum for a "lesser pensioner."

gate—the first floor rooms on the first stair on that side. The rooms consist at present of a small study with two windows looking into the court, and a very small bed-room adjoining. They do not seem to have been altered at all since Milton's time. When we hear of "Milton's rooms" at College, however, the imagination is apt to go wrong in one point. It was very rare in those days for any member of a College, even a Fellow, to have a chamber wholly to himself. Two or three generally occupied the same chamber; and, in full Colleges, there were all kinds of devices of truckle-beds and the like to multiply accommodation. In the original statutes of Christ's College, there is a chapter specially providing for the manner in which the chambers of the College should be allocated; "in which chambers," says the founder, "our wish is that the Fellows sleep two and two, but the scholars four and four, and that no one have alone a single chamber for his proper use, unless perchance it be some Doctor, to whom, on account of the dignity of his degree, we grant the possession of a separate chamber." In the course of a century, doubtless, custom had become somewhat more dainty. Still, in all the Colleges, the practice was for the students to occupy rooms at least two together; and in all College biographies of the time, we hear of the chum or chamber-fellow of the hero as either assisting or retarding his studies. Milton's chamber-fellow, or one of his chamber-fellows, would naturally be Porey. But, in the course of seven years, there must have been changes.

The Terms of the University, then as now, were those fixed by the statutes of Elizabeth. The academic year began on the 10th of October, and the first, or Michaelmas or October Term, extended from that day to the 16th of December. Then followed the Christmas Vacation. The second, or Lent or January Term, began on the 13th of January, and extended to the second Friday before Easter. There then intervened the Easter vacation of three weeks. Finally, the third, or Easter or Midsummer Term, began on the eleventh day (second Wednesday) after Easter-day, and extended to the Friday after "Commencement Day,"—that is, after the great terminating Assembly of the University, at which candidates for the higher degrees of the year were said to "commence" in those degrees; which "Commencement Day" was always the first Tuesday in July. The University then broke up for the "long vacation" of three months.

The daily routine of college-life in term-time, two hundred and thirty years ago, was as follows:—In the morning, at five o'clock, the students were assembled, by the ringing of the bell, in the College-chapel, to hear the morning service of the Church, followed on some days by short homilies by the Fellows. These services occupied about an hour; after which the students had breakfast. Then followed the regular work of the day. It consisted of two parts—the *College-studies*, or the attendance of the students on the lectures and examinations of the College-tutors or lecturers in Latin, Greek, Logic, Mathematics, Philosophy, etc.; and the *University-exercises*, or the attendance of the students, together with the students of other Colleges, in the "public schools" of the University, either to hear the lectures of the University-professors of Greek, Logic, etc., (which, however, was not incumbent on all students,) or to hear, and take part in the public disputations of those students of all the Colleges who were preparing for their degrees.* After four hours or more so spent, the

* The distinction between *College-studies* and *University-exercises* must be kept in mind. Gradually, as all know, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, originally mere places of res-

students dined together at twelve o'clock in the halls of their respective Colleges. After dinner, there was generally again an hour or two of attendance on the declamations and disputations of contending graduates, either in college or in the "public schools." During the remainder of the day, with the exception of attendance at the evening-service in chapel, and at supper in the hall at seven o'clock, the students were free to dispose of their own time. It was provided by the statutes of Christ's that no one should be out of college after nine o'clock from Michaelmas to Easter, or after ten o'clock from Easter to Michaelmas.

Originally, the rules governing the daily conduct of the students at Cambridge had been excessively strict. Residence extended over nearly the whole year; and absence was permitted only for very definite reasons. While in residence, the students were confined closely within the walls of their respective colleges, leaving them only to attend in the public schools. At other times they could only go into the town by special permission; on which occasions, no student below the standing of a B. A. in his second year was suffered to go unaccompanied by his tutor or by a Master of Arts. In their conversation with each other, except during the hours of relaxation in their chambers, the students were required to use either Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew. When permitted to walk into the town, they were forbidden to go into taverns, or into the sessions; or to be present at boxing-matches, skittle-playings, dancings, bear-fights, cock-fights, and the like; or to frequent Sturbridge fair; or even to loiter in the market or about the streets. In their rooms they were not to read irreligious books; nor to keep dogs or "fierce birds;" nor to play at cards or dice, except for about twelve days at Christmas, and then openly and in moderation. To these and other rules, obedience was enforced by penalties. There were penalties both by the College and by the University, according as the offense concerned the one or the other. The penalties consisted of fines according to the degree of the offense; of imprisonment for grave and repeated offenses; of rustication, with the loss of one or more terms, for still more flagrant misbehavior; and of expulsion from College and University for heinous criminality. The Tutor could punish for negligence in the studies of his class, or inattention to the lectures; College offenses of a more general character came under the cognizance of the Master or his substitute; and for non-attendance in the public schools, and other such violations of the University statutes, the penalties were exacted by the Vice-Chancellor. All the three—the Tutor and the Master as College authorities, and the Vice-Chancellor as resident head of the University—might in the case of the younger students, resort to corporal punishment. "*Si tamen adultus fuerit,*" say the statutes of Christ's, referring to the punishment of fine, etc., which the Tutor might inflict on a pupil; "*alioquin virgâ corrigatur.*" The Master might punish in the same way and more publicly. In Trinity College there was a regular service of corporal punishment in the hall every Thursday evening at seven o'clock, in the presence of all the undergraduates, on such junior delinquents as had been reserved for the ceremony during the week. The University statutes also recognize the corporal punish-

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idence for those attending the University, have, in matters of teaching, absorbed or superseded the University. Even in Milton's time, this process was far advanced. The University, however, was still represented in the public disputations in "the schools," attendance on which was obligatory.

ment of non-adult students offending in the public schools. At what age a student was to be considered adult is not positively defined; but the understanding seems to have been that after the age of eighteen corporal punishment should cease, and that even younger students, if above the rank of undergraduates, should be exempt from it.

In spite of old decrees to the contrary, bathing in the Cam was a daily practice. The amusements of the collegians included many of the forbidden games. Smoking was an all but universal habit in the University.* The academic costume was sadly neglected. At many Colleges the undergraduates wore "new-fashioned gowns of any color whatsoever, blue or green, or red or mixt, without any uniformity but in hanging sleeves; and their other garments light and gay, some with boots and spurs, others with stockings of diverse colors reversed one upon another, and round rusty caps." Among graduates and priests also, as well as the younger students, "we have fair roses upon the shoe, long frizzled hair upon the head, broad spread bands upon the shoulders, and long large merchants' ruffs about the neck, with fair feminine cuffs at the wrist." To these irregularities arising from the mere frolic and vanity of congregated youth, add others of a graver nature, arising from different causes. While, on the one hand, all the serious alike complained that "nicknaming and scoffing at religion and the power of godliness," nay, that "debauched and atheistical" principles prevailed to an extent that seemed "strange in a University of the Reformed Church," the more zealous Churchmen about the University found special matter for complaint in the increase of puritanical opinions and practices, more particularly in certain colleges where the heads and seniors were puritanically inclined. It had become the habit of many masters of arts and fellow-commoners in all colleges to absent themselves from public prayers. Upon Fridays and all fasting days the victualling houses prepared flesh, "good store for all scholars that will come or send unto them." In the churches, both on Sundays and at other times, there was little decency of behavior; and the regular forms of prayer were in many cases avoided. "Instead whereof," it was complained, "we have such private fancies and several prayers of every man's own making, (and sometimes suddenly conceiving, too,) vented among us, that, besides the absurdity of the language directed to God himself, our young scholars are thereby taught to prefer the private spirit before the public, and their own invented and unapproved prayers before the Liturgy of the Church." In Trinity College, "they lean or sit or kneel at prayers, every man in a several posture as he pleases; at the name of Jesus few will bow; and when the Creed is repeated, many of the boys, by some men's directions, turn to the west door." In other colleges it was as bad or worse. In Christ's College there was very good order on the whole; but "hard by this House there is a Town Inn (they call it the 'Brazen George') wherein many of their scholars live, lodge, and study, and yet the statutes of the University require that none lodge out of the college."

It yet remains to describe the order of the curriculum, which students at Cambridge in Milton's time went through during the whole period of their Uni-

* When the tobacco-hating King James visited Cambridge for the first time, in 1615, one of the orders issued to graduates and students was that they should not, during his Majesty's stay, visit tobacco-shops, nor smoke in St. Mary's Chapel or Trinity Hall, on pain of expulsion from the University.

versity studies. This period, extending, in the Faculty of Arts, over seven years in all, was divided, as now, into two parts—the period of Undergraduateship extending from the time of admission to the attainment of the B. A. dedegree; and the subsequent period of Bachelorship terminating with the attainment of the M. A. degree.

Originally, according to the statutes, a complete *quadriennium* or four years' course of studies—that is to say, twelve full terms of residence in a College, and of standing as matriculated students in the books of the University*—was required for the degree of B. A. Each year of the *quadriennium* had its appropriate studies; and, during the last year of it, the students rose to the rank of "Sophisters," and were then entitled to partake in the disputations in the public schools. During the last year (and in practice it was generally during the last term) of their *quadriennium*, they were required by the statutes of the University to keep two "Acts" or "Responsions" and two "Opponencies" in the public schools—exercises for which they were presumed to be prepared by similar practice in their respective Colleges. The nature of these "Acts" and "Opponencies" were as follows:—One of the Proctors having at the beginning of the academic year collected the names of all the students of the various Colleges who intended to take the degree of B. A. that year, each of them received an intimation shortly after the beginning of the Lent Term that on a future day (generally about a fortnight after the notice was given) he would have to appear as "Respondent" in the public schools. The student so designated had to give in a list of three propositions which he would maintain in debate. The question actually selected was usually a moral or metaphysical one. The Proctor then named three Sophisters, belonging to other Colleges, who were to appear as "Opponents." When the day arrived, the Respondent and the Opponents met in the schools, some Master of Arts presiding as Moderator, and the other Sophisters and Graduates forming an audience. The Respondent read a Latin thesis on the selected point; and the Opponents, one after another, tried to refute his arguments syllogistically in such Latin as they had provided or could muster. When one of the speakers was at loss, it was the duty of the Moderator to help him out. When all the Opponents had spoken, and the Moderator had dismissed them and the Respondent with such praise as he thought they had severally deserved, the "Act" was over.

When a student had kept two Responsions and two Opponencies, (and in order to get through all the Acts of the two or three hundred Sophisters who every year came forward, it is evident that the "schools" must have been continually busy,) he was further examined in his own College, and, if approved, was sent up as a "quæstionist," or candidate for the B. A. degree. The "quæstionists" from the various Colleges were then submitted to a distinct examination—which usually took place on three days in the week before Ash Wednesday week—in the public schools before the Proctors and others of the University. Those who passed this examination were furnished by their Colleges with a *supplicat* to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate, praying that they might be admitted, as the phrase was, *ad respondendum quæstioni*. Then, on a day before

* The reader must distinguish between *admission* into a College and *matriculation* in the general University Registers. Both were necessary, but the acts were distinct. The College books certified all the particulars of a student's connection with his College and residence there; but, for degrees and the like, a student's standing in the University was certified by the matriculation-book kept by the University Registrar.

Ash Wednesday, all the quæstionists from each College went up, headed by a Fellow of the College, to the public school, where, some question out of Aristotle's Prior Analytics having been proposed and answered by each of the quæstionists, (this process being called "entering their Priorums,") they became what was called "determiners." From Ash Wednesday till the Thursday before Palm Sunday, the candidates were said to stand in *quadragesimâ*, and had a further course of exercises to go through; and on this latter day their probation ended, and they were pronounced by the Proctor to be full Bachelor of Arts.

Many students, of course, never advanced so far as the B. A. degree, but, after a year or two at the University, removed to study law at the London Inns of Court, or to begin other business. Oliver Cromwell, for example, had left Sidney Sussex College in 1617, after about a year's residence. Those who did take their B. A. degree, and meant to advance farther, were required by the original statutes to reside three years more, and during that time to go through certain higher courses of study and perform certain fresh Acts in the public schools and their Colleges. These regulations having been complied with, they were, after being examined in their Colleges and provided with *supplicats*, admitted by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor *ad incipiendum in artibus;* and then, after certain other formalities, they were ceremoniously created Masters of Arts either at the greater *Comitia* or general "Commencement" at the close of the academic year, (the first Tuesday in July,) or on the day immediately preceding. These two days—the *Vesperiæ Comitiorum*, or day before Commencement-day, and the *Comitia*, or Commencement-day itself—were the gala-days of the University. Besides the M. A. degrees, such higher degrees as LL. D., M. D., and D. D. were then conferred.

By the original statutes, the connection of the scholar with the University was not yet over. Every Master of Arts was sworn to continue his "regency" or active University functions for five years; which implied almost continual residence during that time, and a farther course of study in theology and Hebrew, and of Acts, disputations and preachings. Then, after seven full years from the date of commencing M. A., he might, after a fresh set of forms, become a Doctor of either Law or Medicine, or a Bachelor of Divinity; but for the Doctorate of Divinity, five additional years were necessary for the attainment of the rank of D. D.; and fourteen years for the attainment of the Doctorates of Law and Medicine.

Framed for a state of society which had passed away, and too stringent even for that state of society, these rules had fallen into modification or disuse. (1.) As respected the *quadriennium*, or the initiatory course of studies preparatory to the degree of B. A., there had been a slight relaxation, consisting in an abatement of one term of residence out of the twelve required by the Elizabethan statutes. This had been done in 1578, by a formal decree of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads. It was then ordered that every student should enroll his name in the University Register, and take his matriculation oath within a certain number of days after his first joining any College and coming to reside; and that, for the future, all persons who should have so enrolled and matriculated "before, at or upon the day when the ordinary sermon *ad Clerum* is or ought to be made in the beginning of Easter Term," and who should be proved by the Commons-books of their Colleges to have in the meantime resided regu-

larly, should be considered to have "wholly and fully" discharged their *quadriennium* in the fourth Lent following the said sermon. In other words, the Lent Term in which a student went through his exercises for his B. A. degree, was allowed to count as one of the necessary *twelve*. Since that time another of the required terms has been lopped off, so that now, *ten* real terms of residence are sufficient. This practice seems to have been introduced prior to 1681; but in Milton's time the interpretation of 1578 was in force. Even then, however, matriculation *immediately* after joining a College was not rigorously insisted on, and a *student who matriculated any time during the Easter Term might graduate B. A. in the fourth Lent Term following.* (2.) It was impossible, consistently with the demands of the public service for men of education, that all scholars who had taken their B. A. degree should thereafter continue to reside as punctually as before during the three additional years required for their M. A. degree, and should then farther bind themselves to seven years of active academic duty, if they aspired to the Doctorate in Laws or Medicine, and to still longer probation if they aspired to the Doctorate in Theology. Hence, despite of oaths, there had been gradual relaxations. The *triennium* of continued residence between the B. A. degree and the M. A. degree was still for a good while regarded as imperative; but after this second degree had been taken, the connection with the University was slackened. Those only remained in the University beyond this point who had obtained Fellowships, or who filled University offices, or who were assiduously pursuing special branches of study; and the majority were allowed to distribute themselves in the Church and through society—there being devices for keeping up their nominal connection with the University, so as to advance to the higher degrees. (3.) Not even here had the process of relaxation stopped. The obligation of three years of continued residence between the B. A. degree and commencing M. A., had been found to be burdensome; and, after giving way in practice, it had been formally abrogated. The decree authorizing this important modification was passed March 25, 1608, so that the modification was in force in Milton's time, and for seventeen years before it. "Whereas," says this decree, "doubt hath lately risen whether actual Bachelors in Arts, before they can be admitted *ad incipiendum*, (the phrase for "commencing" M. A.,) must of necessity be continually commorant in the University nine whole terms, We, for the clearing of all controversies in that behalf, do declare, that those, who for their learning and manners are according to statute admitted Bachelors in Arts, are not so strictly tied to a local commorancy and study in the University and Town of Cambridge, but that, being at the end of nine terms able by their accustomed exercises and other examinations to approve themselves worthy to be Masters of Arts, they may justly be admitted to that degree." Reasons, both academical and social, are assigned for the relaxation. At the same time, lest it should be abused, it is provided that the statutory Acts and exercises *ad incipiendum* shall still be punctually required, and also that every Bachelor who shall have been long absent, shall, on coming back to take his Master's degree, bring with him certificates of good conduct, signed by "three preaching ministers, Masters of Arts at least, living on their benefices," near the place where he (the Bachelor) has been longest residing.

[Masson thus treats of the famous tradition of Milton's having been the victim of corporal punishment during his second year's residence at Cambridge:]

The tradition of some incident in Milton's University life, of a kind which his enemies, by exaggerating and misrepresenting it, were able afterwards to use to his discredit, is very old. It was probably first presented in the definite shape in which we now have it, by Dr. Johnson in his memoir of the poet: "I am ashamed to relate what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in either University that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction."

Warton, Todd, and others have entered somewhat largely into the question of the possibility of the alleged punishment consistently with the College practice of the time. On this head there is no denying that the thing was possible enough. The "*virgâ a suis corrigatur*" of the old statutes certainly remained in force for young under-graduates both at Oxford and Cambridge. As late as 1649, Henry Stubbe, a writer of so much reputation in his day that Wood gives a longer memoir of him than of Milton, was publicly flogged in the refectory of Christ Church, Oxford, when eighteen years of age, for "insolent and pragmatical" conduct. Other instances might be produced to show that in any case Johnson's phrase, "one of the last at either University who," etc., would be historically wrong. There can be no doubt, however, that the practice was getting out of repute. In the new Oxford Statutes of 1635, corporal punishment was restricted (though Stubbe, it seems, did not benefit by the restriction) to boys under sixteen.

Johnson's authority for the statement, we now know, was Aubrey's MS. life of Milton. The original passage is as follows:—

"And was a very hard student in the University, and performed all his exercises with very good applause. His first tutor there was Mr. Chappell, from
whipt him
whom receiving some unkindness, he was (though it seemed contrary to the rules of the College) transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell, (miswritten for Tovey,) who died parson of Lutterworth."

This passage occurs in a paragraph of particulars expressly set down by Aubrey in his MS. as having been derived from the poet's brother Christopher. It seems impossible, therefore, to doubt that it is in the main authentic. Of the whole statement, however, precisely that which has the least look of authenticity is the pungent fact of the interlineation. That it *is* an interlineation, and not a part of the text, suggests that Aubrey did not get it from Christopher Milton, but picked it up from gossip afterwards; and it is exactly the kind of fact that gossip likes to invent. But take the passage fully as it stands, the interlineation included, and there are still two respects in which it fails to bear out Johnson's formidable phrase, "one of the last students in either University who," etc., especially in the circumstantial form which subsequent writers have given to the phrase by speaking of the punishment as a public one at the hands of Dr. Bainbrigge, the College Master. (1.) So far as Aubrey hints, the quarrel was originally but a private one between Milton and his tutor, Chappell—at most, a tussle between the tutor and the pupil in the tutor's rooms, with which Bainbrigge, in the first instance, might have had nothing to do. (2.) Let the incident have been as flagrant as might be, it appertains and can appertain only to one particular year, and that an early one, of Milton's undergraduateship. At no time in the history of the University had any except undergraduates been liable by statute to corporal punishment; and even undergraduates, if over the age of eighteen, had usually, if not invariably, been considered exempt.

Now Milton attained the age of eighteen complete on the 9th of December, 1626. Unless, therefore, he was made an exception to all rule, the incident must have taken place, if it took place at all, either in his first term of residence, or in the course of that year, 1625—6, with which we are now concerned.

That the quarrel, whatever was its form, did take place in this very year, is all but established by a reference which Milton has himself made to it. The reference occurs in the first of his Latin Elegies: which is a poetical epistle to his friend Diodati, and the date of the composition of which may be fixed, with something like certainty, in April or May, 1626.

Diodati, it seems, had a fancy for writing his letters occasionally in Greek. After taking his degree in December, 1625, Diodati resided for a while in Cheshire, whence, in April or May, 1626, he directs a short but sprightly epistle in Greek to Milton, who was then in London.

"I have no fault to find," he says, "with my present mode of life, except that I am deprived of any mind fit to converse with. In other respects all passes pleasantly here in the country; for what else is wanting, when the days are long, the scenery around blooming with flowers, and waving and teeming with leaves, on every branch a nightingale or goldfinch or other bird of song delighting with its warblings, most varied walks, a table neither scant nor overburdened, and sleep undisturbed?" Then, wishing that Milton were with him, he adds, "But you, wondrous youth, why do you despise the gifts of nature; why do you persist inexcusably in tying yourself night and day to your books? Live, laugh, enjoy your youth and the present hour. I, in all things else your inferior, both think myself and am superior to you in this, that I know a moderation in my labors."

[To this Greek letter Milton replies in a pastoral epistle, which he has preserved among his Latin Elegies. From this we give in translation a few lines evidently bearing on his college troubles.]

"Me at present that city contains which the Thames washes with its ebbing wave; and me, not unwilling, my father's house now possesses. At present it is not my care to revisit the reedy Cam; nor does the love of my forbidden rooms yet cause me grief (*nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.*) Nor do naked fields please me, where soft shades are not to be had. How ill that place suits the votaries of Apollo! Nor am I in the humor still to bear the threats of a harsh master (*duri minas perferre magistri,*) and other things not to be submitted to by my genius (*cœteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.*) If this be exile (*si sit hoc exilium,*) to have gone to my father's house, and, free from cares, to be pursuing agreeable relaxations, then certainly I refuse neither the name nor the lot of a fugitive (*non ego vel profugi nomen sortemque recuso,*) and gladly I enjoy the condition of exile (*lætus et exilii conditione fruor.*) O that that poet, the tearful exile in the Pontic territory, [*i. e.* Ovid,] had never endured worse things!" [The poet then dwells on his theater-going, etc.—upon which his biographer thus comments:]

This epistle so far tells its own story. It shows that some time in the course of the spring of 1626, Milton was in London, amusing himself as during a holiday, and occasionally visiting the theaters in Bankside. The question, however, remains, what was the occasion of this temporary absence from Cambridge, and how long it lasted. Was it merely that Milton, as any other student might have done, spent the Easter vacation of that year with his family in town—

quitting Cambridge on the 31st of March, when the Lent Term ended, and returning by the 19th of April, when the Easter Term began? The language and tone of various parts of the epistle seem to render this explanation insufficient. In short, taking all that seems positive in the statements of the elegy, along with all that seems authentic in the passage from Aubrey, the facts assume this form: Towards the close of the Lent Term of 1625—6, Milton and his tutor, Chappell, had a disagreement; the disagreement was of such a kind that Bainbrigge, as Master of the College, had to interfere; the consequence was that Milton withdrew or was sent from College in circumstances equivalent to "rustication;" his absence extended probably over the whole of the Easter vacation and part of the Easter Term; but at length an arrangement was made which permitted him to return in time to save that term, and to exchange the tutorship of Chappell for that of Tovey.

The system of study at Cambridge in Milton's time was very different from what it is at present. The avatar of Mathematics had not begun. Newton was not born till ten years after Milton had left Cambridge; nor was there then, nor for thirty years afterwards, any public chair of Mathematics in the University. Milton's connection with Cambridge, therefore, belongs to the closing age of an older system of education, the aim of which was to turn out *scholars*, according to the meaning of that term once general over Europe. This system had been founded very much on the mediæval notion of what constituted the *totum scibile*. According to this notion there were "Seven Liberal Arts," apart from and subordinate to Philosophy proper and Theology—to wit, Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, forming together what was called the *Trivium;* and Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music, forming together what was called the *Quadrivium*. Assuming some rudiments of these arts as having been acquired in school, the Universities undertook the rest; paying most attention, however, to the studies of the *Trivium*, and to Philosophy as their sequel.

By the Elizabethan Statutes of 1561, the following was the seven years' course of study prescribed at Cambridge prior to the degree of Master of Arts:

"1. *The Quadriennium of the Undergraduateship:* First year, *Rhetoric;* second and third, *Logic;* fourth, *Philosophy;*—these studies to be carried on both in College and by attendance on the University lectures (*domi forisque*); and the proficiency of the student to be tested by two disputations in the public schools and two respondents in his own College.

"2. *The Triennium of Bachelorship:* Attendance during the whole time on the public lectures in *Philosophy* as before, and also on those in *Astronomy*, *Perspective*, and *Greek;* together with a continuance of the private or College studies, so as to complete what had been begun;—moreover, a regular attendance at all the disputations of the Masters of Arts for the purpose of general improvement; three personal responsions in the public schools to a Master of Arts opposing, two College exercises of the same kind, and one College declamation."

In Trinity College, the arrangements for the collegiate education of the pupils seem to have been very complete. Under one head lecturer, or general superintendent, there were eight special lecturers or teachers, each of whom taught and examined an hour or an hour and a half daily—the *lector Humanitatis, sive linguæ Latinæ*, who also gave weekly lectures on Rhetoric; the *lector Græcæ grammaticæ;* the *lector linguæ Græcæ;* the *lector mathematicus;* and four *sublectores*, under whom the students advanced gradually from elementary Logic to the higher parts of Logic and to Metaphysics.

TRACTATE ON EDUCATION.

A LETTER TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.[1]

BY JOHN MILTON.

MASTER HARTLIB :—I am long since persuaded, that to say and do aught worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us than simply the love of God and of mankind. Nevertheless, to write now the reforming of education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induced but by your earnest entreaties and serious conjurements; as having my mind half diverted for the present in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which, can not but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth and honest living with much more peace. Nor should the laws of any private friendship have prevailed with me to divide thus, or transpose my former thoughts; but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of a person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island. And as I hear you have obtained the same repute with men of most approved wisdom and some of the highest authority among us, not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in foreign parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have used in this matter both here and beyond the seas, either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is God's working. Neither can I think, that so reputed and so valued as you are, you would, to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over-ponderous argument; but that the satisfaction which you profess to have received from those incidental discourses which we have wandered into, hath pressed and almost constrained you into a persuasion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought nor can in conscience defer beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to try what God hath determined. I will not resist, therefore, whatever it is, either of divine or human obligement, that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary idea, which hath long in silence presented itself to me, of a better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter and of attainment far

more certain, than hath been yet in practice. Brief[2] I shall endeavor to be; for that which I have to say, assuredly this nation hath extreme need should be done sooner than spoken. To tell you, therefore, what I have benefited herein among old renowned authors I shall spare; and to search what many modern *Januas*[3] and *Didactics*, more than ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowered off, and are, as it were, the burnishing of many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleased you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of learning is, to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly coning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching.[4] And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom; so that language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into,[5] yet if he have not studied the solid things in them, as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother-dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful. First, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.[6] And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities; partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing with elegant maxims and copious invention.[7] These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit; besides all the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing

against the Latin and Greek idiom, with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well-continued and judicious conversing among pure authors, digested, which they scarce taste.[8] Whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis hereof in some chosen short book lessoned thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things and arts in due order, which would bring the whole langnage quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein. And for the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities,[9] not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy, (and those be such as are most obvious to the sense,) they present their young, unmatriculated novices, at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics; so that they having but newly left those grammatic flats and shallows, where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate, to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunely their several ways, and hasten them,[10] with the sway of friends, either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous divinity: some allured to the trade of law,[11] grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity,[12] which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigous terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees: others betake them to state affairs with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery, and court-shifts, and tyrannous aphorisms, appear to them the highest points of wisdom;[13] instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not feigned: others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves, knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury,[14] living out their days in feast and jollity, which indeed is the wisest and safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the errors, and these are the fruits of mis-spending our prime youth at the schools and universities, as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearnt.

I shall detain you no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but straight conduct you to a hillside, where I will point you out the right path of a virtuous and noble education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming.[15] I doubt not but ye shall have more ado to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs, from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, than we have now to haul and drag our choicest and hopefullest wits to that asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles which is commonly set before them as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age.[9] I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices both private and public, of peace and war.[16] And how all this may be done between twelve and one-and-twenty, less time than is now bestowed in pure trifling at grammar and sophistry, is to be thus ordered.

First, to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an ACADEMY,[17] and big enough to lodge one hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct and oversee it done. This place should be at once both school and university,[18] not needing a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be some peculiar college of law or physic where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from *Lilly*[19] to the commencing,[20] as they term it, master of art, it should be absolute. After this pattern as many edifices may be converted to this use as shall be needful in every city[21] throughout this land, which would tend much to the increase of learning and civility everywhere. This number, less or more, thus collected, to the convenience of a foot-company or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their day's work into three parts as it lies orderly,—their studies, their exercise, and their diet.

I. For their studies: first, they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar, either that now used or any better;[22] and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation,[23] as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a southern tongue, but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth, is as ill a

hearing as law French. Next, to make them expert in the usefullest points of grammar, and withal to season them and win them early to the love of virtue and true labor, ere any flattering seducement or vain principle seize them wandering, some easy and delightful book[24] of education should be read to them, whereof the Greeks have store, as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic discourses ;[25] but in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first books of Quintilian,[26] and some select pieces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations, upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue, stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages. That they may despise and scorn all their childish and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly and liberal exercises; which he who hath the art and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage, infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardor as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of arithmetic, and, soon after, the elements of geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bed-time, their thoughts would be best taken up in the easy grounds of religion, and the story of scripture.[27] The next step would be to the authors of agriculture, *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella*, for the matter is most easy ; and if the language be difficult, so much the better; it is not a difficulty above their years. And here will be an occasion of inciting and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of good ; for this was one of Hercules' praises.[28] Ere half these authors be read, (which will soon be with plying hard and daily,) they can not choose but be masters of any ordinary prose : so that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern author the use of the globes and all the maps, first with the old names, and then with the new ;[29] or they might then be capable to read any compendious method of natural philosophy. And at the same time might be entering into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescribed for the Latin; whereby the difficulties of grammar being soon overcome, all the historical physiology[30] of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, are open before them, and as I may say, under contribution.

The like access will be to Vitruvius, to Seneca's Natural Questions, to Mela, Celsus, Pliny, or Solinus.[31] And having thus past the principles of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography, with a general compact of physics, they may descend in mathematics to the instrumental science of trigonometry, and from thence to fortification, architecture, enginery, or navigation.[32] And in natural philosophy they may proceed leisurely from the history of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures, as far as anatomy.[33] Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of physic; that they may know the tempers, the humors, the seasons and how to manage a crudity; which he who can wisely and timely do is not only a great physician to himself and to his friends, but also may at some time or other save an army by this frugal and expenseless means only, and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline, which is a great pity, and no less a shame to the commander.[34] To set forward all these proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists, who doubtless would be ready, some for reward, and some to favor such a hopeful seminary.[35] And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge as they shall never forget, but daily argument with delight. Then also those poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facile and pleasant, *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Theocritus*, *Aratus*, *Nicander*, *Oppian*, *Dionysius;* and, in Latin, *Lucretius*, *Manilius*, and the rural part of Virgil.[36]

By this time years and good general precepts will have furnished them more distinctly with that act of reason which in ethics is called *proairesis*, that they may with some judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil.[37] Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound endoctrinating, to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and hatred of vice; while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and those *Locrian* remnants; but still to be reduced in their nightward studies wherewith they close the day's work under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon, or the evangelist and apostolic Scriptures.[38] Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of economics.[39] And either now or before this, they may have easily learned at any odd hour the Italian tongue.[40] And soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, it would be

wholesome enough to let them taste some choice comedies, Greek, Latin or Italian; those tragedies also that treat of household matters, as *Trachiniæ*, *Alcestis*, and the like.[41] The next remove must be to the study of Politics;[42] to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies, that they may not, in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, be such poor shaken uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience as many of our great councilors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state. After this they are to dive into the grounds of law and legal justice, delivered first and with the best warrant by Moses, and, as far as human prudence can be trusted, in those extolled remains of Grecian lawgivers, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas;* and thence to all the Roman edicts and tables, with their Justinian; and so down to the Saxon and common laws of England, and the statutes.[43] Sundays, also, and every evening may now be understandingly spent in the highest matters of theology and church history, ancient and modern: and ere this time at a set hour the Hebrew tongue might have been gained, that the Scriptures may now be read in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect.[44] When all these employments are well conquered, then will the choice histories, heroic poems, and attic tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous political orations, offer themselves; which, if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endure them even with the spirit and vigor of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles.[45] And now, lastly, will be the time to read with them those organic arts which enable men at discourse, and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted style of lofty, mean or lowly.[46] Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place, with all her well couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus.[47] To which poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtile and fine, but more simple, sensuous and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar, but that sublime art which in Aristotle's Poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castlevetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand master-piece to observe.[48] This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhymers and play-

writers be; and show them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things.[49] From hence, and not till now, will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things: or whether they be to speak in parliament or council, honor and attention would be waiting on their lips.[50] There would then appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought, than we now sit under, oft-times to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us.[51] These are studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one-and-twenty, unless they rely more upon their ancestors dead, than upon themselves living.[52] In which methodical course it is so supposed they must proceed by the steady pace of learning onward, as at convenient times for memory's sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirmed and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the last embattling of a Roman legion.[53] Now will be worth the seeing what exercises and recreations may best agree and become these studies.

II. The course of study hitherto briefly described is, what I can guess by reading, likest to those ancient and famous schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, and such others, out of which were bred such a number of renowned philosophers, orators, historians, poets, and princes, all over Greece, Italy, and Asia, besides the flourishing studies of Cyrene and Alexandria.[54] But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which Plato noted in the commonwealth of Sparta; whereas that city trained up their youth most for war, and these in their academies and Lycæum all for the gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate, shall be equally good both for peace and war.[55] Therefore, about an hour and a half ere they eat at noon should be allowed them for exercise, and due rest afterwards; but the time for this may be enlarged at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early.[56] The exercise which I commend first is the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point. This will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath; is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to make them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valor, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong.[57] They must be also practiced in all the locks and

gripes of wrestling, wherein Englishmen are wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, to grapple, and to close.[58] And this perhaps will be enough wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music[59] heard or learned, either whilst the skillful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues,[60] or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well studied chords of some choice composer;[61] sometimes the lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices either to religious, martial, or civil ditties, which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions.[62] The like also would not be inexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having followed it under vigilant eyes until about two hours before supper, they are, by a sudden alarum or watchword, to be called out to their military motions, under sky or covert according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then, as their age permits, on horseback to all the art of cavalry;[63] that having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, tactics, and warlike maxims, they may, as it were out of a long war, come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country.[64] They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft supplied; they would not suffer their empty and unrecruitable colonels of twenty men in a company to quaff out or convey into secret hoards the wages of a delusive list and miserable remnant;[65] yet in the meanwhile to be overmastered with a score or two of drunkards, the only soldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No, certainly, if they knew ought of that knowledge which belongs to good men or good governors, they would not suffer these things. But to return to our own institute. Besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad: in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches, and partake in

her rejoicing with heaven and earth.[66] I should not, therefore, be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three years that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides to all the quarters of the land, learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building, and of soil for towns and tillage, harbors, and ports for trade.[67] Sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and sea-fight. These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out and give it fair opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledge.[68] Nor shall we then need the monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kikshose. But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles but to enlarge experience and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honor of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent.[69] And perhaps then other nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own country.

III. Now, lastly, for their diet there can not be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthful, and moderate, I suppose is out of controversy.[70]

Thus, Mr. Hartlib, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discoursed with you concerning the best and noblest way of education; not beginning, as some have done, from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope.[71] Many other circumstances also I could have mentioned, but this, to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses;[72] yet I am withal pursuaded that it may prove much more easy in the essay than it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious; howbeit not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy, and very possible, according to best wishes, if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

ANNOTATIONS.

Milton's views of "a complete and generous education to fit a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war," as expressed in his Tractate, and applied in his own Academy, identify him with those champions of Realism, who were struggling to introduce into the schools and universities of England, some attention to the natural sciences and the industries of an advancing civilization. Of these early promoters of practical science in England, we will notice the most prominent.

SAMUEL HARTLIB.

Samuel Hartlib, to whom Milton addressed his "*Tractate on Education*," and who was thought worthy of an allowance from the treasury of the State by Cromwell, and the Parliament, for his services to practical science, and especially to agriculture, was the son of a Polish merchant at Elbing, in Bohemia. His mother was an English woman from London, rich and well connected, which will account for his appearance in that city as early as 1636; an active promoter of educational and agricultural improvement. According to a memorial by him to Lord Herbert in 1662, and another, a little later, to the House of Commons, in the darkened hour of his fortunes, "he had exerted himself for thirty years in procuring valuable treatises to be written, which he had freely printed and as freely sent to such as were most capable of making use of them; also the best experiments in husbandry and manufactures, to be tried and made known for the benefit of his age and posterity." "He erected a little academy for the education of the gentry of this nation, to advance piety, learning, morality and other exercises of industry not usual then in common schools." "As long as I have lived in England, I have spent yearly out of my own, between three and four hundred pounds sterling, and when I was brought to the public allowances, and had from the parliament and council of state a pension of three hundred pounds sterling, this also I have spent as freely for their service, and the good of many."

Among his publications is "*The Discourse on Flander's Husbandry*," a tract of 24 pages, written by Sir Richard Weston, who was embassador from England to Frederick V., Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia. This little treatise, first printed in 1645, was several times republished by him with additions and annotations by competent hands. The edition of 1652, with the title of his "*Legacy, or an Enlargement of the Discourse on Husbandry, &c.*," was revised by Robert Child and Dr. Arnold Beati. For this timely and valuable "Legacy," which, according to a paper published in the "Philosophical Transactions," has enriched England with improved culture adopted therefrom, to the amount of untold millions, Cromwell allowed a yearly pension of £100, which (the truth of history compels us to mention to the additional disgrace, if it is possible to add any thing to the humiliating record of the administration of Charles II.,) the kingly government of England disallowed, and from any thing we have been able to find in English literature, this public benefactor died in want, after having spent his substance "in the advancement of Husbandry-Learning" and of education generally—the great well-springs of a nation's civilization. It is not creditable to the historians of England, and especially to those who profess to see in the country homes and the schools of a people the causes, the evidence, and measure of the well-being of the

state, that the name of Samuel Hartlib is not familiar as a household word to the farmers, the teachers, and the people generally of England.

Although the fact does not appear of record, it is probable, that John Amos Comenius first visited England on his suggestion, and was the recipient of his open hospitality. We know that other laborers in the field of educational and agricultural improvement were so. Speed composed his work on "Improvements in Husbandry," whilst lodging in Hartlib's house. Wherever Comenius may have resided in London, while negotiations were going on with a committee of Parliament, for his being employed in drawing up a plan of national education, we know that Hartlib caused to be printed, in 1654, an edition of his "*Janua Reserata Linguarum*," under the title of "*A true and ready way to learn the Latin Tongue*," and may have assisted Hoole in bringing out his translation of that other work of Comenius, the "*Orbis Pictus*," the school-book, which, with the other publications of Comenius and his followers, revolutionized the entire method of elementary teaching on the Continent, and which is just now being revived in the popular schools of Great Britain, under the name of Object Teaching. By acting on the suggestions made, or at least, made known by Hartlib, England might not only have improved, as she did, the implements and methods of agriculture, but she might have had in advance of any European nation the first Agricultural College, the first Trade or Polytechnic School, the earliest and fullest development of National Education and popular intelligence founded on the solid basis of science and human nature, of any European nation. In 1643, Hartlib published his plan of an "*Office of Public Address*," which he somewhat enlarged in a new edition in 1652—and which "Mr. W. P.," afterwards Sir William Petty, explained in an elaborate paper, as well deserving of parliamentary and associated aid. The idea was that of a sort of "Universal Intelligence Office" under parliamentary organization—for all sorts of wants and supplies—and which is finally realized in our day without government aid in the "Times," or any other great metropolitan newspaper. In 1651, he published his "*Proposition for the Erecting a College of Husbandry*."

CHARLES HOOLE.

Charles Hoole, who helped to make known to English teachers the "*Orbus Sensualium Pictus*" of Comenius, and what is now known as "Object Teaching," was born at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, in 1616, was educated in the Free School there until he was eighteen, and afterwards at Lincoln College, Oxford. He taught school at Rotterham, and in London, where he published several school-books, in which he incorporated the methods set forth it what Milton calls the "*Modern Janua and Didactics*," the Janua Reserata of Comenius, and the Didactica of Ratichius. He died in 1666.

W. P., OR SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

W. P., or Sir William Petty, whose name should be associated with the promoters of practical science in the period of the English Commonwealth, was born May 16, 1623, at Rumsey, where his father was a clothier. After mastering the studies preparatory to the university, he resided at Caen, attending the lectures of the college there. At the age of twenty, he visited the principal cities of France and Holland, studying medicine and the mechanical arts. In 1647, he took out a patent for a method of short-hand writing, and was subsequently assistant pro-

fessor of Anatomy at Oxford, and lecturer in the same department in Gresham College, London. In 1652, he was attached to the Army in Ireland under Lambert, and in 1655, was made Secretary to Henry Cromwell. In 1655, he was elected to Parliament, and on the restoration of the royal government, was elected Surveyor-General of Ireland. His mind was constantly occupied with mechanical inventions, with mathematical studies, and with the problems of political economy, of which he may be regarded as one of the founders in England. We republish his "Plan of a Trade School."

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

Abraham Cowley, whose plan of a "Philosophical College," or "*Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*," was preferred by Dr. Johnson, to that of Milton's Academy, was born in London, in 1618, and died in 1667. His early training was obtained as King's Scholar at Westminster School, whence he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1636. In 1643, he left the university, and for many years resided on the continent in some official relation to the Queen, and Lord Falkland. Soon after his return to England in 1656, he published a volume in which his plan of a College was made public. Among the noticeable features of his college are professors resident of "all sorts of Natural, Experimental Philosophy;" and among the studies, are enumerated "Agriculture, Architecture, Art, Military, Navigation, Gardening; the Mysteries of all Trades, and improvement of them, and briefly all things contained in the Catalogue of Natural Histories annexed to my Lord Bacon's *Organon*." The instruction was to be free—"that none, though never so rich, shall pay any thing for their teaching." The list of authors to be read closely resembles that of Milton, and such as serve "an apprenticeship in Natural Philosophy," "upon Festivals and Play-times, they should exercise themselves in the fields by Riding, Leaping, Fencing, Mustering and Training, after the manner of soldiers, &c." Four of the Professors are to be always traveling beyond seas, leaving a deputy to supply their duties, and one of the four "professors itinerate" is to be assigned "to each of the four great divisions of the globe, to reside there three years, and to give a constant account of all things that belong to the Learning, and especially the Natural Experimental Philosophy of those parts." They must take solemn oath to communicate what they "fully believe to be true, and to confess and recant it as soon as they find themselves in an error." The institution was to be furnished with suitable buildings and grounds—"Towers for the Observation of the Celestial Bodies"—"Laboratories for Chemical Operations"—"Gardens for all manner of experiments concerning Plants—and for the convenient receptacles of all sorts of creatures"—indeed, all the equipments which the great universities of Europe and the great cities of London and Paris now furnish for the illustration and advancement of Natural History, and Practical Science.

In his Essay on "Agriculture," Cowley expresses "the wish (but can not in these times much hope to see it,) that one college in each university were erected and appropriated to this study" with "four professors" to teach the four parts; 1. Aration; 2. Pasturage; 3. Gardens, Orchards, Vineyards and Woods; 4. Rural Economy, Bees, Swine, Poultry, Fish, and other Sports of the Field. Their business should not be "to read lectures, but to instruct their pupils in the whole method and course of this study," and "should be chosen for solid and experimental knowledge of the things they teach—so industrious and public spirited, as I conceive Mr. Hartlib to be, if the gentleman be yet alive."

PROPOSITIONS FOR ERECTING A COLLEGE OF HUSBANDRY.

PRINTED—LONDON, 1651.

MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB, the friend of Milton and co-laborer with him and Petty, and Cowley, in endeavors to promote learning and the public good in their day, thus introduces "*An Essay for advancement of Husbandry-Learning: or Propositions for the erecting a college of Husbandry: and in order thereunto, for the taking in of Pupills or apprentices; and also Friends or Fellows of the same* COLLEDGE *or Society.*"*

TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER,—I find by experience, that it is nothing but the narrownes of our spirits that makes us miserable; for if our hearts were enlarged beyond ourselves, and opened to lay hold of the advantages which God doth offer, whereby we may become joyntly serviceable unto one another in publicke Concernments; we could not be without Lucriferous employments for ourselves; nor unfruitfull to our neighbors, as now for the most part we are, only because we mind not the objects of that Industriousness, which without a mutuall concurrance can not be advanced. For mine owne part, although I can contribute but little; yet being carried forth to watch for the opportunities of provoking others, who can do more, to improve their talents, I have found experimentally that my endeavors have not been without effect as to their undertaking; for God hath brought beyond what I could imagine unto my hand from time to time, Objects of Service, answerable to the enlargement of my spirit: So that I must conclude, that it is nothing but the narrownesse of all mens spirits that makes their miseries to lye heavily upon them: for there are infinite meanes of reliefe and comfort, for all sorts of Calamities to be found in Nature, and well ordered Societies, if men were not enviously, or covetously, or peevishly, or ambitiously, or drousily Straitened within themselves, in the use of that which God hath given them to serve the Glory of his goodness withall; towards the reliefe of themselves and others. And to waken such as are upright in heart, but yet lazie and drowsie under their Distractions, I have thought good to offer these hints to the Publique, which have a long time lain by me; that in this Hopefull appearance of Your settlement, those that droope might see a possibility (if they will not be wanting to themselves) to make themselves and others in this Nation, and juncture of time, more happie and plentifull in outward Professions than their Forefathers have been; by a Colledge or Corporation of Husbandry. For if in all other trades and Sciences, Colledges and Corporations have been and are exceedingly advantagious (if rightly ordered) for the improvement of the talents of those that betake themselves thereunto; Why may we not conclude that in the Science and Trade of Husbandry, which is the mother of all other trades and Scientificall Industries, a collegiall way of Teaching the Art thereof will be of infinite usefulness? I shall leave the thing to thy rationall concideration, that if the least part of Indus-

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* In this and the following paper we shall follow the orthography of the original.—ED.

trie is highly improved by Collegiall institution and Education, how much more may the chief part and as it were the very root of all Wealth, be advanced to perfection by this means? This Essay therefore is but an Overture, and a hint of this matter, that it may be further in due time ripened, and with more mature considerations brought to perfection, for the good of the Common-wealth, and the relief of the poor therein, which is the very earnest desire of

Thine and the Publiques Faithful Servant,

(1651) SAMUEL HARTLIB.

PROPOSITIONS FOR ADVANCEMENT OF HUSBANDRY-LEARNING.

In humane affairs, and which relate not immediately unto God; nothing doth more tend unto the wel-being of a Nation (God giving his blessing thereunto in an humble and right use of it) than plenty of food and raiment, and of all other merchantable commodities to send abroad; which will not faile to returne the prosperity and happinesse of other nations again in exchange. And surely a Nation thus blessed can want no earthly comfort; but will doubtlesse be hated of some, feared of others, and sought to of all. But neither the one, nor the other of these are any other, then the fruits of or in the Earth: and those are not to be obtained but by the helpe of Ingenuity and Industry. The first wisely teaching, what is to be done; the second acting according to those good and right instructions diligently and carefully. By these two (instrumentally) we enjoy all outward things; and without them nothing. These are the first movers to all trades and professions under Heaven; and particularly, to that most auncient, most noble, and most necessary trade of all others, (viz.) good Husbandry, consisting of abundance of parts, of which these are some.

1. Tillage, or Setting, or Sowing of several sorts of corne and graine, for the reliefe and sustenance of Man and Beast.

2. The Breeding of Cattell, (in which the breeding of Sheepe may seem particular.)

3. The feeding of Cattle.

4. The use of the Dairy.

5. The planting of Orchards.

6. The planting of Gardens.

7. The breeding and feeding of Swine.

8. The breeding and feeding of the Several Sorts of tame Poultry.

9. The Planting of Hops.

10. The Sowing of Hempe, Flax, or Rape.

11. The breeding, preserving and taking of wilde beasts, as Conies, &c.

12. The breeding, preserving or taking of wilde Fowle, particularly of Duckes in and by a decoy.

13. The Making and Managing of Rivers, Moats, Ponds, &c., for the preserving and taking fish of all sorts for the use and sustenance of Man.

14. The planting of *Woad*, and all outlandish rare or extraordinary Roots, fruits or plants.

15. The dreining, fencing, mowing, and making of grasse in meadowes into Hey.

16. The Making of *Malt*.

17. And (that now so exceeding necessary endeavor) the planting all sorts of *Wood* for timber or fire.

Besides, very many others which I forbeare to name, as either not so easily

practicable in this Nation, or included in or subordinate to the former, as shearing of Sheepe, Thrashing of Corne, &c., or not vulgarly taken for the parts of Husbandry, (though indeed they are so) as the Digging of Coal-Pits, and production of all Minerals, Quarries of Stone, or useful earths, &c. As these are encouraged and enabled, so is a Nation more or lesse prosperous, or outwardly happy; both these in their distinct natures or uses are most excellent; and are also (at least ought to be) inseparable companions: of which if either precede it is Ingenuity; for that Industry as it is distinct from Ingenuity, can do nothing till the other have contrived what and how. Men take him for a fool or a mad man, that having store of wealth in his trunck, doth yet complain of want. What though the key be rusty for want of use? 'tis easier to get that Scoured, than to obtaine such another treasure. And surely I may upon most sure grounds say, that our Native Countrey, hath in its bowels an (even almost) infinite, and inexhaustible treasure; much of which hath long laine hid, and is but new begun to be discovered. It may seem a large boast or meer Hyperbole to say, We enjoy it not, know not, use not, the one-tenth part of that plenty or wealth and happinesse, that our earth can, and (Ingenuity and Industry well encouraged) will (by God's blessing) yield.

Now whereas there hath been earnestly desired (in the mean time, till the Publique Magistrate shall be at leasure, to give a more strong and ample encouragement and assistance to a designe so exceedingly for the Honour and advancement of the whole nation) the erection of a private Colledge or Society of good Husbandry; wherein some may teach, some learne, and all practise the whole and every part of this so honourable an art, so deep a mystery, and that not onely in the more customary and common way, but according to the most excellent rules, that Ingenuity and Experience gained by rational trials and real experiments have or can attaine to; that so the honour, wealth, and happines of this State may be multiplied, even before itself is aware, and the duller members thereof worne by emulation or example to such practises for their own private and publique good, as no persueasion nor force could ever have effectually led them to. And in respect that there are already divers propositions made, and some engagements also in order thereto; so as the worke hath begun to move, and is dayly advanced, and endeavored to be advanced by some such faithfull branches; as first and chiefly seek the prosperity of the whole stock, but have not sufficient power in their owne hands to go through with, and bring to perfection this great and good work; It is therefore propounded. First, to those, whose great wealth is joined with as great vertue and love to their Countrey; And will as well as Power to advance the Publique good, without seeking their own private benefit.

That whereas it is manifest, that such a colledge or society can not be erected without the building or buying (at least a long lease at an easie rent, if not the inheritance) of some large and convenient house, with some good quantity of land adjoyning, and belonging to it, (though that is not all the land which must be had for this purpose;) and it is as manifest that such a purchase can not be made without good sums of money.

It is therefore desired, that all such well-wishers to their countrey's wealth and prosperity; be pleased to contribute such sums to this good and laudable worke, as in their own wisdomes and bounties appear necessary, and deliver the same into the hands of Mr. Samuel Hartlib, whose abundant zeale for the publique good, renders him most worthy to be intrusted therewith, till there shall

be a competent stock obtained for the setting forward of this great and good worke before mentioned: and to subscribe their names and sums; that so the whole Society (when erected) and the whole nation (when in due time they shall have tasted the sweet effects from hence proceeding,) may know to whome to render all due thanks through all ages, as to the bountiful promoters of, by contributing to a designe so much conducing to the good of the present and prosperity of all ages to come: a plentifull reward to every noble spirit.

It is therefore also propounded, secondly:

To those whose good wills possibly are great, but their powers lesser then the former; and are therefore necessarily withheld from such free and voluntary contributing.

That whereas the knowledge and good influence of the actings of this society and its members, can not without a good large, and considerable stock encrease in its number and power, nor cast itselfe into all the formes of practise in the several parts of this art before mentioned, or that may be mentioned: and for want of which, the maine end of the erection of this Colledge or Society would not be obtained, viz., the infusing into the more sturdy Husbandmen of the nation in generall (now too much wedded to their more customary and lesser profitable working) the more perfect principles of their own art, and such additional uses and instruments, as shall make their practises more national, easie, and really effectual, and beneficial, as to themselves: so to the advancement and encrease of publique plenty and wellfare. It is therefore offered, that whosoever shall disburse and engage any sum, for the encrease of that stock, and consequently the imployment of the Society: Shall by an unerring, unaltering rule, receive yearly; while his money remaines in the hands of the Said Colledge, for every 100. pound, 20. pound, and so for a greater or lesser sum proportionably. And if any particular person shall desire to have his sum disbursed, to be imployed in any one particular *single* part of this copious art here before mentioned; he shall have his desire fulfill'd: provided that his stock be sufficient to drive on that way; and that he be contented to forbeare his revenue till Nature hath produced the returne. And whosoever shall thus engage, shall at any time (upon six moneths warning given) call in and again receive his sum formerly disbursed. And all those that shall thus engage, are desired to enter their names and Sums, by subscribing and delivering the money into the hands of Mr. Samuel Hartlib. And for security they shall have; As to law, the Propounders bond; as to Love, the word of him that desires to prove himselfe a just and honest Man, to God and man, (to his utmost power) and to all engagers a faithful Steward.

PROPOSITIONS, for the erecting a Colledge of Husbandry: and in order thereto for the taking in of Pupills or apprentices: and also Friends or Fellowes of the Same Colledge or Society.

I PROPOUND, that there may be a Colledge or School of all the sorts and parts of good-Husbandry erected; that so the knowledge and practise may become more universal, and men may have more sweet invitations and stronger allurements, to seek the knowledge of this deep and excellent mystery; and practise it to the advancement of a more general and Publique good; Not as now in a sordid clownish way for meer selfe profit; nor as now according to unsound and rather customary than rational rules and grounds; Nor as now in a dishonorable drudging way; which indeed is the grand cause that hinders or takes off the most ingenious spirits (which yet are most fit to be engaged.) For

it is plain, that the chief reason, why this so excellent an art, hath hitherto arrived at no greater perfection, is; that no publique course of incouragement and high prizing the same hath been thought of; and so the best wits shut out, that should have searched it out, and discovered this art more perfectly; which once generally known, together with the vast advantages thereby arising, as to the whole Nation; so to every particular practitioner; we need not fear to want disciples. It is most evident, that those few ingenious persons, that have looked into the wayes of improvement (having some thing also to work upon) of late years have advanced their particular interests to a double or trebble proportion. I am very confident, that those very improvements may again be doubled by yet better wayes.

That therefore Ingenuity may be ransomed from her too tedious captivity; and Industry awaked from a kind of lethargie; occasioned through wonted discontent; I PROPOUND more particularly, (to lay a little foundation for such a Colledge or Society, which I doubt not, time, emulation, and my own profit, will agree to finish,) That If any person of quality have a son or kins-man 15 years old or upwards, with whom he will give (besides well suiting him with all necessary wearing apparel, and more, to the value of twenty marks; in such other necessaries, as the undertaker shall appoint) 60*l.* 1*s.* in ready (£ I suppose)—money at his first entrance, and bind him apprentice for seven years; he shall be in that time faithfully instructed in both the Theorick and Practick parts of this (of all others) most auncient, noble, and honestly gainfull art, Trade, or Mystery. And at the end of that time, he shall receive at one entire payment to set up withal, 300 pound. And shall for foure years next ensuing the end of the said seven years, receive at the end of every year 100. pound more; the better to support him till he have taken sufficient root.

NOTE, That none are to be actually entertained till there be at least 10. entered; at which entrance, they are to pay onely 10. pound apiece, and for farther performances reciprocal Subscriptions. And when there are 10. entered, they are all to be ready upon a moneths warning to appear, pay down the other 50. pound apiece.

NOTE, That not above 36*l.* will be entertained at first, neither afterwards; but as by death, expiration of time, &c., there shall happen to be some wanting of that Number.

Into this Colledge also any man may enter himselfe as a free-man, or friend to, and Member of the Society; upon the following conditions.

1. He must pay down at his entrance 50. pound, as given to the Society for the encouragement of Ingenuity in the practise of Experiments, for the obtaining of yet more and more perfection in this (almost) infinite Science.

2. He must bring with him some skill, at least Ingenuity; and testifie himself to be a well-willer to the profession and professors of Good-Husbandry; and particularly to the Master and Fellowes of this Society.

3. He must produce at least 250. pound as a Stock to set up for Himselfe, to be driven by himselfe, according to the best direction and assistance to be given by the Master and Fellowes of the Colledge.

4. He shall (not Swear, but) Subscribe himself under hand and Seale, a faithful seeker of the advancement of the Mystery and Society; and to be aiding and assisting, to the Master and the Fellowes to his power, at all times, and in all cases, (his own interest alwayes preserved) and to consent and submit to all such orders, as shall be from time to time made, by the agreement of the Master and

the major part of the Fellowes of the said Colledge, for and concerning the same Society, and to stand to their award in any case of difference: and not directly or indirectly to discover all or any part of the same art, or Mystery to any person whatsoever, upon any pretence whatsoever, without their consent first had and obtained.

5. He must be alwayes in commons at the Hall of the said Society; at the rate of 8*s.* per week, or such other rates more or lesse, as the then present stato of things shall require. And he is alwayes to pay off all arreares at the end of each moneth at the farthest, without any deductions for absence how long or short soever. But if he keep a servant (who must also be in commons when present) he shall be allowed to deduct for his absence. As also he is not to be accomptable to the stable for his horse when absent.

6. He shall at his first entrance, pay for himselfe 10. pound, for his servant 5. pound, for his horse 40*s.* for their habitation; besides providing for all necessary furniture; but be ever after free till death or departure.

7. Lastly, he must be a single man; and if he shall at any time marry, he is from thenceforth to be accompted dead to the Society, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; save onely in point of debt or discovery.

Honored Sir,—

The more I finde and consider of the generall backwardnesse of men, to accept or joine with me in the wayes by me propounded, for Mutual Prosperity; the more I am taught to view and review the things propounded, and that impartially. In order to this, I finde upon enquiry, that the maine objections against what I offer are three, viz:—

First, The supposed impossibility of performing (on my part) the thing promised.

Secondly, The Newnesse of the Invention or Contrivance, which renders it within the list of things suspected.

Thirdly, The non appearance of any such good security as is held sufficient to encourage men to joyne with me freely, fully and speedily (that is, seasonably,) to these I answer thus:—

First, upon most assured, and generally experimented grounds I affirme; that one acre of good ground to be sowed with wheate in the more usuall way of Husbandry, will (one place in this nation with another) require the charges or expence following, viz., for rent 13*s.* 4*d.* Dung 24 loads at 1*s.* 3*d.* per load £1 10*s.* Seed 9 pecks, usually worth 13*s.* 6*d.* (now more) twice ploughing, sowing, harrowing, &c., usually 10*s.* (now more,) for weeding 3*s.*, for reaping, &c., 6*s.* 8*d.* for fencing one (acre amongst many,) 3*s.* 4*d.* Which in all amounts to £3. 19*s.* 10*d.* Out of which deduct 20*s.* which will remaine to be accompted with the following crops, in respect of the vertue of the Dung remaining still in the land. Thus the charge of sowing one acre of Wheat, amounts to 2 pound 19*s.* 10*d.*, and for the returne of this, it is not unusuall to have 3, 4 or 5 quarters: but take it at the lesser, and more generally certain rate, of three quarters on an acre, and value that at the more constant and lesser price of 5*s.* a bushel, or 40*s.* a qr., yet the returne amounts to 6 pound, which is double to the charge. I could illustrate this with many other examples as full, but let this suffice.

To the second I say, that the newnesse of my better way of planting or disposing of Corne into the ground, so as (God blessing my endeavors) to obtaine a yet greater increase; is so farre (well weighed) from being a reason to hinder:

that it is to me, and may be to others (when once rightly understood) a *spurre* to hasten towards such an engagement or conjunction: When it is considered that the invention is yet our own, entirely; and consequently the most just and ready way to wealth and all that outward honor and happiness (that accompanies riches well gotten) is open to us, and to us principally; we having the opportunity (while we prepare for, and open the door to so great a Publique Good.) to christen our own childe first, (as they say) which also is most lawful and appointed, that the ox that treadeth out the fodder, shall not be muzled. Which of all those (almost infinite) wayes or means, by which man hath been made instrumental to the increase of his own well-being, was not in one age or other, as *New* as this *Invention* of *mine* doth seem to be in this? Ceartainly it is not the Newnesse, but the *Vanity* or *Invalidity* of any Invention, that layes it open to the dislike of the more wise and noble persons: or if the newnesse of an invention can any way render it fit to be. Suspected, it is onely in such as being altogether new, seem also to disagree with natural reason, and treade quite beside the path of experience; of this kinde it would be, if a man should pretend to make bread of stones; but to say, that I can make more or better bread of the same wheate, will appear impossible to none but inconsiderate persons. And the thing which I hold forth is nothing else, but to screw the most profound mystery of good Husbandry a note or two Higher; but to do the same thing by a better way, and to more advantage.

To the third and last, before I answer I will so farre digresse, as to enquire, what is or can be here meant by security? If it be required in the most high and strict sence, 'tis vaine and impossible to be had in humane affaires, and is not to be had or hoped for in this world, where the moth and rust do corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: this is only to be had in Heaven; and can be no way procured on earth; but by laying up the treasures of good workes: therefore he that will put forth his money upon good security indeed, must vent it in the wayes of Charity and Piety, as relating to God's glory and his soules eternal happinesse; at least in a way of bounty and noblenesse for the Publique good of his neighbour and native countrye, as relating to his good fame after death. But if by security be meant something more moderate and ingenuous, onely a providential care to defend a man's selfe from being abused; so farre as such prosecutions are just, and agreeable to good reason, and the nature of the thing in question. I allow; and approve of it altogether; but not when it rather proceeds from forwardnesses base and groundlesse suspition, and a naturall aversness and enmity to all good. Thus when a man lends to another *Politically* as a meer man, he requires bills, bonds, morgages, or the like. But if he gives he doth not so, neither if he lend to the poor, or to persons so just, that he esteems their word sufficient. I suppose there are very many in London, that do frequently take up great sums without giving any formal security; nay that would take it for a great affront to have such a thing required of them; and yet surely it is no absolute miracle to see such a one break: why then are men so easie in that, and so difficult in this? or is it for the Mutual advance of Trade? Why, that very argument serves here too; unlesse they be resolved to advance no trade but their own. And even that also comes in here; for what trade can more advance the Engagers *Private*, then that which is faithfully driven on for the properity of him and his posterity? or what can more magnify a great and populous city, then to stand in the midst

of a fertile soile, that affords her plenty and abundance of all good things, which is already the happinesse of London? and this happinesse shall by this meanes, by God's blessing given unto and upon this means, be continually encreased.

Again, it is rationall when men lend money for little or no advantage to themselves, but onely to do their friend a courtesie, it is but reasonable, that they should by all good meanes secure the repayment of their principall. But when men put forth their moneys in hope of great advantage, they must, and do usually forbear to stand upon such precise security; rightly considering, that God's providence is (as the best inheritance, so also) the best security that can be named, and will not faile to returne with a blessing any thing that shall be thereto intrusted faithfully. Thus, what other security (more then rational probabilities) hath the souldier; that ventures his life, limbs, liberty and all, and this without any other security than a good conscience (or a good *confidence* at least) in life or death; resting in that successe the Lord of Hoasts shall please to appoint.

Thus the merchant puts (if not always himselfe: yet) his estate into a weak wooden vessel: and commits it to the mercy of the winds and waves, having set up his rest in the goodnesse of that God that parted the Red-Sea by his power. Thus, the mineralist layes out much money in sincking his pits and quarries, onely in hope to finde that richer veine he conceives to be there. Thus the patient commits his life, health and case, (under God) into the physitians hands, as relying on his care and skill. I say, that all these, and many more, even all men in almost all humane actions, runne some kind of hazard; and more or lesse do and must depend upon God's mercy and Man's integrity, without any other outward formal security. Thus also do I propound (and that upon probabilities as certain and rational (if not more as any of these) that we may agree, engage, and sowe in hope; that that God that never suffers hope (rightly placed) to be frustrate; may make us return and bear our sheafes with us, may make our valleys stand so thick with corne, that they shall laugh and sing. Which that it may be thus, shall alwayes be the faithfull desire and earnest prayer of, Sir,

Your most obliged, faithfull, and humbly
thankfull friend and Servant.

Sir,—By what is above said, and by many other very evident reasons, it is or may be proved, that in such a case as this, it is not much rational to demand any other security than the Propounders own obligation for performance of covenants. Yet that all men may know, that my intentions are fair and just, and my aimes not simply at my own private profit; but that I, also much more desire the prosperity of my nation, and of all persons that shall joyne with me, I offer and am content, that if the subscribers and consequently engagers shall think fit to meet, and amongst themselves chuse three such as I shall also like of, I will endeavor to give them (in the behalf, and as the Trustees of and for all the rest,) some more plain and satisfactory security, which is impossible to be done, to every particular person, that shall perhaps underwrite and engage onely 25. pound, or some such sum.

PLAN OF A TRADE OR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE ADVICE OF W. P. TO MR. SAMUEL HARTLIB," FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SOME PARTICULAR PARTS OF LEARNING.

LONDON, PRINTED, A. D. 1647.

In the "Epistle dedicatory to his honored friend Master Samuel Hartlib," W. P. (afterwards Sir William Petty,) the founder of the Lansdowne family, says:—

"I have had many flying thoughts, concerning the advancement of reall learning in generall, but particularly of the education of youth, Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Physicks, and concerning the History of Art and Nature, with some more serious ones concerning your owne most excellent advices for an Office of Public Addresse.* And indeed they were but flying thoughts, for seeing what vast summes were requisite to carry on those designes, and how unwilling or unable men generally were to contribute towards them, I thought it but labour lost to fix my mind much upon them."

The "Advice," begins as follows:—

"To give an exact definition or nice division of Learning, or of the advancement thereof, we shall not undertake (it being already so accurately done by the great Lord Verulam.) Intending only to shew where our owne shoe pincheth us, or to point at some pieces of knowledge, the improvement whereof, (as we at least conceive) would make much to the generall good and comfort of all mankind, and withall to deliver our owne opinion by what meanes they may be raised some one degree neerer to perfection.

But before we can meddle with this great work, we must first think of getting labourers, by appointing some generall rendevouz where all men either able or willing to take up armes against the many difficulties thereof, may finde entertainment.

That is to say, we must recommend the Institution of an Office of common Addresse, according to the projection of Master Hartlib, (that painfull and great instrument of this designe) whereby the wants and desires of all may bee made knowne unto all, where men may know what is already done in the businesse of Learning, what is at present in doing and what is intended to be done: to the end, that by such a generall communication of designes and mutuall assistance; the wits and endeavours of the world may no longer be as so many scattered coales or fire-brands, which for want of union, are soone quenched, whereas being but layed together they would have yielded a comfortable light and heat. For methinkes the present condition of men is like a field, where a battle hath beene lately fought, where we may see many leggs, and armes, and eyes lying here and there, which for want of a union and a soule to quicken

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* In 1643, Hartlib presented a Memorial to the two Houses of Parliament for the establishment of an Office of Public or Common Address—A sort of Universal Exchange of Demand and Supply, which Memorial was afterwards embodied in a pamphlet of 34 quarto pages.

and enliven them, are good for nothing but to feed Ravens; and infect the aire. So we see many wittes and ingenuities lying scattered up and downe the world, whereof some are now labouring to do what is already done, and pusling themselves to reinvent what is already invented. Others we see quite stuck fast in difficulties, for want of a few directions, which some othre man (might he be met withall) both could and would most easily give him; againe one man wants a small summe of mony, to carry on some designe, that requires it, and there is perhaps another, who hath twice as much ready to bestow on the same designe, but these two having no meanes ever to heare the one of the other, the good work intended and desired, by both parties doth utterly perish and come to nothing: but this we passe over sleightly, though very fundamentale to our businesse, because the master-builder thereof himself hath done it so solidly. Having by this meanes procured workmen and what else is necessary to the worke, that which we would have them to labour in, is, how to finde out such arts as are yet undiscovered, how to learne what is already known, by more compendious and facile wayes, and to apply it to more, and those more noble uses, how to work in men an higher esteeme of learning so as to give occasion, encouragement, and opportunity to more men to apply themselves to its advancement. The next thing then to be done, will be:—

1. To see what is well and sufficiently done already, exploding whatsoever is nice, contentious, and meerly phantasticall. All which must in some measure be suppressed and brought into disgrace and contempt with all men.

2. This survey may be made by perusing all books, and taking notice of all mechanicall inventions.

3. In this perusall, all the Real or Experimentall Learning may be sifted and collected out of the said books.

4. There must be appointed able readers of all such books, with certaine and well limited directions what to collect out of them.

5. Every book must be so read by two severall persons apart, to prevent mistakes and failings from the said directions.

6. The directions for reading must be such, as the readers observing them, may exactly agree in their collections.

7. Out of all these bookes, one booke or great work may be made, though consisting of many volumes.

8. The most artificiall indices, tables or other helps, for the ready finding remembering, and well understanding all things contained in these bookes must be contrived and put in practice.

Having thus taken the height or pitch whereunto al arts and sciences whatsoever, are already come; and observed where they now stick, the ablest men in every respective faculty must be set apart, to drive them on further with sufficient maintenance and encouragement for the same.

Whereunto it is requisite that two or three, one under another, be employed about each faculty, to the end that some of them dying, or any otherwise failing, there may never want men acquainted with the whole designe, and able to carry it on, with the help of others to be admitted under them; and that at least yearly accompts be taken of those mens endeavors, and rewards be proportioned to them accordingly. And now we shall think of whetting our tooles, and preparing sharp instruments for this hard work, by delivering our thoughts concerning education, which are,

1. That there be instituted *Ergastula Literaria*, literary-work-house, where

children may be taught as well to doe something towards their living, as to read and write.

2. That the business of education be not (as now) committed to the worst and unworthiest of men, but that it be seriously studied and practised by the best and abler persons. That all children of above seven yeares old may be presented to this kind of education, none being to be excluded by reason of the poverty and unability of their parents, for hereby it hath come to passe, that many are now holding the plough, which might have beene made fit to steere the state. Wherefore let such poor children be imployed on works whereby they may earne their living, equall to their strength and understanding, and such as they may performe as well as elder and abler persons, viz., attending engines, &c. And if they can not get their whole living, and their parents can contribute nothing at all to make it up, let them stay somewhat the longer in the work-house.

That since few children have need of reading before they know, or can be acquainted with the things they read of, or of writing, before their thoughts are worth the recording, or they are able to put them into any forme (which we call inditing) much lesse of learning Languages, when there bee books enough for their present use in their owne mother tongue; our opinion is, that those things being withall somewhat above their capacity, (as being to be attained by judgement, which is weakest in children) be deferred awhile, and others more needful for them, such as are in the order of nature before those afore mentioned, and are attainable by the help of memory, wich is either most strong or unpreoccupied in children, be studied before them. We wish therefore that the educands be taught to observe and remember all sensible objects and actions, whether they be naturall or artificiall, which the educators must upon all occasions expound unto them. That they use such exercises, whether in work, or for recreation, as tend to the health, agility and strength of their bodies.

That they be taught to read by much more compendious meanes then are in common use, which is a thing certainly very easie and feasible. That they be not onely taught to write according to our common way, but also to write swiftly and in reall characters, as likewise the dextrous use of the instruments for writing many copies of the same thing at once.

That the artificiall memory he thought upon, and if the precepts thereof be not too farre above childrens capacities. We conceive it not improper for them to learn that also. That in no case the art of drawing and designing be omitted, to what course of life soever those children are to be applied. Since the use thereof for expressing the conceptions of the mind, seemes (at least to us) to be little inferiour to that of writing, and in many cases performeth what by words is impossible.

That the Elements of Arithmetick and Geometry be by all studied, being not onely of great and frequent use in all humane affaires, but also sure guides and helps to reason, and especiall remedies for a volatile and unstedy mind. That effectuall courses be taken to try the abilities of the bodies and minds of children, the strength of their memory, inclinations of their affections either to vice or vertue, and to which of them in particular, and withall to alter what is bad in them, and increase and improve what is good, applying all, whether good or bad, to the least inconveniencie and most advantage.

That such as shall have need to learne forraine languages, (the use whereof would be much lessened were the reall and common characters brought into

practice) may be taught them by incomparably more easie ways then are now usuall.

That no ignoble, unnecessary, or condemned part of learning be taught in those houses of education. So that if any man shall vainely fall upon them he himselfe onely may be blamed.

That such as have any naturall ability and fitnesse to musick be encouraged and instructed therein.

That all children, though of the highest ranke, be taught some gentile manufacture in their minority. Such as are,

Turning of curious figures.

Making Mathematicall instruments. Dialls and how to use them in astronomicall observations.

Making Watches and other Trochilick motions.

Limning and painting on Glass, or in Oile colors.

Graving, Etching, Carving, Embossing, and Molding in sundry matters.

The Lapidaries art of knowing, cutting and setting Jewells.

Grinding of Glasses Dioptricall, and Catoptricall.

Botanicks, and Gardening.

Making Musical Instruments.

Navarchy and making Modells for buildings and rigging of ships.

Architecture and making Modells for houses.

The Confectioners, Perfumers, or Dier's arts.

Chymistry, refining Metalls and counterfeiting Jewells.

Anatomy, making skeletons, and excarnating bowells.

Making Mariners Compasses, Globes, and other magnetick devices.

And all for these reasons:—

1. They shall be lesse subject to cousened by the artificers.

2. They will become more industrious in generall.

3. They will certainly bring to passe most excellent works, being as gentlemen, ambitious to excell ordinarie workmen.

4. They being able to make experiments themselves, may doe it with lesse charge, and more care than others will doe it for them.

5. The *Resp. Artium*, will be much advanced, when such as are rich and able, are also willing to make Luciferous experiments.

6. It may engage them to be Mecænates and Patrons of Arts.

7. It will keepe them from worse occasions of spending their time and estates.

8. As it will be a great ornament in prosperity, so it will be a great refuge and stay in adversity, and common calamity.

As for what remaines of Education, we can not but hope that those, whom we have desired should make it their trade, will supply it, and render the idea thereof much more perfect.

We have already recommended the studie of Arithmetick and Geometry to all men in generall, but they being the best grounded parts of speculative knowledge, and of so vast use in all practicall arts. We can not but commend deeper enquiries into them. And although the way of advancing them in particular, may be drawne from what we have already delivered, concerning the advancement of learning in generall, yet for the more explicite understanding our meaning herein, we referre to Master Pells most excellent idea thereof written to Master Hartlib.

In the next place for the advancement of all Mechanicall Arts and Manufactures. We wish that there were erected a Gymnasinm, Mechanicum, or a Colledge of Trades-men (or for more expedition untill such a place could be built, that the most convenient houses for such a purpose may be either bought or hired) wherein we would that one at least of every trade (but the prime most ingenious work-men, the most desirous to improve his art,) might be allowed therein, a handsom dwelling rent free. Which with the credit of being admitted into this Society, and the quick sale which certainly they would have of their commodities, when all men would repaire thither, as to a market of rare and exquisite pieces of work-manship, would be a sufficient motive to attract the very ablest mechanicks, and such as we have described, to desire a fellowship in this College.

From this Institution we may clearly hope when the excellent in all arts are not onely neighbours, but intimate friends and brethren, united in a common desire and zeal to promote them, that all trades will miraculously prosper, and new inventions would be more frequent, then new fashions of clothes and household-stuffe. Here would be the best and most effectuall opportunities and meanes, for writing a History of Trades in perfection and exactnesse, and what experiments and stuffe would all those shops and operations afford to active and philosophicall heads. Out of which, to extract that interpretation of nature, whereof there is so little, and that so bad as yet extant in the world? Within the walls of this Gymnasium or College should be a *Nosocomium Academicum* according to the most exact and perfect idea thereof a compleate Theatrum Botanicum, stalls and cages for all strange beastes and birds, with ponds and conservatories for all exotick fishes, here all animalls capable thereof should be made fit for some kind of labor and imployment, that they may as well be of use living as dead; here should be a Repositorie of all kind of rarities.

Naturall and artificiall pieces of antiquity. Modells of all great and noble engines, with designes and platformes of gardens and buildings. The most artificiall fountaines and water-works. A library of select books, an astronomicall observatory for celestiall bodies and meteors, large pieces of ground for severall experiments of agriculture. Galleries of the rarest paintings and statues, with the fairest globes and geographical maps, of the best descriptions, and so farre as is possible, we would have this place to be the epitome or abstract of the whole world. So that a man conversant within those walls, would certainly prove a greater schollar then the walking libraries so called; although he could neither write nor read. But if a child, before he learned to read or write, were made acquainted with all things, and actions (as he might be in this colledge,) how easily would he understand all good books afterwards, and smell out the fopperies of bad ones. As for the situation, modell, policy, occonomy, with the number of officers and retainers to this Colledge, and the priviledges thereof, it is as yet time enough to delineate. Only we wish that a society of men might be instituted, as carefull to advance arts as the Jesuites are to propagate their religion for the government and manageing of it.

But what relish will there be in all those dainties whereof we have spoken, if we want a palate to tast them, which certainly is health the most desirable of all earthly blessings. And how can we in any reason expect health, when there are so many great difficulties in the curing of diseases, and no proportionable course taken to remove them? We shall therefore pursue the meanes of acquiring the publicke good and comfort of mankind a little further, and vent

out conceits concerning a Nosocomium Academicum or an hospitall to cure the infirmities both of physicians and patient.

We intended to have given the most perfect idea of this Nosocomium Academicum, and consequently to have treated of the situation and fabrick of the house, garden, library, chymicall laboratorie, anatomicall theater, apotheca, with all the instruments and furniture belonging to each of them; as also of the whole policy and occonomy thereof."

The writer prepares to realize his Nosocomium out of the Old Hospitals "under the reforming hand of authority," after giving some hints as to the organization of his College of Health, he proceeds:—

"Having now after a fashion gone through the description of such Societies and Institutions, as we have thought most fit for the advancement of reall learning, and among the rest, of the *Ergastulum Literarium* for the education of children, we now come to speak of such bookes, as being well studied and expounded in those schooles, would lay a very firme foundation of learning in the schollers.

We recommend therefore in the first place (besides those bookes of collection, by us formerly mentioned, and Master Pells three Mathematical Treatises,) the compiling of a work whose title might justly be 'Vellus Aureum sive Facultatum Lucriferarum Discriptio Magna,' wherein all the practised wayes of getting a subsistance and whereby men raise their fortunes, may be at large declared. And among these, we wish that the History of Arts or Manufactures might first be undertaken as the most pleasant and profitable of all the rest, wherein should be discribed the whole processe of manual operations and applications of one naturall thing (which we call the elements of artificials) to another, with the necessarie instruments and machines, whereby every peice of work is elaborated, and made to be what it is, unto which work bare words being not sufficient, all instruments and tooles must be pictured, and colours added when the discriptions can not be made intelligible without them. This history must not be made out of a farrago of imperfect relations made to the compiler, either by too rude or cousening workmen, but all things thereunto appertaining must be by himselfe observed and attested by the most judicious and candid of each respective profession, as well to make the work the more authenticke, (it being to be the basis of many future inferences and philosophations) as the more cleerly and distinctly to enforme the compiler himself, by whose judgement as the Alembick and industry as the fire, it is hoped that the quintessence and magesteries of all present inventions may be extracted, and new ones produced in abundance. Although it be intended to teach the making of all artificials, yet it is not to be understood that when there hath beene taught how to make a stoole, or a naile of one fashion, that the art of making a chaire or a naile of another fashion, should be long insisted on. But the compiler should strive to reduce the making of all artificials in each trade to a certain number and classes of operations tools and materials, neither need he to set the figures, or mention the name of all artificials that ever were made, but onely of such as are most knowne and of common use amongst men: he needeth not to describe every punctilio in making all the aforementioned particulars, and yet leave no more defects, then may be supplied by every common understanding. For we question whether (if he should engage himselfe in such an endlesse labour) a man by the bare light and instruction of a book could attaine to a dextrous practice of a trade,

whereunto hath been required seven yeares Autopsia. But are confident that the help of this book will lessen the former tædium by more than half. He should not so abridge the work as not to distinguish between instruments of the same name, as between a loom to weave kerseys, and another, wherein to weave silk ribbands or stockings. He should all along give the mechanicall reason of every instrument materiall and operation, when the same is sensible and cleere. He should all along note his own defects in setting down these histories, in case he had not at the time of the writing thereof sufficient information, and withall the deficiencies of the trades themselves.

Now whereas there be divers wayes and methods of working most manufactures, he should in each thing stick close to the way of some one Mr.; but note all the diversities he knoweth, and give his opinion of the use and goodnes of each.

Moreover the occonomy, Sive Ars. augendas rei familiaris, in all professions ought to be inquired into, viz., what seasons of the yeare are most proper to each worke, which the best places and times to buy materials, and to put off the commodities when finished, how most thriftily to hire, entertaine, and oversee servants and workmen, how to dispose of every excrement and refuse of material, or of broken, worne, or otherwise unserviceable tooles and utensils, with all cauteles, impostures and other sleights good or bad, whereby men use to over-reach one another.

There ought to be added to this work many and various indices besides the alphabetical ones, as namely one of all the artificials mentioned in the whole worke. Another of all the naturall materials or elements of artificials, by what artificers used, from whence they come, where to be had, and what are the ordinary and middle prices of them.

Another of all the qualities or schemes of matter, as of all liquifiable things visea friable, heavy, transparent, abstersive, or otherwise qualified according to all the classes of 1, 2, and 3, qualities, to the end that materials for all intentions and experiments may be at hand and in sight.

Another of all operations mentioned in the whole work, as sawing, hewing, filing, boaring, melting, dissolving, turning, beating, grinding, boyling, calcining, knitting, spinning, sowing, twisting, &c. To the end that they all may also be at hand for the purposes aforesaid.

Another of all tooles and machines, as files, sawes, chissels, sheeres, sives, loomes, shuttles, wheels, wedges, knives, skrewes, &c., for the same purpose also.

The compiler ought to publish all his conjectures, how old inventions may be perfected, and new ones produceds, giving directions how to try the truth of them. So that by all those unto whose hands these books shall come perchance, all the said suppositions may be tryed, and the successe reported to the compiler himselfe.

The compilers first scope in inventions shall bee, how to apply all materials that grow in abundance in this kingdome, and whereof but in considerable use and profits are as yet made to more advantage to the common wealth. And also how all impotents whether onely blind, or onely lame, and all children of above seven yeares old might earne their bread, and not be so long burdensome to their parents and others. There should be made a preface to the worke to teach men how to make the most of experiments and to record the successes of them whatsoever, whether according to hopes or no, all being equally luciferous, although not equally lucriferous. There ought to be much artifice used, that all

the aforementioned indices may handsomely referre one to another, that all things contained in the whole book may be most easily found, and most readily attend the seekers of new inventions. The way to accomplish this worke must be to enquire what to this purpose is already done, or in hand, in all places and also by whom, so that communication of councels and proceedings, may (if possible) be had with those undertakers. All bookes of this subject already extant in print, must be collected and bought, not to transcribe them, but to examine them per autopsiam, and re-experiment the experiments contained in them, and withall to give hints of new enquiries.

The compiler must be content to devote his whole life to this employment, one who (as we said before) hath the fire of industry and the alembick of a curious and rationall head, to extract the quintescence of whatsoever he seeth. He should bee as young as sufficient abilities will admit, to the end that he may with the concurrence of God's ordinary providence, either finish, or very farre advance the work, while he liveth, and also that living long in that employment, he may heap up the larger stock of experiments, which how much the greater it is in one man, affordeth so much the more the hopes of new inventions.

The nature, manner, and meanes of writing the History of Trades being so farre expounded, before we proceed furthur therein, for the better encouragement of undertakers. We shall now represent such profits and commodities thereof, to the commonwealth, as we at present more nearly reflect upon. For to enumerate or evaluate them all, will be much above our capacity.

1. All men whatsoever may hereby so look into all professions, as not to be too grossely cozened and abused in them.

2. The mysteries of trades being so laid open, as that the professors of them can not make so unlawful and exorbitant advantages as heretofore, such as are cunning and ambitious will never rest untill they have found new ones in their stead; so that the Respublica Artium, will be so much the more advanced.

3. Schollers and such as love to ratiocinate will have more and better matter to exercise their wits upon, whereas now they pusle and tire themselves, about meer words and chymericall notions.

4. They will reason with more alacrity, when they shall not onely yet honour by shewing their abilities, but profit likewise by the invention of Fructiferous Arts.

5. Sophistry shall not be in such esteem as heretofore, when even sence shall be able to unmask its vanity, and distinguish it from truth.

6. Men seeing what arts are already invented, shall not need to pusle themselves to reinvent the same again.

7. All men in generall that have wherewithall will be venturing at our 'Vellus Aureum,' by making of experiments: and whether thereby they thrive or no (the directions in the preface being followed) they shall nevertheless more and more discover nature.

8. Nay, all nations sensible of this 'Auri Sacra fames,' will engage in this hopefull businesse; and then certainly many hands will make light work in the said businesse of discovering nature.

9. All ingenious men and lovers of reall knowledge, have a long time begged this work, wherefore it can be no small honor to him that shall satisfie them.

10. A vast increase of honorable, profitable, and pleasant inventions must needs spring from this work, when one man (as the compiler thereof) may 'uno

intuita,' see and comprehend all the labor and wit of our ancestors, and be thereby able to supply the defects of one trade with the perfections of another.

11. We see that all countries where manufactures and trades flourish, as Holland, &c., become potent and rich. For how can it be otherwise? When the revenues of the state shall be encreased by new and more customes, all beggers feeding upon the labours of other men, and even thieves and robbers (made for want of better employment) shall be set on work, barren grounds made fruitful, wet dry, and dry wet, when even hogs and more indocile beasts shall be taught to labour. When all vile materials shall be turned to noble uses, when one man or horse shall do as much as three, and every thing improved to strange advantages.

12. There would not then be so many *fustian* and unworthy preachers in divinity; so many Petti-foggers in the law; so many quack-salvers in physick; so many grammaticasters in country schooles, and so many lazy serving-men in gentlemen's houses, when every man might learn to live otherwise in plenty and honour. For all men desirous to take paines, might by this book survey all the wayes of subsistance, and choose out of them all, one that best suits with his genius and abilities.

13. Schollers now disesteemed for their poverty, (what ever other thing commands them) and unable even for want of lively-hood, to perfect anything even in their own way, would quickly help themselves by opening treasures, with the key of lucriferous inventions.

14. Boyes instead of reading hard Hebrew words in the Bible (where they either trample on, or play with mysteries) or parrat-like repeating heteroclitous nounes and verbs, might read, and hear the History of Faculties expounded, so that before they be bound apprentices to any trade, they may foreknow the good and bad of it, what will and strength they have to it, and not spend seven years in repenting, and in swimming against the stream of their inclinations.

All apprentices by this book might learn the theory of their trades before they are bound to a master, and consequently may be exempted from the 'Tædium' of a seven years bondage, and having spent but about three years with a master, may spend the other foure in travelling to learn breeding, and the perfection of their trades. As it would be more profitable to boyes, to spend ten or twelve years in the study of things, and of this book of faculties, then in a rabble of words, so it would be more easie and pleasant to them as more suitable to the natural propensions we observe in them. For we see children do delight in drums, pipes, fiddels, guns made of elder sticks, and bellowes' noses, piped keys, &c., for painting flags and ensignes with elder-berries and corn poppy, making ships with paper, and setting even nut-shells a swimming, handling the tooles of workemen as soone as they tune their backs, and trying to work themselves, fishing, fowling, hunting, setting sprenges, and traps for birds, and other animals, making pictures in their writing bookes, making tops, gigs, and whirligigs, guilting balls, practicing divers jugling tricks upon the cards, &c., with a million more besides. And for the females, they will be making pies with clay, making their babies clothes, and dressing them therewith, they will spit leaves on sticks, as if they were roasting meate, they will imitate all the talke and actions which they observe in their mother, and her gossips, and punctually act the comedy or tragedy (I know not whether to call it) of a woman's lying-in. By all which it is most evident, that children do most naturally delight in things, and are most capable of learning them, having quick sences to receive them,

and unpreoccupied memories to retaine them. As for other things whereunto they are nowadayes fit, they are altogether unfit for want of judgement, which is but weake in them, and also for want of will, which is sufficiently seene both by what we have said before, by the difficultie of keeping them at schools, and the punishment they will endure rather than be altogether debarred from this pleasure which they take in things.

This work will be a help to eloquence, when men by their great acquaintance with things, might find out similitudes, metaphors, allusions, and other graces of discourse in abundance.

To arithmeticians and geometricians, supplying them with matter whereupon to exercise those most excellent sciences, which some having with much paines once learned, do for want hereof forget againe, or unprofitably apply about resolving needlesse questions and making of new difficulties. The number of mix mathematical arts would hereby be increased.

For we see that opticks are made up of pure mathematicks, the anatomy of the eye, and some physicall principles concerning the nature of light and vision, with some experiments of convexe and concave glasses. Astronomy is constituted againe of them, and some celestiall phenomena. Enquire againe of them, and some propositions, 'de Cochleâ et Vecte.' And so certainly as the number of axioms concerning severall subjects doth increase by this work. So the number of (their applications to pure mathematicks, id est,) new mathematicall arts, will increase also. Divines having so large a booke of God's works added to that of his word, may the more clearly from them both, deduce the wisedome, power, and goodnesse of the Almighty. Physicians observing the use of all drugs and operations in the production of artificials, may with successe transferre them to better uses in their art. And lawyers when they plead concerning trades and manufactures, would better know what to say on such occasions.

A young beginner may know by this book how much stock is needfull to set him up in trade. Gentlemen falling sometimes accidentally into tradesmen and handi-crafts company, would know how to make use of such occurrences to advantage.

Lastly,—This History with the comments thereupon, and the Indices, Preface and Supplemements thereunto belonging, would make us able (if it be at all possible) to demonstrate Axioms in Philosophy, the value and dignity whereof can not be valued or computed.

The next book which we recommend is the History of Nature free, for indeed the History of Trades is also a History of Nature, but of nature vexed and disturbed. What we meane by this history may be known by the Lord Verulam's most excellent specimen thereof, and as for the particulars that it should treat on, we referre to his exact and judicious catalogue of them, at the end of his "Advancement of Learning."

JOHN LOCKE.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

JOHN LOCKE was born in 1632, at Wrington, near Bristol. His father was a captain in the parliamentary army, during the civil wars. He brought up his son strictly during his early years, and in a more free and friendly manner, as he grew older.

Locke attended the Westminster school until 1651, when he entered Christ's College, Oxford. Here he found the Aristotelian philosophy, especially the empty disputations, repulsive to him. He however studied Des Cartes, and took great pleasure in learning medicine.

In 1664 he went as secretary of legation to Berlin, and in 1665 returned to Oxford, where he commenced those meteorological observations by which Boyle afterward profited.

In 1666 he became acquainted with Lord Shaftesbury, the instruction of whose son, then fifteen years old, he afterward conducted. This child was very sickly, but under the care of Locke recovered, afterward married and brought up seven children, the eldest of whom, a son, Locke also educated.

In 1672 Shaftesbury was lord chancellor, and Locke was appointed his secretary; both, however, lost their offices the next year. In 1682 Shaftesbury, forced by the Catholic party, left England, and sailed to Holland, whither Locke followed him in 1683. Here he became acquainted with Le Clerc and Limborch; to the latter of whom he wrote the epistle upon Toleration. He did not return to England until 1689, when he came in the ship in which William III. brought his wife. In 1690 he published his celebrated work upon the human understanding, and wrote against those who, under the cloak of Christianity, defended a Turkish despotism.

In 1693 appeared his "*Thoughts upon the Education of Children;*"* which soon passed into other editions, and was translated

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* "*Some thoughts concerning education.*" In part third of "*The Works of Locke*, London, printed for John Churchill, 1714." There are many editions of them. There is in French, "*De l'education des enfans, traduit de l'Anglois de Locke* par Mr. Coste, Amsterdam, 1730." And in German, "*Handbuch der Erziehung aus dem Englischen des Locke, übersetzt von Rudolphi*, 1781." This is in the ninth part of Campe's "*Revision.*" Salzmann, Campe, Gedike, Trapp, and others, have added remarks to this translation; and Coste has given additions here and there, and amongst them compared passages from Montaigne.

into French, Dutch, and German. The book soon acquired great reputation, and had much influence upon education.

Toward the end of his life, Locke took more and more interest in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and wrote commentaries on the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians, and also a work upon the reasonableness of the Christian religion.

He passed the last years of his life in the country, at Oates, twenty English miles from London. A few months before his death, he was enjoying a supper with two friends, when he declared "that he was in perfect charity with all men, and in a sincere communion with the church of Christ, by what name soever it might be distinguished." On the last evening of his life, he asked for the prayers of his friends in the house, and said that he had lived long and happily, but that in his whole life he could see only emptiness.

He died while listening to the reading of a psalm, Oct. 28th, 1704, in his seventy-third year.

LOCKE'S PEDAGOGY.

From what has been said of Locke's life, it can be judged what his views upon pedagogy would naturally be. As a physician employed to prevent a sick youth from dying, he would naturally pay special attention to the care of the health. As the occupant of several public stations, in relations with the most eminent statesmen, and the preceptor of a statesman's son, he would naturally value practical power in a system of education more than learning. Accordingly, he could not but recognize the principles of the higher nobility, in particular those of honor, and of what belong to an educated nobleman; and acquire their antipathy to learned pedantry. Locke, as he himself says in his conclusion, looked only to education at home, by a private tutor, of a rich and noble child; and, in the common school life of youth, he saw only vulgarity. But we will listen to himself.

In the introduction, he gives a brief general explanation of his views. "A sound mind in a sound body is a short but full description of a happy state in this world: he that has these two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. * * * He whose mind directs not wisely, will never take the right way; and he whose body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. * * * Of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education." Although the mind is the chief object of the teacher, he adds, yet the body must not be neglected; and he speaks first of the health of the body.

I shall not here raise the question whether man consists of body, mind, and spirit. Juvenal, from whom Locke quotes his *Mens sana, &c.*, says in another place:—

> "Mundi
> Principio indulsit communis conditor illis (beasts)
> Tantum animas, nobis animum quoque."

In proportion as this triplicity is important to the teacher, as I shall hereafter show, in the same proportion is it in opposition to Locke's views.

1. ESTABLISHMENT AND PROMOTION OF THE HEALTH.*

Children of eminent persons should be brought up, in this respect, like the children of wealthy land-owners.

Children must not be too warmly clothed, not even in winter! day and night, in wind and weather, they must go bare-headed.

They should daily wash their feet in cold water, so as to make them as insensible to moisture as the hands are. Cold baths have wonderful effects, particularly upon weak persons.

All boys must learn to swim. The ancient Germans learned this of their own accord. If the Romans desired to speak ill of any one's education, they said, "*Nec literas didicit nec natare:*" "He understands neither learning nor swimming."

Boys should run about in the open air, at all times of the year.

Tight clothes are improper; and particularly stays for girls.

To small children no meat should be given, but milk. Food too salt, or spice, is not good for them. Between meal times (which should be as few as possible,) the children should be permitted to eat only dry bread. They may drink small beer, but no wine, or liquor. Melons, peaches, most kinds of plums, and grapes, are to be prohibited to children (!) but not strawberries, currants, gooseberries, apples, and pears.

Early retiring and rising is the rule, and eight hours' sleep. They should not be awaked by frightening them. They should sleep on a hard bed—a mattress, not a feather-bed.

They should go regularly to stool; the best time is after breakfast.

As little medicine as possible should be given to children, especially by way of preventive. And the physician should not be sent for upon every small occasion.

Care for the health of children, first touched upon by Montaigne, was first treated in a more general way by Locke. He recommends a similar mode of life—hardening and little medicine. Rousseau went further; and Basedow and his school carried the principle into actual life.

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* Rudolphi's translation, Pages 9—82.

2. EDUCATION OF THE MIND.*

Men should keep the body strong that it may be able to serve the mind.

Self-denial, and self-control must be early learned.

Children's faults must not be overlooked, for they grow up into men's faults.† Animals are trained to good habits while young, and why not children?

But children are, on the other hand, actually instructed in evil. Strike me, it is said, or else I will strike you. Their love of dress is early awakened; they are filled with false excuses, and accustomed to daintiness; and thus, adults are the corruptors and enticers of youth.

The whims of children are not to be attended to; they must first be taught implicit obedience, and accustomed to freedom as they grow up, so that from obedient children they may become friends.

In this, Locke speaks very truly. Rousseau afterward went beyond him, in that he traces all the faults of children to temptation, or delay on the part of their elders; a necessary consequence of Pelagianism.

3. PUNISHMENT AND REWARD.‡

No whipping. What is beaten into boys excites their repugnance for that very reason, and whipping makes them cowardly and slavish. As little should they be tempted to goodness by allurements or dainties, or rewarded by money, dress, &c.

On the other hand, they should be influenced by praise, and blame. Esteem and disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can get into children a love of approbation, and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principles; which will constantly work, and incline them to the right. . . . This I look on as the great secret of education.

Children are sufficiently sensible to praise or blame, when their father praises them if they are good, and when his behavior toward them is cold and careless whenever they are guilty of faults. Right conduct should be connected with praise, and wrong with blame; children must learn how doing good will make them beloved by all, or how, in the opposite case, they will be despised and neglected. Thus the desire will grow up in them to gain the approbation of others, and to avoid that which will make them contemptible. This seeking after approbation must be made the motive of their conduct until, at a riper age, they shall be fitter to be governed by a knowledge of their own duty, and that inward content which attends upon obedience to the Creator.

What praise children deserve, they should receive in the presence of others. The reward is doubled when the praise is known. On the other hand, their faults should not be made known, for it makes them reckless.

Like so many others of the methodologists, Locke here declares himself against corporeal punishment, except in a few cases, as we shall see. He also forbids allurements to the senses; and, on the other hand, both here and elsewhere, he recommends the worst of allurements, that of ambition. Whoever, says Locke, knows how to awaken ambition in the child's soul, possesses the great secret of education. In this, he agrees entirely with his antipodes, the Jesuits. "In truth," says the Jesuits' plan of education, "he who knows how properly to awaken emulation, possesses the most valuable help in

* Pages 82—106.

† Compare Augustine, Conf., 1, 7. "It is the weakness of the limbs of infants, which is innocent; not their minds."

‡ Pages 106—149.

the profession of teaching, and that which is the only thorough means of instructing youth in the best manner." And when the boys have been allured to goodness by this most unchildlike and unchristlike of all motives, then, says the philosopher, they will in their riper years adopt better principles without further trouble! "Where there are no gods, phantoms reign."

4. PRECEPTS TO BE GIVEN TO THE CHILDREN.*

Not too many should be laid down, of such rules as the children are scarcely able to obey. For, if the teacher holds them to the observance of such, he will be too strict; and, if they are laxly observed, his authority will perish. He should rather endeavor, by repeated friendly reminding, to accustom them to that in which they can learn well; and thus he will avoid requiring too much at once, or what they are not able to comply with.

Affectation is when the outward conduct of children does not conform to their inward impulses; or when these impulses are expressed in unsuitable ways. A plain, rude, spontaneous nature is better than one shaped by affectation.

5. MANNERS OF CHILDREN.†

Children learn what are called manners, more by intercourse with well-mannered men than by precept. A dancing-master will cure many awkwardnesses. And while nothing is so fitted to give children a proper confidence, and good carriage, and to bring them into the company of their elders, as dancing, still I am of opinion that they should only learn to dance when their limbs are fit for it. For, though there is nothing more in its movements than outward grace, yet it awakens, I know not how, something of a man's ways of thinking, and a grave demeanor. Care must be taken not to find too much fault with the manners of young children; many things will come of themselves, as they grow up.

Above all things, parents should not give their children into the care of servants, but should keep them with themselves, as much as possible, yet without confining them.

In justice to Locke's dancing-master, it should be remarked that no crazy waltzes were danced in his time, but polite and grave minuets; and the instruction in dancing was a very torture for the feet; now it is different!

Locke often speaks with disapprobation of servants; yet mildly, in comparison with Rousseau, who calls them "the rabble of servants; the lowest of men—except their masters."

6. ADVANTAGES OF PRIVATE EDUCATION.‡

Instruction away from home makes boys confident, and fit for intercourse with others; and the consequent emulation has an effect upon their progress in learning. It, however, risks the innocence of the boys for a little Greek and Latin. And the confidence acquired away from home usually ends in roughness and impudence: it is better that the boy should remain a little shy and awkward, for this will speedily wear off when he goes into the world. Among the motley army of wild boys, such as are usually gathered together at schools, children of parents of all conditions, it is difficult to guess what the boy will gain with which the father will be pleased.

It is, therefore, better to employ a tutor at home, who will teach his pupil far better manners, and more manly ways of thinking; and a feeling for goodness and propriety, will carry him much faster forward in all kinds of knowledge, and will much sooner make him a ripe and established man, than is possible in the most extensive educational institution. Among so great a number of boys, it is impossible to bestow proper care upon each one. It is not the foolish tricks and

* Pages 149—161. † Pages 161—172. ‡ Pages 172—193.

deceits upon each other of school-boys, their rudeness to each other, their artful plans for robbing fruit orchards, which make an able and useful man; it is the virtues of uprightness, magnanimity, and moderation, together with observation and activity; noble attributes, which school-boys can not communicate to each other.

Home education under a tutor is the best means of teaching virtue; and that is the principal thing.

Boys should be as early as possible brought into the company of their elders; but the parents, especially, must not vex the boys. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia.*

Locke idolizes home education, and caricatures school life. Nothing would be easier than to reverse these praises; to paint a good school, with a skillful rector, well-disposed scholars, loving each other and strengthening each other in every thing good; and, on the other hand, to describe an incompetent or even wicked tutor, in an epicurean and unchristian, though noble, family; a pupil exposed to corruption from his parents and his teacher, abandoned to the care of servants, &c.

7. PARDONABLE AND PUNISHABLE FAULTS OF CHILDREN.*

What the children are to do should not be laid before them as a task, for it then becomes a disgust to them. Even their play would be so, if they were forced to it. Children like as well to be free and independent as the proudest adults.

A liking should be cultivated in them for what they are to learn, and they should usually be kept to work only when they feel inclined to it. The child will learn three times as fast, if he feel like it; and, on the other hand, he will need twice as much time and pains, if he is indisposed to the work. He should be made, if possible, himself to ask the teacher to teach him something.

They must not, however, go idle; and must learn to control themselves so far as to give up some favorite pursuit, if necessary, for one less agreeable.

If it can be contrived that they will, themselves, perceive that what they see others do is a privilege of riper years, their ambition and desire to become equal with those whom they see to be beyond them will awaken their industry, and they will go to work with activity and pleasure—that which they are to do being their own wish. The consciousness of freedom, which they love, will be found no small stimulus to them. The hope of gaining a good reputation, and the approbation of others, will be found to have great influence over them.

It would be possible only under a private tutor, to attempt the plan of making the children study, only when they are so disposed. It is one of the prominent advantages of schools, that in them every thing goes by the stroke of the bell, and the boys quickly learn to conform themselves to strict regulations, independent of themselves. It is a disorder even of our times, that each one takes upon himself to demand his own freedom; and for himself to act in every thing according to his own views, wishes, or prejudices; and thus it happens that we have no more valuable public servants either in church or state. Impulse and conscience must work together in boys, or else, instead of them, the obscure, unloveable, and egotistical motive of ambition will act.

Children should not be punished in anger, nor insulted. Blows are of service only against obstinacy and refractoriness; and, even then, shame and disgrace

* Pages 193—242.

may be made to accomplish more than pain. Stripes are to break the will; and they must not be discontinued until this is done. And, even then, insignificant occasions should not be laid hold of; and patience should be used, except in case of malevolence.

Children must be reasoned with. This they understand, as soon as they have a general understanding of any thing; and they prefer, earlier than is thought, to be used like reasoning creatures. This is a pride which should be carefully cultivated, and made as influential an instrument as possible. It is evident of itself that they should be reasoned with, as far as their age will permit.

Blows should not be given immediately after their cause, and while there may remain some anger from it; and it would be better to administer them by the hand of some intelligent servant, so that the pain may come more from the hand of another; though at the command, and under the eyes, of the parents. Thus respect for them will be preserved, and the dislike which the pain awakens in the child will fall more upon the person by whom it is immediately occasioned. Whipping in schools, in the course of instruction in Latin and Greek, must be occasioned either by some thing unnatural and repulsive to the boys in those studies themselves, or by the method pursued in them.

After a child gets so bad that all the whipping does not benefit it, there remains nothing for its father to do, except to pray for it.

The tutor ought not to whip a child without the consent and advice of the father, until he shall have been well approved of.

Blows given in holy anger make, perhaps, a deeper and stronger impression upon a child than those given by an entirely calm and reasoning teacher. More passionate anger is, of course, to be avoided. A child should never be punished by one whom he does not love; as, by a servant. Locke's recommendation reminds us of the Jesuits, and of the custom of the Spartans, who made their Helots drunk, to teach their children abhorrence for drunkenness. These are eminently unchristlike.

We shall, hereafter, speak of reasoning with children.

8. THE REQUISITES OF A TUTOR.

The father should treat the tutor with respect, that the child may follow his example. The tutor should present a good example to the child in every thing. Such a tutor it is hard to find; as hard as to find a good wife for one's son. It is not enough that the tutor understands Latin and logic; his manners must have been trained in and to good society, or else his learning will be pedantry; his simplicity and plainness, boorishness; and his good nature, low hypocrisy. Elegant manners are not to be learned from books. In most cases, what a man accomplishes, depends more upon his manners than upon the affairs themselves; and upon them only depends the pleasure or unpleasantness with which affairs are transacted. It is more the duty of the tutor than of any one else, to draw the attention of the pupil to every branch of good manners; for one's faults are spoken of only behind his back.

The instructor should have knowledge of the world, in order to communicate it to his pupil, especially that the latter may learn to observe men, and to estimate them as they are, neither as better nor worse. Without this instruction, the youth, when he goes out into the world, will be easily deceived. Of this he must be warned in time. Such knowledge as this is more important for him than Latin, and cramming his memory.

The tutor needs not to be a man of finished learning, or to be a complete master of all the branches of knowledge into which the young man of the world is to be introduced only, and with which he is only to have a general systematic acquaintance. The pupil is to study, chiefly in order to use his powers to advantage, and to avoid idleness; not to become a learned man. Seneca's expression is too true, among us: *Non vitæ sed scholæ discimus.*

The children ought to learn what they can use when men.

Parents should spare neither pains nor expense to procure the services of a good tutor.

Locke, like Montaigne and Rousseau, describes an ideal tutor, whom to find, in reality, can only be expected by kings and princes; and such men should have been educated not only in the schools, but in life, travel, &c. Locke has here quoted many things, almost word for word, from Montaigne.

9. FAMILIARITY OF PARENTS WITH THEIR CHILDREN.

Your authority should be as early as possible confirmed over your child, so that it may operate upon him like a natural principle whose origin he does not understand. Let him fear and love you. But in general, as he grows up, the practice of command must cease, and that of confidential, friendly counsel and conversation take its place. The sooner boys are treated like men, the sooner they will be men.

Locke seems to have taken these rules from his own father's method with him. The principle is a bad one, that boys can and should be treated like men before their time, and that so they will become men. God preserve them from such errors!

10. OF REPRESSING TOO HARSHLY THE AMBITION AND SELF-SEEKING OF CHILDREN.*

Children desire to rule, and this is the origin of much evil; and they also desire to have, to possess. Early opposition must be made to this ambition, and love of acquisition. Children should not be given what they demand with violence, crying, and obstinacy; but what they really need, should be given to them. If they are hungry or thirsty, for instance, they should have something to eat or drink; but not necessarily roast meat every time they ask for it. They must early learn self-control. They should have entire freedom only in their recreation, and at play.

From the love of authority proceed the complaints of children against their fellows. This should usually be turned off, or sometimes a peace should be made.

Covetousness, the root of all evil, should be opposed in every possible way, and generosity substituted. This virtue must be awakened by praise, and by careful and persevering management not to let the child lose by magnanimity and generosity. He should be always praised when he has practiced this virtue, without exception, and with interest; and it should be made plain to him, that testimonies of love to others are not bad economy, but that similar expressions from others answer them, both from those who receive them, and those who are only spectators of them.

Children should be held to strict honesty, and strict regard for the property of others; little dishonesties in children grow into deceitfulness, when they are men. Since in our efforts we are led much more by egotism than by reason or reflection, it is no wonder that children very easily lose sight of the difference between right and wrong; as the knowledge of it requires the training of the reason, and careful reflection.

Locke's method for curing children of covetousness, and for making them generous, is fundamentally wrong; the very opposite of the teachings of Christ; and is well calculated to produce a most selfish kind of well-doing, which must take place in the sight of man, and from which a return can not fail. That would be learned, without instruction in virtue.

* Pages 280—296.

Reason and reflection do not cure the egotism of adults; they more frequently assist it.

11. WHINING AND CRYING OF CHILDREN.*

Obstinate bawling must be firmly repressed; and children should not be encouraged in crying for pain, by permitting them to do so, but should rather be hardened to endure it.

In direct opposition to this reasonable rule of Locke, is the unreasonable crying behavior of grown-up persons, when children fall down, by which the latter often learn to make an uproar.

12. FEAR AND FOOL-HARDINESS IN CHILDREN.†

Children should be taught not to be afraid, but not in such a way that they will become fool-hardy; they should learn true courage. This remains master of itself in every occurrence, and in every sorrow.

Children should be taught not to be timid; should be accustomed to the sight of strange beasts, frogs, &c., and should be hardened so that they will willingly endure pain. Thus, ambition can be made useful to them. (!)

13. TENDENCY OF CHILDREN TO CRUELTY.‡

Fear of animals is especially to be guarded against. The opposite, however, sometimes happens. Children are taught to strike each other, and their elders laugh when they hurt each other. And the whole course of entertainment which history lays before them is nothing but fighting and death. Conquerors are great destroyers of the human race; the boys learn to admire them, and their benevolent feelings are thus destroyed.

Children should be made to be kind to their inferiors, especially to servants.

14. DESIRE OF KNOWLEDGE, AND INDOLENCE AND CARELESSNESS, IN CHILDREN.§

Children who ask questions must not be sent away in an unfriendly manner, or be fooled with wrong answers. Children's questions often help in forming men. To cultivate their desire for knowledge, the knowledge of others may be talked about in their presence. Since we are all idle and proud creatures, even from the cradle, the idleness of children should be amused with things which may become useful to them; and their pride made effective in a way to be of profit to them. It is a similar stimulus to cause the younger to be taught by the elder.

Children who are industrious at play, or lazy at learning, should be ordered to spend a whole day in play, to make them tired of it; their work, on the other hand, should be treated as a recreation, and never made a business. Bodily labor is likewise good for the lazy, where they can be easily watched and managed.

Thus, pride is to be made a motive again. Locke knew that it would please the pride of the elder children to make them instructors of the younger. The application may be made to the practice of employing decurions and monitors.

15. PLAYTHINGS FOR CHILDREN.‖

These should not be provided in too great abundance, nor should too many be put into their hands at the same time. As far as possible, they should make their own toys; and, in this, they should have assistance, if needed.

16. LYING OF CHILDREN.¶

This must be represented to them as something horrible; as something so repugnant to the name and character of a man of honor, that no one, who has

* Pages 329—338. † Pages 338—355. ‡ Pages 355—364. § Pages 364—394.
‖ Pages 394—399. ¶ Pages 399—406.

any pretensions to such a character, will endure such an accusation.* Repeated lying is to be punished with blows; but an open confession of a fault must be rewarded with its forgiveness.

"Men of honor"—what honor does he mean?

17. OF THE FEAR OF GOD AS THE FOUNDATION OF VIRTUE.†

Virtue is the first and most necessary of those endowments that belong to a man or a gentleman,‡ since it is absolutely necessary in order to procure them the respect and love of others, and satisfaction with themselves. The basis of this is laid by a right idea of God the Creator,§ who loves us, and whom we ought in turn to honor and love; such an idea as our confession of faith gives of him. No more than this need be taught; except that a short form of prayer should be recited morning and evening.

Nothing should be taught about spirits; and the children should be kept from notions and representations of goblins and ghosts.‖

To the instruction about God should be added teachings in truth, love, and benevolence.

18. WISDOM.¶

This is the art of performing one's business in the world with skill and foresight. Its constituents are understanding and honesty. Deceitfulness is a foolish and dishonest imitation of prudence.

The practical understanding of children should be cultivated, and they should be guarded against falsehood.

19. GOOD MANNERS.**

Silly bashfulness and bold carelessness should be avoided. Courtesy is, to disoblige no one; good manners, and the most polite way of signifying our own wishes.†† If there is good will, good manners will follow of themselves, by intercourse with the well-bred. It is not necessary to trouble one's self too early with the art of making compliments.

Pains must be taken not to let children interrupt others in their conversation, especially in a presumptuous manner.

20. INSTRUCTION.‡‡

"I speak of knowledge last," says Locke, "because I think it the least important subject. A high value is set upon a little Latin and Greek; boys are chained to the oar for from seven to ten years, to learn these two languages, which they might learn with very much less expenditure of time and pains, and almost in play.

"A virtuous and wise man is far to be preferred to one of great learning."

Thus Locke declares that he knows a shorter and better method

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* La Coste translates: "*Une qualité indigne d'un homme de bonne maison, qui le met au rang de ce qu'il y a de plus bas et de plus méprisable parmi la plus vile populace.*" (!)

† Pages 406—418.

‡ Original; "Gentleman." La Coste: "*La vertu la plus excellente de ces echoes, la plus avantageure à l'homme, et en particulier à une personne de bonne maison.*" Locke had said, previously, "A father should wish his son four things besides wealth: virtue, wisdom, knowledge of life, and learning."

§ La Coste: "*Idée de dieu, telle qu'elle nous est sagement proposée dans le symbole des Apôtres.*" In the original, "as the creed wisely teaches."

‖ Funk and Gedike remark here: "It would be difficult to avoid telling children something about such things, for they can not easily go into the street without hearing a name which, together with the ideas connected with it, has, since before the Reformation, had more currency with people of all ranks, and is therefore of more importance, in some respects, than the name or idea of the Highest and most worthy of love." It would delay me too long to consider here the ethics of Locke, his conception of virtue, his motives to it, &c.

¶ Pages 418—421. ** Pages 421—435.

†† "The essence of politeness is a certain care that our speech and our manners shall make others contented with us and with themselves." La Bruyere.

‡‡ Pages 435—583.

of teaching. The comparison of the man of great learning and the virtuous man, sounds very much like Montaigne, and more like Rousseau.

21. READING.

As soon as the boy can speak, he must learn to read; and this must be made, not an affair of labor to him, but an amusement; for at this age all constraint is hateful. Toys may serve to teach him to read. For instance: a die with twenty-five faces, and the letters on them; and a price set upon some letter which is to be shown. When the boy has learned the letters in this way, he may go on to spelling and reading.

The fables of Æsop, with as many pictures as possible, offer a proper first reading-book. Children should receive their first impressions, not from words, but from things and the representations of things. "*Reynard the Fox*" is also a good book for the purpose!*

The Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the commandments, should not be learned by rote by reading, but by having them repeated to the pupil.†

The whole Bible is not a proper reading-book for children; but only extracts from it should be used, for practice in reading and for instruction.‡

Writing should be begun with directions for holding the pen correctly; they may write red letters over again with black ink.

Drawing should come in connection with writing; especially learning to make sketches of neighborhoods, buildings, machines, &c., which may be of great advantage in traveling.

It would also be a good plan for the children to learn stenography.

22. LANGUAGES.

The boy should learn French first, as this can be learned in the common way; that is, by speaking. French should be learned early, as the true pronunciation will be learned with more difficulty at a later age.

Latin, like French, should be learned by speaking it. But it should not be learned by all; not by those who will not have any occasion for it during the rest of their lives; as, for example, by those who are to be merchants, or farmers, whose writing and arithmetic will be neglected while they are spending all their time in Latin.

The boy should be spared the Latin grammar; and should rather be put in charge of a man who shall always talk Latin with him. Thus he will soon learn the language like another mother tongue, as girls learn French from women.

These Latin conversations may be made useful, by turning upon geometry, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, and some parts of history; and upon things which lie within the sphere of the senses. The beginning should be made with things of this kind.

If no good speaker of Latin can be found, an entertaining book, like Æsop's fables should be taken, and a translation written of it in English, as literal as possible, by writing in between the lines, over each Latin word, its English equivalent. This translation should be read and reread daily, until he quite understands the Latin, when he should take, in like manner, another fable; reading over, however, that which he has already learned, to keep it in his memory. He should also write off the same fables, and learn the conjugation and declension by rote at the same time; he will need to know no more than this of the grammar for the present.

Locke here, and often afterward, follows Comenius, who would

* This sounds much like Comenius.

† Upon this, Campe remarks: "How, at this age? I can not see any good reason for it." And Resewitz: "I do not understand it." In like manner Gedike: "Least of all should the ten commandments be learned then, since they contain a morality only of the most partial, incomplete, and indefinite kind. But they were not intended to be a manual of morality; and it is no reason for blaming Moses, that Christian teachers have made an elementary class-book of morals out of his criminal code!"

‡ Locke also recommends a catechism, by Worthington, in which all the answers are word for word from the Bible.

teach foreign languages and real things at the same time, by speaking those languages. The interlinear version of Æsop, on the contrary, is altogether in Ratich's manner. Locke apparently knew the writings of both.

Learning should be made as easy and pleasant as possible to children; for fear hinders their progress. "It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters upon a trembling mind, as on a shaking paper."

After Æsop, Justinus or Eutropius may be read, and the scholar may have the assistance of an English translation. To speak a language, it should never be learned from the grammar. The complete study of the Greek and Latin grammar should be left to philologists by profession. If an Englishman of rank studied any grammar, it should be that of his own language; a thing, however, which is not at all thought of. Above all, the grammar of a language should be learned only when the student can speak it; and it should be made an introduction to rhetoric for him. To one who only wishes to read the classics, and not to speak or write the ancient languages, the study of grammar is needless.

The scholar's translations from Latin into his mother tongue should be so arranged, that he can gain from the work a knowledge of real things, as of minerals, plants, beasts, and especially of useful and fruit-bearing trees. Still more important is it that geography, astronomy, and anatomy should be thus learned.

If the boy learns Latin at school, he is made to write Latin exercises, that he may learn to be fluent in verse and prose. But what he needs is, to understand the Latin authors; not to become a Latin orator or poet. But themes are given him for these exercises which he does not understand at all. It would be much better to require him to speak extempore upon subjects which he understands in his own language, or to compose written exercises upon the like subjects.

To torment a scholar with Latin verse-making, when he has no poetical talent, is in the highest degree unreasonable.

If he have a poetic vein, it is the strangest thing in the world, that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the parents should labor to have it stifled or suppressed as much as may be; and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business—which is not yet the worst of the case; for, if he proves a successful rhymer, and gets once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is likely to spend his time in, nay, and estate too; for it is very seldom seen that any one discovers mines of gold or silver in Parnassus. It is a pleasant air, but a barren soil; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage, but to those who have nothing else to live on. If, therefore, you would not have your son the fiddle to every jovial company, I do not think you will much care he should be a poet, or that his schoolmaster should enter him in versifying. But yet, if any one will think poetry a desirable quality in his son, reading the excellent Greek and Roman poets is of more use than making bad verses of his own, in a language that is not his own.

This is the opinion of Shakspeare's countryman upon poetry. Campe* says, "to smother or to repress the poetical vein," is too strong an expression; Gedike is still more decidedly on the side of poetry, although he advises to teach the youth who has the gifts of a real poet, that there are much greater services to be done, than those even of the greatest poet. It must, however, be alledged in Locke's favor, that the most celebrated poets of his time, Dryden, Cowley, &c.,

* Locke's Manual, p. 515.

wrote poems of the most immoral character. He is entirely in the right, in saying that the senseless hitching together of Latin verses is not the right training for the true poet. On the contrary, he might have recommended it as an excellent means to smother and repress poetical gifts.

It is not advisable to learn by rote large extracts from the classics, but only especially beautiful portions. It may be a question whether the memory should be cultivated by learning by rote. That is best remembered in which the mind is strongly absorbed, and in which it takes most pleasure. If such exercises are made to be conducted in a methodical order, all is done that can be done to strengthen a weak memory.

The teacher should consider the learning of Latin as the smallest part of education. This the mother herself can teach the child, by hearing him read the Latin evangelists, two or three hours a day. If she should read them herself she would soon learn to understand them; and, after understanding these, she could in a like manner read Æsop's fables, and so go on to Justin and Eutropius.

A Gertrude teaching Latin!

Geography, the knowledge of countries from the globe and from maps, can be begun early. The beginning of arithmetic may follow; and after this may come the fuller knowledge of geography, including determinations of size, &c., and astronomy, with the help of the celestial globe. Next geometry; the first six books of Euclid. With geography the boy should, at the same time, learn chronology, without which history will be confused; and history itself may be next learned, by the reading of the Latin classics.

He may next read Cicero's *De Officiis*, Pufendorf's *De officio hominis et civis*, and then Grotius' *De jure belli et pacis*, and Pufendorf's *De jure naturali et gentium*.

A virtuous and well-mannered young man, who well understands so much of the civil law, knows Latin fluently, and writes a good hand, may be sent out into the world with confidence, and may be sure that he will find, somewhere, good employment, and the respect of his fellows.

The youth must know the laws of his own country.

Logic and rhetoric. It is after the rules of these two arts that men learn to think and speak with rigid correctness. For the latter, Cicero's writings may be studied. As exercises in style, scholars may write short histories, and may translate Æsop. But, above all, the chief object should be that they should learn to write and speak well, not only Latin, but their own language also; and should not despise this, as the language of the multitude.

Natural philosophy may be divided into the study of the mind (metaphysics,) and the study of bodies (physics.) The former must precede, and must be founded upon the Bible; lest otherwise the influence of the external world should destroy faith in the supernatural.

The pupil may read Des Cartes, to become acquainted with the substance of the current philosophy.

Men of learning must understand Greek. But what I have undertaken, is not to treat of the education of the learned man by profession, but only of that of the man of the world. If such an one has afterward a desire to carry his studies further, and to get a glimpse of the Greek literature, he can easily obtain a knowledge of that language for himself. (?)

Dancing is of service, to give grace to all the motions; and can not be learned too early. The dancing-master, however, must know and be able to teach in what the graces consist, or he will be of no value. Leaping and flourishing dances are to be prohibited.

Music is related to dancing; and is highly valued by many. But just so much is lost from the time of a young man, if he shall have acquired skill (upon instruments,) even to a moderate degree. He will also by this means be so liable to be brought into such foolish company, that others are of opinion that his time could

be much better employed. And I have so seldom known a man praised, or valued among men of talents and business for great skill in music, that I believe I should put it in the last place upon the list of the things in which skill is to be acquired. Life is too short to strive after every thing; and time and effort should therefore be expended upon what is of real use and importance.

For Locke's anti-poetical sentiments I found an excuse, but for his anti-musical ones I know of none; and am therefore forced to believe that the musical faculties of the English were, at that time, far too little developed. Otherwise, Locke must have been characterized by the most terrific unimaginativeness and want of all susceptibility to art.

A young man of good rank must learn to ride. Fencing is good for the health, but not useful in real life. Skillful fencers seek duels, or at least do not avoid them. But as long as fencing and riding are both general and necessary in the education of a young man of rank, it would be hard to deny him these marks of his social position.

Virtue and wisdom stand higher than knowledge. Boys should be taught to restrict their impulses, and to subject their desires to reason. For training a young man to this, there is no more effectual means than the love of approbation and praise; for the cultivation of which, therefore, all means should be used; and their minds should be made as sensitive to praise and blame as possible. If this be done, a motive has been given them, which will be efficient, at all times, even when they are alone; and they have a basis, upon which can be afterward reared the true principles of religion and morality.

Here appear, in their full proportions, the errors of Locke's principles. He plants thorns with the utmost care; and from these, when they have grown up, he expects to gather figs. He does not at all recognize the existence of a Christian character, of which, according to Augustine, the first, second, and third fundamental virtue, is humility.

23. MANUAL LABOR.*

The youth, even of high rank, should learn some trade, for his diversion; that of carpenter, joiner, turning, gardening, or farming, for instance. To this may be added perfumery, (?) japanning, engraving on copper, and working in metals.

Playing at cards or dice should not be learned, to avoid temptation.

24. MERCANTILE ARITHMETIC AND BOOK-KEEPING.†

This should be understood by every man of rank, not as a means of getting a livelihood, but that he may be acquainted with them, to prevent him from spending his money at random.

25. TRAVELING.‡

Traveling, to learn foreign languages, is most profitable between the ages of seven and sixteen, and most unsuitable from sixteen to twenty; for then the youth is too old for learning languages, and too young for the study of human nature; but at the very best age to be tempted into a dissolute life

26. CONCLUSION.§

The character of children is a foundation which can not be built upon twice in the same manner; and hence the method of education must be made to vary, according to the various conditions under which it is required. The present general observations were intended for the son of an eminent man, and were written down, on account of his extreme youth.

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* Pages 538—597. † Pages 598—601. ‡ Pages 601—610. § Pages 610—612.

SOME THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION,

BY JOHN LOCKE.

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SOME THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION.

BY JOHN LOCKE.

DEDICATION TO EDWARD CLARKE, OF CHIPLEY.

SIR,—These Thoughts concerning Education, which now come abroad into the world, do of right belong to you, being written several years since for your sake, and are no other than what you have already by you in my letters. I have so little varied any thing, but only the order of what was sent you at different times, and on several occasions, that the reader will easily find, in the familiarity and fashion of the style, that they were rather the private conversation of two friends than a discourse designed for public view.

The importunity of friends is the common apology for publications men are afraid to own themselves forward to. But you know I can truly say, that if some who having heard of these papers of mine, had not pressed to see them, and afterward to have them printed, they had lain dormant still in that privacy they were designed for. But those whose judgment I defer much to, telling me, that they were persuaded, that this rough draught of mine might be of some use, if made more public, touched upon what will always be very prevalent with me. For I think it every man's indispensable duty, to do all the service he can to his country; and I see not what difference he puts between himself and his cattle, who lives without that thought. This subject is of so great concernment, and a right way of education is of so general advantage, that did I find my abilities answer my wishes, I should not have needed exhortations or importunities from others. However, the meanness of these papers, and my just distrust of them, shall not keep me, by the shame of doing so little, from contributing my mite, where there is no more required of me than my throwing it into the public receptacle. And if there be any more of their size and notions, who liked them so well that they thought them worth printing, I may flatter myself they will not be lost labor to every body.

I myself have been consulted of late by so many, who profess themselves at a loss how to breed their children, and the early corruption of youth is now become so general a complaint, that he can not be thought wholly impertinent who brings the consideration of this matter on the stage, and offers something, if it be but to excite others, or afford matter of correction. For errors in education should be less indulged than any; these, like faults in the first concoction, that are never mended in the second or third, carry their afterward-incorrigible taint with them through all the parts and stations of life.

I am so far from being conceited of any thing I have here offered, that I should not be sorry, even for your sake, if some one abler and fitter for such a task would, in a just treatise of education, suited to our English gentry, rectify the mistakes I have made in this; it being much more desirable to me, that young gentlemen should be put into (that which every one ought to be solicitous about,) the best way of being formed and instructed, than that my opinion should be received concerning it. You will, however, in the meantime bear me witness, that the method here proposed has had no ordinary effects upon a gentleman's son it was not designed for. I will not say the good temper of the child did not very much contribute to it, but this I think you and the parents are satisfied of, that a contrary usage, according to the ordinary disciplining of children, would not have mended that temper, nor have brought him to be in love with his book

to take a pleasure in learning, and to desire, as he does, to be taught more than those about him think fit always to teach him.

But my business is not to recommend this treatise to you, whose opinion of it I know already; nor it to the world, either by your opinion or patronage. The well educating of their children is so much the duty and concern of parents, and the welfare and prosperity of the nation so much depends on it, that I would have every one lay it seriously to heart; and, after having well examined and distinguished what fancy, custom, or reason advises in the case, set his helping hand to promote every where that way of training up youth, with regard to their several conditions, which is the easiest, shortest, and likeliest to produce virtuous, useful, and able men in their distinct callings; though that most to be taken care of is the gentleman's calling. For if those of that rank are by their education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into order.

I know not whether I have done more than shown my good wishes toward it in this short discourse; such as it is, the world now has it; and if there be any thing in it worth their acceptance, they owe their thanks to you for it. My affection to you gave the first rise to it, and I am pleased, that I can leave to posterity this mark of the friendship has been between us. For I know no greater pleasure in this life, nor a better remembrance to be left behind one, than a long continued friendship, with an honest, useful, and worthy man, and lover of his country.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble

And most faithful servant,

March 7, 1690. JOHN LOCKE.

EDUCATION IN GENERAL.

1. A sound mind in a sound body, is a short but full description of a happy state in this world: he that has these two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. Men's happiness or misery is most part of their own making. He whose mind directs not wisely, will never take the right way; and he whose body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. I confess, there are some men's constitutions of body and mind so vigorous, and well-framed by nature, that they need not much assistance from others; but, by the strength of their natural genius, they are, from their cradles, carried toward what is excellent; and, by the privilege of their happy constitutions, are able to do wonders. But examples of this kind are but few; and I think I may say, that, of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind. The little, or almost insensible, impressions on our tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences: and there it is, as in the fountains of some rivers where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters into channels, that make them take quite contrary courses; and by this little direction, given them at first, in the source, they receive different tendencies, and arrive at last at very remote and distant places.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION. HEALTH.

2. I imagine the minds of children as easily turned, this or that way, as water itself; and though this be the principal part, and our main care should be about the inside, yet the clay cottage is not to be neglected. I shall therefore begin with the case, and consider first the health of the body, as that which perhaps you may rather expect, from that study I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied myself to; and that also which will be soonest dispatched, as lying, if I guess not amiss, in a very little compass.

3. How necessary health is to our business and happiness, and how requisite a strong constitution, able to endure hardships and fatigue, is to one that will make any figure in the world, is too obvious to need any proof.

TENDERNESS.

4. The consideration I shall here have, of health, shall be, not what a physician ought to do, with a sick or crazy child; but what the parents, without the help of physic, should do for the preservation and improvement of an healthy, or, at least, not sickly constitution, in their children: and this perhaps might be all despatched in this one short rule, viz., that gentlemen should use their children as the honest farmers and substantial yeomen do theirs. But because the mothers, possibly, may think this a little too hard, and the fathers, too short, I shall explain myself more particularly; only laying down this, as a general and certain observation for the women to consider, viz., that most children's constitutions are either spoiled, or at least harmed, by cockering and tenderness.

WARMTH.

5. The first thing to be taken care of is, that children be not too warmly clad or covered, winter or summer. The face, when we are born, is no less tender than any other part of the body; it is use alone hardens it, and makes it more able to endure the cold. And therefore the Scythian philosopher gave a very significant answer to the Athenian, who wondered how he could go naked in frost and snow: "How," said the Scythian, "can you endure your face exposed to the sharp winter air?" "My face is used to it," said the Athenian. "Think me all face," replied the Scythian. Our bodies will endure any thing that from the beginning they are accustomed to.

An eminent instance of this, though in the contrary excess of heat, being to our present purpose, to show what use can do, I shall set down in the author's words, as I met with it in a late ingenious voyage:* "The heats," says he, "are more violent in Malta than in any part of Europe: they exceed those of Rome itself, and are perfectly stifling; and so much the more, because there are seldom any cooling breezes here. This makes the common people as black as gypsies: but yet the peasants defy the sun: they work on in the hottest part of the day, without intermission, or sheltering themselves from his scorching rays. This has convinced me that nature can bring itself to many things which seem impossible, provided we accustom ourselves from our infancy. The Maltese do so, who harden the bodies of their children, and reconcile them to the heat, by making them go stark naked, without shirt, drawers, or any thing on their head, from their cradles, till they are ten years old."

Give me leave, therefore, to advise you not to fence too carefully against the cold of this our climate: there are those in England, who wear the same clothes winter and summer, and that without any inconvenience, or more sense of cold than others find. But if the mother will needs have an allowance for frost and snow, for fear of harm, and the father, for fear of censure, be sure let not his winter-clothing be too warm; and amongst other things remember, that when nature has so well covered his head with hair, and strengthened it with a year or two's age, that he can run about by day, without a cap, it is best that by night a child should also lie without one; there being nothing that more ex-

* Nouveau Voyage du Levant, $\frac{150}{175}$.

poses to headache, colds, catarrhs, coughs, and several other diseases, than keeping the head warm.

6. I have said *he* here, because the principal aim of my discourse is, how a young *gentleman* should be brought up from his infancy, which in all things will not so perfectly suit the education of daughters; though, where the difference of sex requires different treatment, it will be no hard matter to distinguish.

FEET. ALTERATIONS.

7. I would also advise his feet to be washed every day in cold water; and to have his shoes so thin, that they might leak and let in water, whenever he comes near it.* Here, I fear, I shall have the mistress, and maids too, against me. One will think it too filthy; and the other, perhaps, too much pains to make clean his stockings. But yet truth will have it, that his health is much more worth than all such considerations, and ten times as much more. And he that considers how mischievous and mortal a thing taking wet in the feet is, to those who have been bred nicely, will wish he had, with the poor people's children, gone barefoot; who, by that means, come to be so reconciled by custom, to wet their feet, that they take no more cold or harm by it than if they were wet in their hands. And what is it, I pray, that makes this great difference between the hands and the feet in others, but only custom? I doubt not, but if a man from his cradle had been always used to go barefoot, whilst his hands were constantly wrapped up in warm mittens, and covered with hand shoes, as the Dutch call gloves; I doubt not, I say, but such a custom would make taking wet in his hands as dangerous to him, as now taking wet in their feet is to a great many others. The way to prevent this, is to have his shoes made so as to leak water, and his feet washed constantly every day in cold water. It is recommendable for its cleanliness: but that, which I aim at in it, is health. And therefore I limit it not precisely to any time of the day. I have known it used every night with very good success, and that all the winter, without the omitting it so much as one night, in extreme cold weather: when thick ice covered the water, the child bathed his legs and feet in it; though he was of an age not big enough to rub and wipe them himself; and when he began this custom, was puling and very tender. But the greater end being to harden those parts, by a frequent and familiar use of cold water, and thereby to prevent the mischiefs that usually attend accidental taking wet in the feet, in those who are bred otherwise; I think it may be left to the prudence and convenience of the parents, to choose either night or morning. The time I deem indifferent, so the thing be effectually done. The health and hardiness procured by it, would be a good purchase at a much dearer rate. To which if I add the preventing of corns, that to some men would be a very valuable consideration. But begin first in the spring with lukewarm, and so colder and colder every time, till in a few days you come to perfectly cold water, and then continue it so, winter and summer. For it is to be observed in this, as in all other alterations from our ordinary way of living, the changes must be made by gentle and insensible degrees; and so we may bring our bodies to any thing, without pain, and without danger.

How fond mothers are like to receive this doctrine, is not hard to foresee.

* It is necessary, perhaps, here to remind the reader, that, to secure the advantage of a full and exact reprint of Mr. Locke's Thoughts, it was necessary to include several things which ought to be regarded rather as peculiarities of opinion, than as salutary suggestions.—Ed.

What can it be less than to murder their tender babes, to use them thus? What! put their feet in cold water in frost and snow, when all one can do is little enough to keep them warm! A little to remove their fears by examples, without which the plainest reason is seldom hearkened to; Seneca tells us of himself, ep. 53 and 83, that he used to bathe himself in cold spring-water in the midst of winter. This, if he had not thought it not only tolerable, but healthy too, he would scarce have done, in an exuberant fortune, that could well have borne the expense of a warm bath; and in an age, (for he was then old,) that would have excused greater indulgence. If we think his stoical principles led him to this severity; let it be so, that this sect reconciled cold water to his sufferance: what made it agreeable to his health? for that was not impaired by this hard usage. But what shall we say to Horace, who armed not himself with the reputation of any sect, and least of all affected stoical austerities? yet he assures us, he was wont in the winter season to bathe himself in cold water. But perhaps Italy will be thought much warmer than England, and the chillness of their waters not to come near ours in winter. If the rivers of Italy are warmer, those of Germany and Poland are much colder, than any in this our country; and yet in these the Jews, both men and women, bathe all over at all seasons of the year, without any prejudice to their health. And every one is not apt to believe it is a miracle, or any peculiar virtue of St. Winifred's well, that makes the cold waters of that famous spring do no harm to the tender bodies that bathe in it. Every one is now full of the miracles done, by cold baths, on decayed and weak constitutions, for the recovery of health and strength; and therefore they can not be impracticable, or intolerable, for the improving and hardening the bodies of those who are in better circumstances.

If these examples of grown men be not thought yet to reach the case of children, but that they may be judged still to be too tender and unable to bear such usage; let them examine what the Germans of old, and the Irish now do to them; and they will find that infants too, as tender as they are thought, may, without any danger, endure bathing, not only of their feet. but of their whole bodies in cold water. And there are, at this day, ladies in the Highlands of Scotland, who use this discipline to their children, in the midst of winter; and find that cold water does them no harm, even when there is ice in it.

SWIMMING.

8. I shall not need here to mention swimming, when he is of an age able to learn and has any one to teach him. It is that saves many a man's life: and, the Romans thought it so necessary, that they ranked it with letters; and it was the common phrase to mark one ill educated, and good for nothing, that he had neither learned to read nor to swim: "*Nec literas didicit, nec natare.*" But besides the gaining of skill, which may serve him at need; the advantages to health, by often bathing in cold water, during the heat of summer, are so many, that I think nothing need be said to encourage it; provided this one caution be used, that he never go into the water when exercise has at all warmed him, or left any emotion in his blood or pulse,

AIR.

9. Another thing that is of great advantage to every one's health, but especially children's, is to be much in the open air, and very little, as may be, by the fire, even in winter. By this he will accustom himself also to heat and cold,

shine and rain; all which if a man's body will not endure, it will serve him to very little purpose in this world; and when he is grown up, it is too late to begin to use him to it: it must be got early and by degrees. Thus the body may be brought to bear almost any thing. If I should advise him to play in the wind and sun without a hat, I doubt whether it could be borne. There would a thousand objections be made against it, which at last would amount to no more, in truth, than being sun-burnt. And if my young master be to be kept always in the shade, and never exposed to the sun and wind, for fear of his complexion, it may be a good way to make him a beau, but not a man of business. And although greater regard be to be had to beauty in the daughters, yet I will take the liberty to say, that the more they are in the air, without prejudice to their faces, the stronger and healthier they will be; and the nearer they come to the hardships of their brothers in their education, the greater advantage will they receive from it, all the remaining part of their lives.

HABITS.

10. Playing in the open air has but this one danger in it, that I know; and that is, that when he is hot with running up and down, he should sit or lie down on the cold or moist earth. This, I grant, and drinking cold drink, when they are hot with labor or exercise, brings more people to the grave, or to the brink of it, by fevers and other diseases, than any thing I know. These mischiefs are easily enough prevented, whilst he is little; being then seldom out of sight. And if during his childhood he be constantly and rigorously kept from sitting on the ground, or drinking any cold liquor, whilst he is hot, the custom of forbearing, grown into a habit, will help much to preserve him, when he is no longer under his maid's or tutor's eye. This is all I think can be done in the case. For, as years increase, liberty must come with them; and, in a great many things, he must be trusted to his own conduct, since there can not always be a guard upon him; except what you put into his own mind, by good principles and established habits, which is the best and surest, and therefore most to be taken care of. For, from repeated cautions and rules, ever so often inculcated, you are not to expect any thing, either in this or any other case, farther than practice has established them into habit.

CLOTHES.

11. One thing the mention of the girls brings into my mind, which must not be forgot; and that is, that your son's clothes be never made strait, especially about the breast. Let nature have scope to fashion the body as she thinks best. She works of herself a great deal better and exacter than we can direct her. And if women were themselves to frame the bodies of their children in their wombs, as they often endeavor to mend their shapes when they are out, we should as certainly have no perfect children born, as we have few well-shaped, that are strait-laced, or much tampered with. This consideration should, methinks, keep busy people, (I will not say ignorant nurses and boddice-makers,) from meddling in a matter they understand not; and they should be afraid to put nature out of her way, in fashioning the parts, when they know not how the least and meanest is made. And yet I have seen so many instances of children receiving great harm from strait lacing, that I can not but conclude, there are other creatures, as well as monkeys, who, little wiser than they, destroy their young ones by senseless fondness, and too much embracing.

12. Narrow breasts, short and fetid breath, ill lungs, and crookedness, are the natural and almost constant effects of hard boddice, and clothes that pinch. That way of making slender waists, and fine shapes, serves but the more effectually to spoil them. Nor can there, indeed, but be disproportion in the parts, when the nourishment prepared in the several offices of the body, can not be distributed, as nature designs. And therefore, what wonder is it, if, it being laid where it can, or some part not so braced, it often makes a shoulder, or a hip, higher or bigger than its just proportion? It is generally known, that the women of China, (imagining I know not what kind of beauty in it,) by bracing and binding them hard from their infancy, have very little feet. I saw lately a pair of Chinese shoes, which I was told were for a grown woman; they were so exceedingly disproportioned to the feet of one of the same age amongst us, that they would scarce have been big enough for one of our little girls. Besides this, it is observed, that their women are also very little, and short-lived; whereas the men are of the ordinary stature of other men, and live to a proportionable age. These defects in the female sex of that country are by some imputed to the unreasonable binding of their feet; whereby the free circulation of the blood is hindered, and the growth and health of the whole body suffers. And how often do we see, that some small part of the foot being injured, by a wrench or a blow, the whole leg or thigh thereby loses its strength and nourishment, and dwindles away! How much greater inconveniences may we expect, when the thorax, wherein is placed the heart and seat of life, is unnaturally compressed, and hindered from its due expansion!

DIET.

13. As for his diet, it ought to be very plain and simple: and if I might advise, flesh should be forborne as long as he is in coats, or at least, till he is two or three years old. But whatever advantage this may be, to his present and future health and strength, I fear it will hardly be consented to, by parents, misled by the custom of eating too much flesh themselves; who will be apt to think their children, as they do themselves, in danger to be starved, if they have not flesh, at least twice a day. This I am sure, children would breed their teeth with much less danger, be freer from diseases, whilst they were little, and lay the foundations of an healthy and strong constitution much surer, if they were not crammed so much as they are, by fond mothers and foolish servants, and were kept wholly from flesh, the first three or four years of their lives.

But if my young master must needs have flesh, let it be but once a day, and of one sort at a meal. Plain beef, mutton, veal, &c., without other sauce than hunger, is best; and great care should be used, that he eat bread plentifully both alone and with every thing else. And whatever he eats, that is solid, make him chew it well. We English are often negligent herein; from whence follows indigestion, and other great inconveniences.

14. For breakfast and supper, milk, milk-pottage, water-gruel, flummery, and twenty other things, that we are wont to make in England, are very fit for children: only in all these let care be taken that they be plain, and without much mixture, and very sparingly seasoned with sugar, or rather none at all; especially allspice, and other things that may heat the blood, are carefully to be avoided. Be sparing also of salt, in the seasoning of all his victuals, and use him not to high-seasoned meats. Our palates grow into a relish and liking of

the seasoning and cookery, which by custom they are set to; and an over-much use of salt, besides that it occasions thirst, and over-much drinking, has other ill-effects upon the body. I should think that a good piece of well-made and well-baked brown bread, sometimes with, and sometimes without butter or cheese, would be often the best breakfast for my young master. I am sure it is as wholesome, and will make him as strong a man as greater delicacies: and if he be used to it, it will be as pleasant to him. If he at any time calls for victuals between meals, use him to nothing but dry bread. If he be hungry, more than wanton, bread alone will down; and if he be not hungry, it is not fit he should eat. By this you will obtain two good effects: 1. That by custom he will come to be in love with bread; for, as I said, our palates and stomachs too are pleased with the things we are used to. Another good you will gain hereby is, that you will not teach him to eat more nor oftener than nature requires. I do not think that all people's appetites are alike: some have naturally stronger, and some weaker stomachs. But this I think, that many are made gormands and gluttons by custom, that were not so by nature; and I see, in some countries, men as lusty and strong, that eat but two meals a day, as others that have set their stomachs by a constant usage, like larums, to call on them for four or five. The Romans usually fasted till supper; the only set meal, even of those who ate more than once a day; and those who used breakfasts, as some did at eight, some at ten, others at twelve of the clock, and some later, neither ate flesh, nor had any thing made ready for them. Augustus, when the greatest monarch on the earth, tells us, he took a bit of dry bread in his chariot. And Seneca, in his 83d epistle, giving an account how he managed himself, even when he was old, and his age permitted indulgence, says, that he used to eat a piece of dry bread for his dinner, without the formality of sitting to it: though his estate would have as well paid for a better meal, (had health required it,) as any subjects in England, were it doubled. The masters of the world were bred up with this spare diet; and the young gentlemen of Rome felt no want of strength or spirit, because they ate but once a day. Or if it happened by chance, that any one could not fast so long as till supper, their only set meal; he took nothing but a bit of dry bread, or at most a few raisins, or some such slight thing with it, to stay his stomach. This part of temperance was found so necessary, both for health and business, that the custom of only one meal a day held out against that prevailing luxury, which their Eastern conquests and spoils had brought in amongst them; and those, who had given up their old frugal eating, and made feasts, yet began them not till evening. And more than one set meal a day was thought so monstrous, that it was a reproach, as low down as Cæsar's time, to make an entertainment, or sit down to a full table, till toward sunset. And therefore, if it would not be thought too severe, I should judge it most convenient, that my young master should have nothing but bread too for breakfast. You can not imagine of what force custom is; and I impute a great part of our diseases in England to our eating too much flesh, and too little bread.

MEALS.

15. As to his meals, I should think it best, that as much as it can be conveniently avoided, they should not be kept constantly to an hour. For, when custom hath fixed his eating to certain stated periods, his stomach will expect victuals at the usual hour, and grow peevish if he passes it; either fretting itself

into a troublesome excess, or flagging into a downrignt want of appetite. Therefore I would have no time kept constantly to, for his breakfast, dinner, and supper, but rather varied, almost every day. And if, betwixt these, which I call meals, he will eat, let him have, as often as he calls for it, good dry bread. If any one think this too hard and sparing a diet for a child, let them know, that a child will never starve, nor dwindle for want of nourishment, who, besides flesh at dinner, and spoon-meat, or some such other thing at supper, may have good bread and beer, as often as he has a stomach; for thus, upon second thoughts, I should judge it best for children to be ordered. The morning is generally designed for study, to which a full stomach is but an ill preparation. Dry bread, though the best nourishment, has the least temptation; and nobody would have a child crammed at breakfast, who has any regard to his mind or body, and would not have him dull and unhealthy. Nor let any one think this unsuitable to one of estate and condition. A gentleman, in any age, ought to be so bred, as to be fitted to bear arms, and be a soldier. But he that in this, breeds his son so, as if he designed him to sleep over his life, in the plenty and ease of a full fortune he intends to leave him, little considers the examples he has seen, or the age he lives in.

DRINK.

16. His drink should be only small beer; and that too he should never be suffered to have between meals, but after he had eat a piece of bread. The reasons why I say this are these:

17. 1. More fevers and surfeits are got by people's drinking when they are hot, than by any one thing I know. Therefore, if by play he be hot and dry, bread will ill go down; and so, if he can not have drink, but upon that condition, he will be forced to forbear. For, if he be very hot, he should by no means drink. At least, a good piece of bread, first to be eaten, will gain time to warm the beer blood-hot, which then he may drink safely. If he be very dry, it will go down so warmed, and quench his thirst better; and, if he will not drink it so warmed, abstaining will not hurt him. Besides, this will teach him to forbear, which is an habit of greatest use for health of body and mind too.

18. 2. Not being permitted to drink without eating, will prevent the custom of having the cup often at his nose; a dangerous beginning and preparation to good fellowship. Men often bring habitual hunger and thirst on themselves by custom. And, if you please to try, you may, though he be weaned from it, bring him by use to such a necessity of drinking in the night, that he will not be able to sleep without it. It being the lullaby, used by nurses, to still crying children; I believe mothers generally find some difficulty to wean their children from drinking in the night, when they first take them home. Believe it, custom prevails as much by day as by night; and you may, if you please, bring any one to be thirsty every hour.

I once lived in a house, where, to appease a froward child, they gave him drink as often as he cried; so that he was constantly bibbing; and though he could not speak, yet he drank more in twenty-four hours than I did. Try it when you please, you may with small, as well as with strong beer, drink yourself into a drought. The great thing to be minded in education is, what habits you settle; and therefore in this, as all other things, do not begin to make any thing customary, the practice whereof you would not have continue and in-

crease. It is convenient for health and sobriety, to drink no more than natural thirst requires; and he that eats not salt meats, nor drinks strong drink, will seldom thirst between meals, unless he has been accustomed to such unseasonable drinking.

19. Above all, take great care that he seldom, if ever, taste any wine, or strong drink. There is nothing so ordinarily given children in England, and nothing so destructive to them. They ought never to drink any strong liquor, but when they need it as a cordial, and the doctor prescribes it. And in this case it is, that servants are most narrowly to be watched, and most severely to be reprehended, when they transgress. Those mean sort of people, placing a great part of their happiness in strong drink, are always forward to make court to my young master, by offering him that which they love best themselves; and, finding themselves made merry by it, they foolishly think it will do the child no harm. This you are carefully to have your eye upon, and restrain with all the skill and industry you can: there being nothing that lays a surer foundation of mischief, both to body and mind, than children's being used to strong drink; especially to drink in private with the servants.

FRUIT.

20. Fruit makes one of the most difficult chapters in the government of health, especially that of children. Our first parents ventured paradise for it; and it is no wonder our children can not stand the temptation, though it cost them their health. The regulation of this can not come under any one general rule; for I am by no means of their mind, would keep children almost wholly from fruit, as a thing totally unwholesome for them; by which strict way they make them but the more ravenous after it; and to eat good and bad, ripe or unripe, all that they can get, whenever they come at it. Melons, peaches, most sorts of plums, and all sorts of grapes in England, I think children should be wholly kept from, as having a very tempting taste, in a very unwholesome juice; so that, if it were possible, they should never so much as see them, or know there were any such thing. But strawberries, cherries, gooseberries, or currants, when thorough ripe, I think may be very safely allowed them, and that with a pretty liberal hand, if they be eaten with these cautions. 1. Not after meals, as we usually do, when the stomach is already full of other food. But I think they should be eaten rather before, or between meals, and children should have them for their breakfasts. 2. Bread eaten with them. 3. Perfectly ripe. If they are thus eaten, I imagine them rather conducing than hurtful to our health. Summer fruits, being suitable to the hot season of the year they come in, refresh our stomachs, languishing and fainting under it; and therefore I should not be altogether so strict in this point, as some are to their children; who being kept so very short, instead of a moderate quantity of well-chosen fruit, which being allowed them would content them, whenever they can get loose, or bribe a servant to supply them, satisfy their longing with any trash they can get, and eat to a surfeit.

Apples and pears too, which are thorough ripe, and have been gathered some time, I think may be safely eaten at any time, and in pretty large quantities; especially apples, which never did any body hurt, that I have heard, after October.

Fruits also dried without sugar I think very wholesome. But sweetmeats of all kinds are to be avoided: which, whether they do more harm to the maker

or eater, is not easy to tell. This I am sure, it is one of the most inconvenient ways of expense that vanity hath yet found out; and so I leave them to the ladies.

SLEEP.

21. Of all that looks soft and effeminate, nothing is more to be indulged children than sleep. In this alone they are to be permitted to have their full satisfaction; nothing contributing more to the growth and health of children than sleep. All that is to be regulated in it is, in what part of the twenty-four hours they should take it; which will easily be resolved, by only saying, that it is of great use to accustom them to rise early in the morning. It is best so to do, for health; and he that, from his childhood, has by a settled custom made rising betimes easy and familiar to him, will not, when he is a man, waste the best and most useful part of his life in drowsiness and lying a-bed. If children therefore are to be called up early in the morning, it will follow of course that they must go to bed betimes; whereby they will be accustomed to avoid the unhealthy and unsafe hours of debauchery, which are those of the evenings; and they who keep good hours seldom are guilty of any great disorders. I do not say this, as if your son, when grown up, should never be in company past eight, nor never chat over a glass of wine till midnight. You are now, by the accustoming of his tender years, to indispose him to those inconveniences as much as you can; and it will be no small advantage, that contrary practice having made sitting-up uneasy to him, it will make him often avoid, and very seldom propose midnight revels. But if it should not reach so far, but fashion and company should prevail, and make him live as others do above twenty, it is worth the while to accustom him to early rising and early going to bed, between this and that, for the present improvement of his health, and other advantages.

Though I have said a large allowance of sleep, even as much as they will take, should be made to children when they are little; yet I do not mean, that it should always be continued to them, in so large a proportion, and they suffered to indulge a drowsy laziness in their beds, as they grow up bigger. But whether they should begin to be restrained at seven, or ten years old, or any other time, is impossible to be precisely determined. Their tempers, strength, and constitutions must be considered: but some time between seven and fourteen, if they are too great lovers of their beds, I think it may be seasonable to begin to reduce them, by degrees, to about eight hours, which is generally rest enough for healthy grown people. If you have accustomed him, as you should do, to rise constantly very early in the morning, this fault of being too long in bed will easily be reformed; and most children will be forward enough to shorten that time themselves, by coveting to sit up with the company at night; though, if they be not looked after, they will be apt to take it out in the morning, which should by no means be permitted. They should constantly be called up, and made to rise at their early hour; but great care should be taken in waking them, that it be not done hastily, nor with a loud or shrill voice, or any other sudden violent noise. This often affrights children, and does them great harm. And sound sleep, thus broke off with sudden alarms, is apt enough to discompose any one. When children are to be wakened out of their sleep, be sure to begin with a low call, and some gentle motion; and so draw them out of it by degrees, and give them none but kind words and usage, till they are come perfectly to themselves, and being quite dressed you are sure they are thoroughly awake. The being forced from their sleep, how gently soever you do

it, is pain enough to them; and care should be taken not to add any other uneasiness to it, especially such as may terrify them.

BED.

22. Let his bed be hard, and rather quilts than feathers. Hard lodgings strengthens the parts; whereas being buried every night in feathers, melts and dissolves the body, is often the cause of weakness, and the forerunner of an early grave. And, besides the stone, which has often its rise from this warm wrapping of the reins, several other indispositions, and that which is the root of them all, a tender, weakly constitution, is very much owing to down beds. Besides, he that is used to hard lodging at home, will not miss his sleep, (where he has most need of it,) in his travels abroad, for want of his soft bed and his pillows laid in order. And therefore I think it would not be amiss, to make his bed after different fashions; sometimes lay his head higher, sometimes lower, that he may not feel every little change he must be sure to meet with, who is not designed to lie always in my young master's bed at home, and to have his maid lay all things in print, and tuck him in warm. The great cordial of nature is sleep. He that misses that, will suffer by it; and he is very unfortunate, who can take his cordial only in his mother's fine gilt cup, and not in a wooden dish. He that can sleep soundly, takes the cordial; and it matters not whether it be on a soft bed, or the hard boards. It is sleep only that is the thing necessary.

PHYSIC.

23. Perhaps it will be expected from me, that I should give some directions of physic, to prevent diseases; for which I have only this one, very sacredly to be observed: never to give children any physic for prevention. The observation of what I have already advised, will, I suppose, do that better than the ladies' diet-drinks, or apothecary's medicines. Have a great care of tampering that way, lest, instead of preventing, you draw on diseases. Nor even upon every little indisposition is physic to be given, or the physician to be called to children; especially if he be a busy man, that will presently fill their windows with gally-pots, and their stomachs with drugs. It is safer to leave them wholly to nature, than to put them into the hands of one forward to tamper, or that thinks children are to be cured in ordinary distempers by any thing but diet, or by a method very little distant from it: it seeming suitable both to my reason and experience, that the tender constitutions of children should have as little done to them as is possible, and as the absolute necessity of the case requires. A little cold stilled red poppy-water, which is the true surfeit-water, with ease, and abstinence from flesh, often puts an end to several distempers in the beginning, which, by too forward applications, might have been made lusty diseases. When such a gentle treatment will not stop the growing mischief, nor hinder it from turning into a formed disease, it will be time to seek the advice of some sober and discreet physician. I this part, I hope, I shall find an easy belief; and nobody can have a pretence to doubt the advice of one, who has spent some time in the study of physic, when he counsels you not to be too forward in making use of physic and physicians.

24. And thus I have done with what concerns the body and health, which reduces itself to these few and easily observable rules. Plenty of open air, exercise, and sleep; plain diet, no wine or strong drink, and very little or no physic; not too warm and strait clothing; especially the head and feet kept cold, and the feet often used to cold water and exposed to wet.

MORAL CULTURE.

25. Due care being had to keep the body in strength and vigor, so that it may be able to obey and execute the orders of the mind; the next and principal business is, to set the mind right, that on all occasions it may be disposed to consent to nothing but what may be suitable to the dignity and excellency of a rational creature.

26. If what I have said in the beginning of this discourse be true, as I do not doubt but it is, viz., that the difference to be found in the manners and abilities of men is owing more to their education than to any thing else; we have reason to conclude, that great care is to be had of the forming of children's minds, and giving them that seasoning early, which shall influence their lives always after. For when they do well or ill, the praise or blame will be laid there; and when any thing is done awkwardly, the common saying will pass upon them, that it is suitable to their breeding.

27. As the strength of the body lies chiefly in being able to endure hardships, so also does that of the mind. And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth is placed in this, that a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations, and purely follow what reason directs as best, though the appetite lean the other way.

EARLY INFLUENCE.

28. The great mistake I have observed in people's breeding their children has been, that this has not been taken care enough of in its due season; that the mind has not been made obedient to discipline, and pliant to reason, when at first it was most tender, most easy to be bowed. Parents being wisely ordained by nature to love their children, are very apt, if reason watch not that natural affection very warily; are apt, I say, to let it run into fondness. They love their little ones, and it is their duty; but they often with them cherish their faults too. They must not be crossed, forsooth; they must be permitted to have their wills in all things; and they being in their infancies not capable of great vices, their parents think they may safely enough indulge their little irregularities, and make themselves sport with that pretty perverseness, which they think well enough becomes that innocent age. But to a fond parent, that would not have his child corrected for a perverse trick, but excused it, saying it was a small matter; Solon very well replied, "Ay, but custom is a great one."

29. The fondling must be taught to strike and call names; must have what he cries for, and do what he pleases. Thus parents, by humoring and cockering them when little, corrupt the principles of nature in their children, and wonder afterwards to taste the bitter waters, when they themselves have poisoned the fountain. For when their children are grown up, and these ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their parents can no longer make use of them as play-things; then they complain that the brats are untoward and perverse; then they are offended to see them wilful, and are troubled with those ill humors, which they themselves infused and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out those weeds which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep root to be easily extirpated. For he that has been used to have his will in every thing, as long as he was in coats, why should we think it strange that he should

desire it and contend for it still, when he is in breeches? Indeed, as he grows more towards a man, age shows his faults the more, so that there be few parents then so blind as not to see them; few so insensible as not to feel the ill effects of their own indulgence. He had the will of his maid before he could speak or go; he had the mastery of his parents ever since he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is stronger and wiser than he was then, why now of a sudden must he be restrained and curbed; why must he at seven, fourteen, or twenty years old, lose the privilege which the parents' indulgence, till then, so largely allowed him? Try it in a dog, or a horse, or any other creature, and see whether the ill and resty tricks they have learned when young are easily to be mended when they are knit: and yet none of those creatures are half so willful and proud, or half so desirous to be masters of themselves and others, as man.

30. We are generally wise enough to begin with them when they are very young; and discipline betimes those other creatures we would make useful and good for somewhat. They are only our own offspring, that we neglect in this point; and, having made them ill children, we foolishly expect they should be good men. For if the child must have grapes, or sugar-plums, when he has a mind to them, rather than make the poor baby cry, or be out of humor; why, when he is grown up, must he not be satisfied too, if his desires carry him to wine or women? They are objects as suitable to the longing of twenty-one or more years, as what he cried for, when little, was to the inclinations of a child. The having desires accommodated to the apprehensions and relish of those several ages is not the fault; but the not having them subject to the rules and restraints of reason: the difference lies not in the having or not having appetites, but in the power to govern, and deny ourselves in them. He that is not used to submit his will to the reason of others, when he is young, will scarce hearken or submit to his own reason, when he is of an age to make use of it. And what kind of a man such a one is like to prove, is easy to foresee.

31. These are oversights usually committed by those who seem to take the greatest care of their children's education. But, if we look into the common management of children, we shall have reason to wonder, in the great dissoluteness of manners which the world complains of, that there are any footsteps at all left to virtue. I desire to know what vice can be named, which parents, and those about children, do not season them with, and drop into them the seeds of, as often as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the examples they give, and the patterns they set before them, which is encouragement enough; but that which I would take notice of here, is the downright teaching them vice, and actual putting them out of the way of virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with violence, revenge and cruelty. "Give me a blow that I may beat him," is a lesson which most children every day hear: and it is thought nothing, because their hands have not strength enough to do any mischief. But, I ask, does not this corrupt their minds? is not this the way of force and violence, that they are set in? and if they have been taught when little to strike and hurt others by proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them, and see them suffer; are they not prepared to do it when they are strong enough to be felt themselves, and can strike to some purpose?

The coverings of our bodies, which are for modesty, warmth, and defense, are

by the folly or vice of parents, recommended to their children for other uses. They are made matter of vanity and emulation. A child is set a longing after a new suit, for the finery of it: and when the little girl is tricked up in her new gown and commode, how can her mother do less than teach her to admire herself, by calling her, "her little queen," and "her princess?" Thus the little ones are taught to be proud of their clothes before they can put them on. And why should they not continue to value themselves for this outside fashionableness of the tailor or the tire-woman's making, when their parents have so early instructed them to do so?

Lying and equivocations, and excuses little different from lying, are put into the mouths of young people, and commended in apprentices and children, whilst they are for their master's or parent's advantage. And can it be thought that he, that finds the straining of truth dispensed with, and encouraged, whilst it is for his godly master's turn, will not make use of that privilege for himself, when it may be for his own profit?

Those of the meaner sort are hindered by the straitness of their fortunes from encouraging intemperance in their children, by the temptation of their diet, or invitations to eat or drink more than enough: but their own ill examples, whenever plenty comes in their way, show that it is not the dislike of drunkenness and gluttony that keeps them from excess, but want of materials. But if we look into the houses of those who are a little warmer in their fortunes, there eating and drinking are made so much the great business and happiness of life, that children are thought neglected, if they have not their share of it. Sauces, and ragouts, and foods disguised by all the arts of cookery, must tempt their palates, when their bellies are full; and then, for fear the stomach should be overcharged, a pretense is found for the other glass of wine, to help digestion, though it only serves to increase the surfeit.

Is my young master a little out of order? the first question is, "What will my dear eat? what shall I get for thee?" Eating and drinking are instantly pressed: and every body's invention is set on work to find out something luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of appetite, which nature has wisely ordered in the beginning of distempers, as a defense against their increase; that, being freed from the ordinary labor of digesting any new load in the stomach, she may be at leisure to correct and master the peccant humors.

And where children are so happy in the care of their parents, as by their prudence to be kept from the excess of their tables, to the sobriety of a plain and simple diet; yet there too they are scarce to be preserved from the contagion that poisons the mind. Though by a discreet management, whilst they are under tuition, their healths, perhaps, may be pretty well secured; yet their desires must needs yield to the lessons, which every-where will be read to them upon this part of epicurism. The commendation that eating well has everywhere, can not fail to be a successful incentive to natural appetite, and bring them quickly to the liking and expense of a fashionable table. This shall have from every one, even the reprovers of vice, the title of living well. And what shall sullen reason dare to say against the public testimony? or can it hope to be heard, if it should call that luxury, which is so much owned and universally practised by those of the best quality?

This is now so grown a vice, and has so great supports, that I know not whether it do not put in for the name of virtue; and whether it will not be

thought folly, or want of knowledge of the world, to open one's mouth against it. And truly I should suspect, that what I have here said of it might be censured, as a little satire out of my way; did I not mention it with this view, that it might awaken the care and watchfulness of parents in the education of their children; when they see how they are beset on every side, not only with temptations, but instructors to vice, and that perhaps in those they thought places of security.

I shall not dwell any longer on this subject; much less run over all the particulars, that would show what pains are used to corrupt children, and instill principles of vice into them: but I desire parents soberly to consider what irregularity or vice there is which children are not visibly taught; and whether it be not their duty and wisdom to provide them other instructions.

CRAVING.

32. It seems plain to me, that the principle of all virtue and excellency lies in a power of denying ourselves the satisfaction of our own desires, where reason does not authorize them. This power is to be got and improved by custom, made easy and familiar by an early practice. If therefore I might be heard, I would advise, that, contrary to the ordinary way children should be used to submit their desires, and go without their longings, even from their very cradles. The very first thing they should learn to know, should be, that they were not to have any thing because it pleased them, but because it was thought fit for them. If things suitable to their wants were supplied to them so that they were never suffered to have what they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it; would never with bawling and peevishness contend for mastery; nor be half so uneasy to themselves and others as they are, because from the first beginning they are not thus handled. If they were never suffered to obtain their desire by the impatience they expressed for it, they would no more cry for other things than they do for the moon.

33. I say not this as if children were not to be indulged in any thing, or that I expected they should, in hanging-sleeves, have the reason and conduct of counsellors. I consider them as children, who must be tenderly used, who must play, and have play-things. That which I mean is, that whenever they craved what was not fit for them to have, or do, they should not be permitted it, because they were little and desired it: nay, whatever they were importunate for, they should be sure, for that very reason, to be denied. I have seen children at a table, who, whatever was there, never asked for any thing, but contentedly took what was given them: and at another place I have seen others cry for every thing they saw, must be served out of every dish, and that first too. What made this vast difference but this, that one was accustomed to have what they called or cried for, the other to go without it? The younger they are, the less, I think, are their unruly and disorderly appetites to be complied with; and the less reason they have of their own, the more are they to be under the absolute power and restraint of those in whose hands they are. From which I confess, it will follow, that none but discreet people should be about them. If the world commonly does otherwise, I can not help that. I am saying what I think should be; which, if it were already in fashion, I should not need to trouble the world with a discourse on this subject. But yet I doubt not but, when it is considered, there will be others of opinion with me, that the sooner

this way is begun with children, the easier it will be for them, and their governors too; and that this ought to be observed as an inviolable maxim, that whatever once is denied them, they are certainly not to obtain by crying or importunity; unless one has a mind to teach them to be impatient and troublesome, by rewarding them for it when they are so.

EARLY REGULATION.

34. Those, therefore, that intend ever to govern their children, should begin it whilst they are very little, and look that they perfectly comply with the will of their parents. Would you have your son obedient to you when past a child? Be sure then to establish the authority of a father, as soon as he is capable of submission, and can understand in whose power he is. If you would have him stand in awe of you, imprint it in his infancy; and, as he approaches more to a man, admit him nearer to your familiarity; so shall you have him your obedient subject (as is fit) whilst he is a child, and your affectionate friend when he is a man. For methinks they mightily misplace the treatment due to their children, who are indulgent and familiar when they are little, but severe to them and keep them at a distance, when they are grown up. For liberty and indulgence can do no good to children; their want of judgment makes them stand in need of restraint and discipline. And, on the contrary, imperiousness and severity is but an ill way of treating men, who have reason of their own to guide them, unless you have a mind to make your children, when grown up, weary of you, and secretly to say within themselves, "When will you die, father?"

35. I imagine every one will judge it reasonable, that their children, when little, should look upon their parents as their lords, their absolute governors; and as such stand in awe of them, and that when they come to riper years, they should look on them as their best, as their only sure friends, and as such love and reverence them. The way I have mentioned, if I mistake not, is the only one to obtain this. We must look upon our children, when grown up, to be like ourselves; with the same passions, the same desires. We would be thought rational creatures, and have our freedom; we love not to be uneasy under constant rebukes and brow-beatings; nor can we bear severe humors and great distance in those we converse with. Whoever has such treatment, when he is a man, will look out other company, other friends, other conversation, with whom he can be at ease. If therefore a strict hand be kept over children, from the beginning, they will in that age be tractable, and quietly submit to it, as never having known any other, and if, as they grow up to the use of reason, the rigor of government be, as they deserve it, gently relaxed, the father's brow more smoothed to them, and the distance by degrees abated, his former restraints will increase their love, when they find it was only a kindness for them, and a care to make them capable to deserve the favor of their parents and the esteem of every body else.

36. Thus much for the settling your authority over children in general. Fear and awe ought to give you the first power over their minds, and love and friendship in riper years to hold it; for the time must come when they will be past the rod and correction, and then, if the love of you make them not obedient and dutiful; if the love of virtue and reputation keep them not in laudable courses, I ask, what hold will you have upon them, to turn them to it? In-

deed, fear of having a scanty portion, if they displease you, may make them slaves to your estate, but they will be nevertheless ill and wicked in private, and that restraint will not last always. Every man must some time or other be trusted to himself, and his own conduct; and he that is a good, a virtuous, and able man, must be made so within. And, therefore, what he is to receive from education, what is to sway and influence his life, must be something put into him betimes; habits woven into the very principles of his nature, and not a counterfeit carriage, and dissembled outside, put on by fear, only to avoid the present anger of a father, who perhaps may disinherit him.

PUNISHMENTS.

37. This being laid down in general, as the course ought to be taken, it is fit we come now to consider the parts of the discipline to be used a little more particularly. I have spoken so much of carrying a strict hand over children, that perhaps I shall be suspected of not considering enough what is due to their tender age and constitutions. But that opinion will vanish, when you have heard me a little farther. For I am very apt to think, that great severity of punishment does but very little good; nay, great harm in education; and I believe that it will be found that cæteris paribus, those children who have been most chastised, seldom make the best men. All that I have hitherto contended for, is, that whatsoever rigor is necessary, it is more to be used, the younger children are; and, having by a due application wrought its effect, it is to be relaxed, and changed into a milder sort of government.

AWE.

38. A compliance and suppleness of their wills, being by a steady hand introduced by parents, before children have memories to retain the beginnings of it, will seem natural to them, and work afterwards in them as if it were so, preventing all occasions of struggling or repining. The only care is, that it be begun early, and inflexibly kept to, till awe and respect be grown familiar, and there appears not the least reluctancy in the submission, and ready obedience of their minds. When this reverence is once thus established, (which it must be early, or else it will cost pains and blows to recover it, and the more the longer it is deferred,) it is by it, mixed still with as much indulgence, as they made not an ill use of, and not by beating, chiding, or other servile punishments, they are for the future to be governed, as they grow up to more understanding.

SELF-DENIAL.

39. That this is so, will be easily allowed, when it is but considered what is to be aimed at, in an ingenuous education, and upon what it turns.

1. He that has not a mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to resist the importunity of present pleasure or pain, for the sake of what reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry, and is in danger of never being good for any thing. This temper, therefore, so contrary to unguided nature, is to be got betimes; and this habit, as the true foundation of future ability and happiness, is to be wrought into the mind as early as may be, even from the first dawnings of any knowledge or apprehension in children, and so to be confirmed in them by all the care and ways imaginable, by those who have the oversight of their education.

DEJECTED.

40. 2. On the other side, if the mind be curbed and humbled too much in children; if their spirits be abased and broken much, by too strict a hand over them, they lose all their vigor and industry, and are in a worse state than the former. For extravagant young fellows, that have liveliness and spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make able and great men; but dejected minds, timorous and tame, and low spirits, are hardly ever to be raised, and very seldom attain to any thing. To avoid the danger that is on either hand is the great art, and he that has found a way how to keep up a child's spirit, easy, active, and free, and yet, at the same time, to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to many that are uneasy to him; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming contradictions, has, in my opinion, got the true secret of education.

BEATING.

41. The usual lazy and short way, chastisement, and the rod, which is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know, or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in education; because it tends to both those mischiefs; which, as we have shown, are the Scylla and Charybdis, which on the one hand or the other, ruin all that miscarry.

42. 1. This kind of punishment contributes not at all to the mastery of our natural propensity to indulge corporal and present pleasure, and to avoid pain at any rate; but rather encourages it; and thereby strengthens that in us, which is the root from whence spring all vicious actions, and the irregularities of life. From what other motive, but of sensual pleasure and pain, does a child act, who drudges at his book against his inclination, or abstains from eating unwholesome fruit, that he takes pleasure in, only out of fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater corporal pleasure, or avoids the greater corporal pain. And what is it to govern his actions, and direct his conduct by such motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that principle in him, which it is our business to root out and destroy? And, therefore, I can not think any correction useful to a child, where the shame of suffering for having done amiss, does not work more upon him, than the pain.

43. 2. This sort of correction naturally breeds an aversion to that, which it is the tutor's business to create a liking to. How obvious is it to observe, that children come to hate things which were at first acceptable to them, when they find themselves whipped, and chid, and teased about them? And it is not to be wondered at in them; when grown men would not be reconciled to any thing by such ways. Who is there that would not be disgusted with any innocent recreation, in itself indifferent to him, if he should with blows, or ill language be hauled to it, when he had no mind? or be constantly so treated, for some circumstance, in his application to it? This is natural to be so. Offensive circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things, which they are joined with. And the very sight of a cup, wherein any one uses to take nauseous physic, turns his stomach; so that nothing will relish well out of it, though the cup be ever so clean, and well shaped, and of the richest materials.

44. 3. Such a sort of slavish discipline makes a slavish temper. The child submits, and dissembles obedience, whilst the fear of the rod hangs over him; but when that is removed, and by being out of sight, he can promise himself

impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural inclination; which by this way is not at all altered, but on the contrary heightened and increased in him; and after such restraint, breaks out usually with the more violence; or,

45. 4. If severity carried to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a cure upon the present unruly distemper, it is often bringing in the room of it, worse and more dangerous disease, by breaking the mind, and then in the place of a disorderly young fellow, you have a low-spirited, moped creature: who, however, with his unnatural sobriety he may please silly people, who commend tame, inactive children, because they make no noise, nor give them any trouble; yet, at last, will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his friends, as he will be, all his life, a useless thing to himself and others.

REWARDS.

46. Beating, then, and all other sorts of slavish and corporal punishments, are not the discipline fit to be used in the education of those who would have wise, good, and ingenuous men; and, therefore, very rarely to be applied, and that only in great occasions, and cases of extremity. On the other side, to flatter children by rewards of things, that are pleasant to them, is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give to his son apples, sugar-plums, or what else, of this kind, he is most delighted with, to make him learn his book, does but authorize his love of pleasure, and cocker up that dangerous propensity, which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to master it, whilst you compound for the check you give his inclination in one place, by the satisfaction you propose to it in another. To make a good, a wise, and a virtuous man, it is fit he should learn to cross his appetite, and deny his inclination to riches, finery, or pleasing his palate, &c., whenever his reason advises the contrary, and his duty requires it. But when you draw him to do any thing that is fit, by the offer of money; or reward the pains of learning his book, by the pleasure of a luscious morsel; when you promise him a lace cravat, or a fine new suit, upon the peformance of some of his little tasks; what do you by proposing these as rewards, but allow them to be the good things he should aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for them, and accustom him to place his happiness in them? Thus people, to prevail with children to be industrious about their grammar, dancing, or some other such matter, of no great moment to the happiness or usefulness of their lives, by misapplied rewards and punishments sacrifice their virtue, invert the order of their education, and teach them luxury, pride, or covetousness, &c. For in this way, flattering those wrong inclinations, which they should restrain and suppress, they lay the foundations of those future vices, which can not be avoided, but by curbing our desires, and accustoming them early to submit to reason.

47. I say not this, that I would have children kept from the conveniences or pleasures of life, that are not injurious to their health or virtue: on the contrary, I would have their lives made as pleasant, and as agreeable to them, as may be in a plentiful enjoyment of whatsoever might innocently delight them: provided it be with this caution, that they have those enjoyments, only as the consequences of the state of esteem and acceptation they are in with their parents and governors; but they should never be offered or bestowed on them, as the reward of this or that particular performance that they show an aversion to, or to which they would not have applied themselves without that temptation.

48. But if you take away the rod on one hand, and these little encourage-

ments, which they are taken with, on the other, how then, (will you say,) shall children be governed? Remove hope and fear, and there is an end of all discipline. I grant that good and evil, reward and punishment, are the only motives to a rational creature; these are the spur and reins, whereby all mankind are set on work, and guided, and, therefore, they are to be made use of to children too. For I advise their parents and governors always to carry this in their minds, that children are to be treated as rational creatures.

49. Rewards, I grant, and punishments must be proposed to children, if we intend to work upon them. The mistake I imagine, is, that those that are generally made use of, are ill chosen. The pains and pleasures of the body are, I think, of ill consequence, when made the rewards and punishments, whereby men would prevail on their children: for as I said before, they serve but to increase and strengthen those inclinations which it is our business to subdue and master. What principle of virtue do you lay in a child, if you will redeem his desires of one pleasure, by the proposal of another? This is but to enlarge his appetite, and instruct it to wander. If a child cries for an unwholesome and dangerous fruit, you purchase his quiet by giving him a less hurtful sweet meat. This perhaps may preserve his health; but spoils his mind, and sets that farther out of order. For here you only change the object; but flatter still his appetite, and allow that must be satisfied; wherein, as I have showed, lies the root of the mischief: and till you bring him to be able to bear a denial of that satisfaction, the child may at present be quiet and orderly, but the disease is not cured. By this way of proceeding you foment and cherish in him, that which is the spring from whence all the evil flows, which will be sure on the next occasion to break again out with more violence, give him stronger longings, and you more trouble.

REPUTATION.

50. The rewards and punishments, then, whereby we should keep children in order, are quite of another kind; and of that force, that when we can get them once to work, the business, I think, is done, and the difficulty is over. Esteem and disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can once get into children a love of credit, and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principle, which will constantly work, and incline them to the right. But it will be asked, how shall this be done?

I confess, it does not, at first appearance, want some difficulty; but yet I think it worth our while to seek the ways (and practice them when found) to attain this, which I look on as the great secret of education.

51. First, children (earlier perhaps than we think) are very sensible of praise and commendation. They find a pleasure in being esteemed and valued, especially by their parents, and those whom they depend on. If, therefore, the father caress and commend them, when they do well; show a cold and neglectful countenance to them upon doing ill; and this accompanied by a like carriage of the mother, and all others that are about them, it will in a little time make them sensible of the difference, and this if constantly observed, I doubt not but will of itself work more than threats or blows, which lose their force, when once grown common, and are of no use when shame does not attend them, and therefore are to be forborne, and never to be used but in the case hereafter mentioned, when it is brought to extremity.

52. But, secondly, to make the sense of esteem or disgrace sink the deeper, and be of the more weight, other agreeable or disagreeable things should constantly accompany these different states; not as particular rewards and punishments of this or that particular action, but as necessarily belonging to, and constantly attending one, who by his carriage has brought himself into a state of disgrace or commendation. By which way of treating them, children may as much as possible be brought to conceive, that those that are commended and in esteem for doing well, will necessarily be beloved and cherished by every body, and have all other good things as a consequence of it; and, on the other side, when any one by miscarriage falls into disesteem, and cares not to preserve his credit, he will unavoidably fall under neglect and contempt; and, in that state, the want of whatever might satisfy or delight him, will follow. In this way the objects of their desires are made assisting to virtue; when a settled experience from the beginning teaches children, that the things they delight in, belong to, and are to be enjoyed by those only, who are in a state of reputation. If by these means you can come once to shame them out of their faults, (for besides that, I would willingly have no punishment,) and make them in love with the pleasure of being well thought on, you may turn them as you please, and they will be in love with all the ways of virtue.

53. The great difficulty here is, I imagine, from the folly and perverseness of servants, who are hardly to be hindered from crossing herein the design of the father and mother. Children, discountenanced by their parents for any fault, find usually a refuge and relief in the caresses of those foolish flatterers, who thereby undo whatever the parents endeavor to establish. When the father or mother looks sour on the child, every body else should put on the same coldness to him, and nobody give him countenance, till forgiveness asked, and a reformation of his fault, has set him right again, and restored him to his former credit. If this were constantly observed, I guess there would be little need of blows or chiding: their own ease and satisfaction would quickly teach children to court commendation, and avoid doing that which they found every body condemned, and they were sure to suffer for, without being chid or beaten. This would teach them modesty and shame; and they would quickly come to have a natural abhorrence for that which they found made them slighted and neglected by every body. But how this inconvenience from servants is to be remedied, I must leave to parents' care and consideration. Only I think it of great importance, and that they are very happy, who can get discreet people about their children.

54. Frequent beating or chiding is therefore carefully to be avoided, because this sort of correction never produces any good, farther than it serves to raise shame and abhorrence of the miscarriage that brought it on them. And if the greatest part of the trouble be not the sense that they have done amiss, and the apprehension that they have drawn on themselves the just displeasure of their best friends, the pain of whipping will work but an imperfect cure. It only patches up for the present, and skins it over, but reaches not to the bottom of the sore. Ingenuous shame, and the apprehension of displeasure, are the only true restraints; these alone ought to hold the reins, and keep the child in order. But corporal punishments must necessarily lose that effect, and wear out the sense of shame, where they frequently return. Shame in children has the same place that modesty has in women, which can not be kept, and often trans-

gressed against. And as to the apprehension of displeasure in the parents, they will come to be insignificant, if the marks of that displeasure quickly cease, and a few blows fully expiate. Parents should well consider what faults in their children are weighty enough to deserve the declaration of their anger; but when their displeasure is once declared to a degree that carries any punishment with it, they ought not presently to lay by the severity of their brows, but to restore their children to their former grace with some difficulty, and delay a full reconciliation till their conformity, and more than ordinary merit, make good their amendment. If this be not so ordered, punishment will by familiarity become a mere thing of course, and lose all its influence; offending being chastised, and then forgiven, will be thought as natural and necessary as noon, night, and morning, following one another.

55. Concerning reputation, I shall only remark this one thing more of it; that, though it be not the true principle and measure of virtue, (for that is the knowledge of a man's duty, and the satisfaction it is to obey his Maker, in following the dictates of that light God has given him, with the hopes of acceptation and reward,) yet it is that which comes nearest to it, and being the testimony and applause that other people's reason, as it were, by a common consent, gives to virtuous and well-ordered actions, it is the proper guide and encouragement of children, till they grow able to judge for themselves, and to find what is right by their own reason.

56. This consideration may direct parents how to manage themselves in reproving and commending their children. The rebukes and chiding which their faults will sometimes make hardly to be avoided, should not only be in sober, grave, and unpassionate words, but also alone and in private; but the commendations children deserve they should receive before others. This doubles the reward, by spreading their praise; but the backwardness parents show in divulging their faults, will make them set a greater value on their credit themselves, and teach them to be the more careful to preserve the good opinion of others, whilst they think they have it; but when, being exposed to shame, by publishing their miscarriages, they give it up for lost, that check upon them is taken off, and they will be the less careful to preserve others' good thoughts of them, the more they suspect that their reputation with them is already blemished.

CHILDISHNESS.

57. But if a right course be taken with children, there will not be so much need of the application of the common rewards and punishments as we imagined, and as the general practice has established. For all their innocent folly, playing and childish actions, are to be left perfectly free and unrestrained, as far as they can consist with the respect due to those that are present, and that with the greatest allowance. If these faults of their age, rather than of the children themselves, were, as they should be, left only to time and imitation, and riper years to cure, children would escape a great deal of misapplied and useless correction, which either fails to overpower the natural disposition of their childhood, and so, by an ineffectual familiarity, makes correction in other necessary cases of less use; or else if it be of force to restrain the natural gayety of that age, it serves only to spoil the temper both of body and mind. If the noise and bustle of their play prove at any time inconvenient, or unsuitable to the

place or company they are in, (which can only be where their parents are,) a look or a word from the father or mother, if they have established the authority they should, will be enough either to remove, or quiet them for that time. But this gamesome humor, which is wisely adapted by nature to their age and temper, should rather be encouraged, to keep up their spirits, and improve their strength and health, than curbed or restrained; and the chief art is to make all that they have to do, sport and play too.

RULES.

58. And here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a fault in the ordinary method of education; and that is, the charging of children's memories, upon all occasions, with rules and precepts which they often do not understand, and are constantly as soon forgot as given. If it be some action you would have done, or done otherwise, whenever they forget or do it awkwardly, make them do it over and over again, till they are perfect, whereby you will get these two advantages: First, to see whether it be an action they can do, or is fit to be expected of them. For sometimes children are bid to do things which upon trial, they are found not able to do, and had need be taught and exercised in, before they are required to do them. But it is much easier for a tutor to command than to teach. Secondly, another thing got by it will be this, that by repeating the same action till it be grown habitual in them, the performance will not depend on memory, or reflection, the concomitant of prudence and age, and not of childhood; but will be natural in them. Thus, bowing to a gentleman when he salutes him, and looking in his face when he speaks to him, is by constant use as natural to a well-bred man, as breathing; it requires no thought, no reflection. Having this way cured in your child any fault, it is cured forever; and thus, one by one, you may weed them out all, and plant what habits you please.

59. I have seen parents so heap rules on their children, that it was impossible for the poor little ones to remember a tenth part of them, much less to observe them. However, they were either by words or blows corrected for the breach of those multiplied and often very impertinent precepts. Whence it naturally followed, that the children minded not what was said to them when it was evident to them, that no attention they were capable of, was sufficient to preserve them from transgression, and the rebukes which followed it.

Let therefore your rules to your son be as few as is possible, and rather fewer than more than seem absolutely necessary. For if you burden him with many rules, one of these two things must necessarily follow; that either he must be very often punished, which will be of ill consequence, by making punishment too frequent and familiar, or else you must let the transgressions of some of your rules go unpunished, whereby they will of course grow contemptible, and your authority become cheap to him. Make but few laws, but see they be well observed, when once made. Few years require but few laws; and, as his age increases, when one rule is by practice well established, you may add another.

HABITS.

60. But pray remember, children are not to be taught by rules, which will be always slipping out of their memories. What you think necessary for them

to do, settle in them by an indispensable practice, as often as the occasion returns, and if it be possible, make occasions. This will beget habits in them which, being once established, operate of themselves, easily and naturally, without the assistance of the memory. But here let me give two cautions: 1. The one is, that you keep them to the practice of what you would have grow into a habit in them, by kind words and gentle admonitions, rather as minding them of what they forget, than by harsh rebukes and chiding as if they were willfully guilty. 2. Another thing you are to take care of is, not to endeavor to settle too many habits at once, lest by a variety you confound them, and so perfect none. When constant custom has made any one thing easy and natural to them, and they practice it without reflection, you may then go on to another.

This method of teaching children by a repeated practice, and the same action done over and over again, under the eye and direction of the tutor, till they have got the habit of doing it well, and not by relying on rules trusted to their memories, has so many advantages, which way soever we consider it, that I can not but wonder (if ill customs could be wondered at in any thing,) how it could possibly be so much neglected. I shall name one more that comes now in my way. By this method we shall see, whether what is required of him be adapted to his capacity, and any way suited to the child's natural genius and constitution, for that too must be considered in a right education. We must not hope wholly to change their original tempers, nor make the gay pensive and grave, nor the melancholy sportive, without spoiling them. God has stamped certain characters upon men's minds, which, like their shapes, may perhaps be a little mended, but can hardly be totally altered and transformed into the contrary.

He, therefore, that is about children, should well study their natures and aptitudes, and see, by often trials, what turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their native stock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for; he should consider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by industry, and incorporated there by practice; and whether it be worth while to endeavor it. For, in many cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is, to make the best of what nature has given, to prevent the vices and faults to which such a constitution is most inclined, and give it all the advantages it is capable of. Every one's natural genius should be carried as far as it could; but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but labor in vain; and what is so plastered on, will at best sit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the ungracefulness of constraint and affectation.

AFFECTATION.

Affectation is not, I confess, an early fault of childhood, or the product of untaught nature; it is of that sort of weeds which grow not in the wild uncultivated waste, but in garden-plots, under the negligent hand, or unskillful care of a gardener. Management and instruction, and some sense of the necessity of breeding, are requisite to make any one capable of affectation, which endeavors to correct natural defects, and has always the laudable aim of pleasing, though it always misses it; and the more it labors to put on gracefulness, the farther it is from it. For this reason it is the more carefully to be watched, because it is the proper fault of education; a perverted education indeed, but such

as young people often fall into, either by their own mistake, or the ill conduct of those about them.

He that will examine wherein that gracefulness lies, which always pleases, will find it arises from that natural coherence, which appears between the thing done, and such a temper of mind, as can not but be approved of as suitable to the occasion. We can not but be pleased with an humane, friendly, civil temper, wherever we meet with it. A mind free, and master of itself and all its actions, not low and narrow, not haughty and insolent, not blemished with any great defect, is what every one is taken with. The actions which naturally flow from such a well-formed mind, please us also, as the genuine marks of it, and being as it were, natural emanations from the spirit and disposition within, can not but be easy and unconstrained. This seems to me to be that beauty, which shines through some men's actions, sets off all that they do, and takes with all they come near, when by a constant practice they have fashioned their carriage and made all those little expressions of civility and respect, which nature or custom has established in conversation, so easy to themselves, that they seem not artificial or studied, but naturally to follow from a sweetness of mind and a well-turned disposition.

On the other side, affectation is an awkward and forced imitation of what should be genuine and easy, wanting the beauty that accompanies what is natural; because there is always a disagreement between the outward action, and the mind within, one of these two ways: 1. Either when a man would outwardly put on a disposition of mind, which then he really has not, but endeavors by a forced carriage to make show of, yet so that the constraint he is under, discovers itself, and thus men affect sometimes to appear sad, merry, or kind, when, in truth, they are not so.

2. The other is, when they do not endeavor to make show of dispositions of mind which they have not, but to express those they have by a carriage not suited to them; and such in conversation are all constrained motions, actions, words or looks which, though designed to show either their respect or civility to the company, or their satisfaction and easiness in it, are not yet natural nor genuine marks of the one or the other, but rather of some defect or mistake within. Imitation of others, without discerning what is graceful in them, or what is peculiar to their characters, often makes a great part of this. But affectation of all kinds, whencesoever it proceeds, is always offensive, because we naturally hate whatever is counterfeit, and condemn those who have nothing better to recommend themselves by.

Plain and rough nature, left to itself, is much better than an artificial ungracefulness, and such studied ways of being ill-fashioned. The want of an accomplishment, or some defect in our behavior, coming short of the utmost gracefulness, often escapes observation and censure. But affectation in any part of our carriage, is lighting up a candle to our defects, and never fails to make us taken notice of, either as wanting sense, or wanting sincerity. This governors ought the more diligently to look after, because, as I have observed, it is an acquired ugliness, owing to mistaken education, few being guilty of it but those who pretend to breeding, and would not be thought ignorant of what is fashionable and becoming in conversation; and, if I mistake not, it has often its rise from the lazy admonitions of those who give rules, and propose examples, without joining practice with their instructions, and making their pupils

repeat the action in their sight, that they may correct what is indecent or constrained in it, till it be perfected into an habitual and becoming easiness.

MANNERS.

61. Manners, as they call it, about which children are so often perplexed, and have so many goodly exhortations made them, by their wise maids and governesses, I think, are rather to be learned by example than rules; and then children, if kept out of ill company, will take a pride to behave themselves prettily, after the fashion of others, perceiving themselves esteemed and commended for it. But if by a little negligence in this part, the boy should not put off his hat, nor make legs very gracefully, a dancing-master will cure that defect, and wipe off all that plainness of nature, which the à-la-mode people call clownishness. And since nothing appears to me to give children so much becoming confidence and behavior, and so to raise them to the conversation of those above their age, as dancing, I think they should be taught to dance, as soon as they are capable of learning it. For, though this consist only in outward gracefulness of motion, yet I know not how it gives children manly thoughts and carriage, more than anything. But otherwise I would not have little children much tormented about punctilios, or niceties of breeding.

Never trouble yourself about those faults in them which you know age will cure. And, therefore, want of well-fashioned civility in the carriage, whilst civility is not wanting in the mind, (for there you must take care to plant it early,) should be the parents' least care whilst they are young. If his tender mind be filled with a veneration for his parents and teachers, which consists in love and esteem, and a fear to offend them, and with respect and good-will to all people, that respect will of itself teach those ways of expressing it which he observes most acceptable. Be sure to keep up in him the principles of good-nature and kindness; make them as habitual as you can, by credit and commendation, and the good things accompanying that state, and when they have taken root in his mind, and are settled there by a continued practice, fear not; the ornaments of conversation, and the outside of fashionable manners, will come in their due time, if, when they are removed out of their maid's care, they are put into the hands of a well-bred man to be their governor.

Whilst they are very young, any carelessness is to be borne with in children, that carries not with it the marks of pride or ill-nature, but those, whenever they appear in any action, are to be corrected immediately, by the ways above-mentioned. What I have said concerning manners, I would not have so understood, as if I meant that those who have the judgment to do it, should not gently fashion the motions and carriage of children when they are very young. It would be of great advantage, if they had people about them from their being first able to go, that had the skill, and would take the right way to do it. That which I complain of is the wrong course that is usually taken in this matter. Children who were never taught any such thing as behavior, are often (especially when strangers are present) chid for having some way or other failed in good manners, and have thereupon reproofs and precepts heaped upon them, concerning putting off their hats, or making of legs, &c. Though in this those concerned pretend to correct the child, yet in truth, for the most part, it is but to cover their own shame, and they lay the blame on the poor little ones, sometimes passionately enough, to divert it from themselves, for fear the bystanders should impute to their want of care and skill the child's ill behavior.

For, as for the children themselves, they are never one jot bettered by such occasional lectures; they at other times should be shown what to do, and by reiterated actions be fashioned before-hand into the practice of what is fit and becoming, and not told, and talked to do upon the spot, what they have never been accustomed to, nor know how to do as they should; to hare and rate them thus at every turn, is not to teach them, but to vex and torment them to no purpose. They should be let alone, rather than chid for a fault, which is none of theirs, nor is in their power to mend for speaking to. And it were much better their natural, childish negligence, or plainness, should be left to the care of riper years, than that they should frequently have rebukes misplaced upon them, which neither do nor can give them graceful motions. If their minds are well disposed, and principled with inward civility, a great part of the roughness which sticks to the outside for want of better teaching, time and observation will rub off, as they grow up, if they are bred in good company; but if in ill, all the rules in the world, all the correction imaginable, will not be able to polish them. For you must take this for a certain truth, that let them have what instructions you will, and ever so learned lectures of breeding daily inculcated into them, that which will most influence their carriage, will be the company they converse with, and the fashion of those about them. Children (nay, and men too,) do most by example. We are all a sort of chameleons, that still take a tincture from things near us; nor is it to be wondered at in children, who better understand what they see than what they hear.

62. I mentioned above, one great mischief that came by servants to children, when by their flatteries they take off the edge and force of the parents' rebukes, and so lessen their authority. And here is another great inconvenience which children receive from the ill examples which they meet with amongst the meaner servants.

They are wholly, if possible, to be kept from such conversation; for the contagion of these ill precedents, both in civility and virtue, horribly infects children, as often as they come within reach of it. They frequently learn, from unbred or debauched servants, such language, untowardly tricks and vices, as otherwise they possibly would be ignorant of all their lives.

63. It is a hard matter wholly to prevent this mischief. You will have very good luck if you never have a clownish or vicious servant, and if from them your children never get any infection. But yet, as much must be done towards it as can be, and the children kept as much as may be in the company of their parents,* and those to whose care they are committed. To this purpose, their being in their presence should be made easy to them; they should be allowed the liberties and freedom suitable to their ages, and not be held under unnecessary restraints, when in their parents' or governor's sight. If it be a prison to them it is no wonder they should not like it. They must not be hindered from being children, or from playing or doing as children, but from doing ill. All other liberty is to be allowed them. Next, to make them in love with the company of their parents, they should receive all their good things there, and from their hands. The servants should be hindered from making court to them, by giving

* How much the Romans thought the education of their children a business that properly belonged to the parents themselves, see in Suetonius, August. sect. 64. Plutarch in vita Catonis Censoris; Diodorus Siculus, l. 2. chap. 3.

them strong drink, wine, fruit, playthings, and other such matters, which may make them in love with their conversation.

COMPANY.—PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

64. Having named company, I am almost ready to throw away my pen, and trouble you no farther on this subject. For since that does more than all precepts, rules, and instructions, methinks it is almost wholly in vain to make a long discourse of other things, and to talk of that almost to no purpose. For you will be ready to say, "What shall I do with my son? If I keep him always at home, he will be in danger to be my young master; and if I send him abroad, how is it possible to keep him from the contagion of rudeness and vice, which is everywhere so in fashion? In my house he will perhaps be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the world, wanting their change of company, and being used constantly to the same faces, he will, when he comes abroad, be a sheepish or conceited creature."

I confess, both sides have their inconveniences. Being abroad, it is true, will make him bolder, and better able to bustle and shift amongst boys of his own age, and the emulation of school-fellows often puts life and industry into young lads. But till you can find a school, wherein it is possible for the master to look after the manners of his scholars, and can show as great effects of his care of forming their minds to virtue, and their carriage to good breeding, as of forming their tongues to the learned languages, you must confess that you have a strange value for words, when, preferring the languages of the ancient Greeks and Romans to that which made them such brave men, you think it worth while to hazard your son's innocence and virtue, for a little Greek and Latin. For, as for that boldness and spirit, which lads get amongst their playfellows at school, it has ordinarily such a mixture of rudeness, and an ill-turned confidence, that those misbecoming and disingenuous ways of shifting in the world must be unlearned, and all the tincture washed out again, to make way for better principles, and such manners as make a truly worthy man. He that considers how diametrically opposite the skill of living well, and managing, as a man should do, his affairs in the world, is to that malapertness, tricking, or violence, learnt among school-boys, will think the faults of a privater education infinitely to be preferred to such improvements, and will take care to preserve his child's innocence and modesty at home, as being nearer of kin, and more in the way of those qualities, which make a useful and able man. Nor does any one find, or so much as suspect, that that retirement and bashfulness which their daughters are brought up in, makes them less knowing or less able women. Conversation, when they come into the world, soon gives them a becoming assurance, and whatsoever beyond that, there is of rough and boisterous, may in men be very well spared too; for courage and steadiness, as I take it, lie not in roughness and ill-breeding.

Virtue is harder to be got than a knowledge of the world, and if lost in a young man, is seldom recovered. Sheepishness and ignorance of the world, the faults imputed to a private education, are neither the necessary consequences of being bred at home, nor, if they were, are they incurable evils. Vice is the more stubborn, as well as the more dangerous evil of the two, and therefore, in the first place, to be fenced against. If that sheepish softness, which often enervates those who are bred like fondlings at home, be carefully to be avoided, it

is principally so for virtue's sake, for fear lest such a yielding temper should be too susceptible of vicious impressions, and expose the novice too easily to be corrupted. A young man before he leaves the shelter of his father's house, and the guard of a tutor, should be fortified with resolution, and made acquainted with men, to secure his virtue, lest he should be led into some ruinous course, or fatal precipice, before he is sufficiently acquainted with the dangers of conversation, and has steadiness enough not to yield to every temptation. Were it not for this, a young man's bashfulness, and ignorance of the world, would not so much need an early care. Conversation would cure it in a great measure, or, if that will not do it early enough, it is only a stronger reason for a good tutor at home. For, if pains be to be taken to give him a manly air and assurance betimes, it is chiefly as a fence to his virtue when he goes into the world, under his own conduct.

It is preposterous, therefore, to sacrifice his innocency to the attaining of confidence, and some little skill of bustling for himself among others, by his conversation with ill-bred and vicious boys, when the chief use of that sturdiness, and standing upon his own legs, is only for the preservation of his virtue. For if confidence or cunning come once to mix with vice, and support his miscarriages, he is only the surer lost, and you must undo again, and strip him of that he has got from his companions, or give him up to ruin. Boys will unavoidably be taught assurance by conversation with men, when they are brought into it, and that is time enough. Modesty and submission, till then, better fits them for instruction, and therefore there needs not any great care to stock them with confidence before-hand. That which requires most time, pains, and assiduity, is to work into them the principles and practice of virtue and good breeding. This is the seasoning they should be prepared with, so as not easily to be got out again; this they had need to be well provided with. For conversation, when they come into the world, will add to their knowledge and assurance, but be too apt to take from their virtue, which therefore they ought to be plentifully stored with, and have that tincture sunk deep into them.

How they should be fitted for conversation, and entered into the world, when they are ripe for it, we shall consider in another place. But how any one's being put into a mixed herd of unruly boys, and there learning to wrangle at trap, or rook at span-farthing, fits him for civil conversation, or business, I do not see. And what qualities are ordinarily to be got from such a troop of playfellows, as schools usually assemble together, from parents of all kinds, that a father should so much covet it, is hard to divine. I am sure, he who is able to be at the charge of a tutor, at home, may there give his son a more genteel carriage, more manly thoughts, and a sense of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater proficiency in learning into the bargain, and ripen him up sooner into a man, than any at school can do. Not that I blame the schoolmaster in this, or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three pupils in the same house, and three or fourscore boys lodged up and down. For, let the master's industry and skill be ever so great, it is impossible he should have fifty or an hundred scholars under his eye, any longer than they are in the school together; nor can it be expected, that he should instruct them successfully in anything but their books; the forming of their minds and manners requiring a constant attention, and particular application to every single boy, which is impossible in a numerous flock, and would be wholly in vain,

(could he have time to study and correct every one's particular defects and wrong inclinations,) when the lad was to be left to himself, or the prevailing infection of his fellows, the greatest part of the four-and-twenty hours.

But fathers, observing that fortune is often most successfully courted by bold and bustling men, are glad to see their sons pert and forward betimes, take it for a happy omen, that they will be thriving men, and look on the tricks they play their school-fellows, or learn from them, as a proficiency in the art of living and making their way through the world. But I must take the liberty to say, that he that lays the foundation of his son's fortune in virtue and good breeding, takes the only sure and warrantable way. And it is not the waggeries or cheats practiced among school-boys, it is not their roughness one to another, nor the well-laid plots of robbing an orchard together, that makes an able man; but the principles of justice, generosity, and sobriety, joined with observation and industry, qualities which I judge school-boys do not learn much of one another. And if a young gentleman, bred at home, be not taught more of them, than he could learn at school, his father has made a very ill choice of a tutor. Take a boy from the top of a grammar-school, and one of the same age, bred as he should be in his father's family, and bring them into good company together, and then see which of the two will have the more manly carriage, and address himself with the more becoming assurance to strangers. Here, I imagine, the school-boy's confidence will either fail or discredit him; and if it be such as fits him only for the conversation of boys, he had better be without it.

VICE.

Vice, if we may believe the general complaint, ripens so fast now-a-days, and runs up to seed so early in young people, that it is impossible to keep a lad from the spreading contagion, if you will venture him abroad in the herd, and trust to chance, or his own inclination, for the choice of his company at school. By what fate vice has so thriven amongst us these few years past, and by what hands it has been nursed up into so uncontrolled a dominion, I shall leave to others to inquire. I wish that those who complain of the great decay of Christian piety and virtue everywhere, and of learning and acquired improvements in the gentry of this generation, would consider how to retrieve them in the next. This I am sure, that, if the foundation of it be not laid in the education and principling of the youth, all other endeavors will be in vain. And if the innocence, sobriety, and industry of those who are coming up, be not taken care of and preserved, it will be ridiculous to expect, that those who are to succeed next on the stage, should abound in that virtue, ability, and learning, which has hitherto made England considerable in the world. I was going to add courage too, though it has been looked on as the natural inheritance of Englishmen. What has been talked of some late actions at sea, of a kind unknown to our ancestors, gives me occasion to say, that debauchery sinks the courage of men; and when dissoluteness has eaten out the sense of true honor, bravery seldom stays long after it. And I think it impossible to find an instance of any nation, however renowned for their valor, who ever kept their credit in arms, or made themselves redoubtable amongst their neighbors, after corruption had once broke through, and dissolved the restraint of discipline, and vice was grown to such a head that it durst show itself barefaced, without being out of countenance.

VIRTUE.

It is virtue, then, direct virtue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education, and not a forwárd pertness, or any little arts of shifting. All other considerations and accomplishments should give way, and be postponed, to this. This is the solid and substantial good, which tutors should not only read lectures, and talk of; but the labor and art of education should furnish the mind with, and fasten there, and never cease till the young man had a true relish of it, and placed his strength, his glory, and his pleasure in it.

PRIVATE EDUCATION.

The more this advances, the easier way will be made for other accomplishments in their turns. For he that is brought to submit to virtue, will not be refractory, or resty, in anything that becomes him. And, therefore, I can not but prefer breeding of a young gentleman at home in his father's sight, under a good governor, as much the best and safest way to this great and main end of education, when it can be had, and is ordered as it should be. Gentlemen's houses are seldom without variety of company; they should use their sons to all the strange faces that come there, and engage them in conversation with men of parts and breeding, as soon as they are capable of it. And why those who live in the country, should not take them with them, when they make visits of civility to their neighbors, I know not; this I am sure, a father that breeds his son at home, has the opportunity to have him more in his own company, and there give him what encouragement he thinks fit, and can keep him better from the taint of servants, and the meaner sort of people, than is possible to be done abroad. But what shall be resolved in the case, must in great measure be left to the parents, to be determined by their circumstances and conveniences. Only I think it the worst sort of good husbandry for a father not to strain himself a little for his son's breeding, which, let his condition be what it will, is the best portion he can leave him. But if, after all, it shall be thought by some, that the breeding at home has too little company, and that at ordinary schools not such as it should be for a young gentleman, I think there might be ways found out to avoid the inconveniences on the one side and the other.

EXAMPLE.

65. Having under consideration how great the influence of company is, and how prone we are all, especially children, to imitation; I must here take the liberty to mind parents of this one thing, viz., that he that will have his son have a respect for him and his orders, must himself have a great reverence for his son. "Maxima debetur pueris reverentia." You must do nothing before him, which you would not have him imitate. If any thing escape you which you would have pass for a fault in him, he will be sure to shelter himself under your example, and shelter himself so, as that it will not be easy to come at him to correct it in him the right way. If you punish him for what he sees you practice yourself, he will not think that severity to proceed from kindness in you, or carefulness to amend a fault in him; but will be apt to interpret it the peevishness and arbitrary imperiousness of a father, who, without any ground for it, would deny his son the liberty and pleasure he takes himself. Or, if you assume to yourself the liberty you have taken, as a privilege belonging to riper years, to which a child must not aspire, you do but add new force to your exam-

ple, and recommend the action the more powerfully to him. For you must always remember, that children affect to be men earlier than is thought: and they love breeches, not for their cut or ease, but because the having them is a mark or a step towards manhood. What I say of the father's carriage before his children, must extend itself to all those who have any authority over them, or for whom he would have them have any respect.

PUNISHMENTS.

66. But to return to the business of rewards and punishments. All the actions of childishness, and unfashionable carriage, and whatever time and age will of itself be sure to reform, being, (as I have said,) exempt from the discipline of the rod, there will not be so much need of beating children as is generally made use of. To which if we add learning to read, write, dance, foreign languages, &c., as under the same privilege, there will be but very rarely any occasion for blows or force in an ingenuous education. The right way to teach them to those things is, to give them a liking and inclination to what you propose to them to be learned, and that will engage their industry and application. This I think no hard matter to do, if children be handled as they should be, and the rewards and punishments above mentioned be carefully applied, and with them these few rules observed in the method of instructing them.

TASKS.

67. 1. None of the things they are to learn should ever be made a burden to them, or imposed on them as a task. Whatever is so proposed presently becomes irksome: the mind takes an aversion to it, though before it were a thing of delight or indifferency. Let a child be but ordered to whip his top at a certain time every day, whether he has or has not a mind to; let this be but required of him as a duty, wherein he must spend so many hours morning and afternoon, and see whether he will not soon be weary of any play at this rate. Is it not so with grown men? What they do cheerfully of themselves, do they not presently grow sick of, and can no more endure, as soon as they find it is expected of them as a duty? Children have as much a mind to show that they are free, that their own good actions come from themselves, that they are absolute and independent, as any of the proudest of you grown men, think of them as you please.

DISPOSITION.

68. 2. As a consequence of this, they should seldom be put about doing even those things you have got an inclination in them to, but when they have a mind and disposition to it. He that loves reading, writing, music, &c., finds yet in himself certain seasons wherein those things have no relish to him: and, if at that time he forces himself to it, he only pothers and wearies himself to no purpose. So it is with children. This change of temper should be carefully observed in them, and the favorable seasons of aptitude and inclination be heedfully laid hold of: and if they are not often enough forward of themselves, a good disposition should be talked into them, before they be set upon any thing. This I think no hard matter for a discreet tutor to do, who has studied his pupil's temper, and will be at a little pains to fill his head with suitable ideas, such as may make him in love with the present business. By this means a great deal of time and tiring would be saved: for a child will learn three times as much when he is in tune, as he will with double the time and pains, when he goes

awkwardly, or is dragged unwillingly to it. If this were minded as it should, children might be permitted to weary themselves with play, and yet have time enough to learn what is suited to the capacity of each age. But no such thing is considered in the ordinary way of education, nor can it well be. That rough discipline of the rod is built upon other principles, has no attraction in it, regards not what humour children are in, nor looks after favorable seasons of inclination. And indeed it would be rediculous, when compulsion and blows have raised an aversion in the child to his task, to expect he should freely of his own accord leave his play, and with pleasure court the occasions of learning: whereas, were matters ordered right, learning any thing they should be taught might be made as much a recreation to their play, as their play is to their learning. The pains are equal on both sides: nor is it that which troubles them; for they love to be busy, and the change and variety is that which naturally delights them. The only odds is, in that which we call play they act at liberty, and employ their pains, (whereof you may observe them never sparing,) freely; but what they are to learn, is forced upon them; they are called, compelled, and driven to it. This is that which at first entrance balks and cools them; they want their liberty: get them but to ask their tutor to teach them, as they do often their play-fellows, instead of his calling upon them to learn; and they being satisfied that they act as freely in this as they do in other things, they will go on with as much pleasure in it, and it will not differ from their other sports and play. By these ways, carefully pursued, a child may be brought to desire to be taught any thing you have a mind he should learn. The hardest part, I confess, is with the first or eldest; but when once he is set aright, it is easy by him to lead the rest whither one will.

69. Though it be past doubt, that the fittest time for children to learn any thing is when their minds are in tune, and well disposed to it; when neither flagging of spirit, nor intentness of thought upon something else, makes them awkward and averse; yet two things are to be taken care of: 1. that these seasons either not being warily observed, and laid hold on, as often as they return; or else not returning as often as they should; the improvement of the child be not thereby neglected, and so he be let grow into an habitual idleness, and confirmed in this indisposition. 2. That though other things are ill learned when the mind is either indisposed, or otherwise taken up; yet it is of great moment, and worth our endeavors, to teach the mind to get the mastery over itself; and to be able, upon choice, to take itself off from the hot pursuit of one thing, and set itself upon another, with facility and delight; or at any time to shake off its sluggishness, and vigorously employ itself about what reason, or the advice of another, shall direct. This is to be done in children, by trying them sometimes, when they are by laziness unbent, or by avocation bent another way, and endeavoring to make them buckle to the thing proposed. If by this means the mind can get an habitual dominion over itself, lay by ideas or business, as occasion requires, and betake itself to new and less acceptable employments without reluctancy or discomposure, it will be an advantage of more consequence than Latin or logic, or most of those things children are usually required to learn.

COMPULSION.

70. Children being more active and busy in that age than in any other part of their life, and being indifferent to any thing they can do, so they may be but

doing; dancing and scotch-hoppers would be the same thing to them, were the encouragements and discouragements equal. But to things we would have them learn, the great and only discouragement I can observe is, that they are called to it; it is made their business; they are teased and chid about it, and do it with trembling and apprehension; or, when they come willingly to it, are kept too long at it, till they are quite tired; all which entrenches too much on that natural freedom they extremely affect. And it is that liberty alone, which gives the true relish and delight to their ordinary play games. Turn the tables, and you will find, they will soon change their application; especially if they see the examples of others, whom they esteem and think above themselves. And if the things which they observe others to do, be ordered so that they insinuate themselves into them, as the privilege of an age or condition above theirs; then ambition and the desire still to get forward, and higher, and to be like those above them, will set them on work, and make them go on with vigor and pleasure; pleasure in what they have begun by their own desire. In which way the enjoyment of their dearly beloved freedom will be no small encouragement to them. To all of which, if there be added the satisfaction of credit and reputation, I am apt to think there will need no other spur to excite their application and assiduity, as much as is necessary. I confess, there needs patience and skill, gentleness and attention, and a prudent conduct, to attain this at first. But why have you a tutor, if there needed no pains? But when this is once established, all the rest will follow more easily than in any more severe and imperious discipline. And I think it no hard matter to gain this point; I am sure it will not be, where children have no ill examples set before them. The great danger therefore I apprehend is only from servants, and other ill-ordered children, or such other vicious or foolish people, who spoil children, both by the ill pattern they set before them in their own ill manners, and by giving them together the two things they should never have at once; I mean, vicious pleasures and commendation.

CHIDING.

71. As children should very seldom be corrected by blows; so, I think, frequent, and especially passionate chiding, of almost as ill consequence. It lessens the authority of the parents, and the respect of the child: for I bid you still remember, they distinguish early betwixt passion and reason: and as they can not but have a reverence for what comes from the latter, so they quickly grow into a contempt of the former; or if it causes a present terror, yet it soon wears off: and natural inclination will easily learn to slight such scarecrows, which make a noise, but are not animated by reason. Children being to be restrained by the parents only in vicious (which in their tender years, are only a few,) things, a look or nod only ought to correct them, when they do amiss: or, if words are sometimes to be used, they ought to be grave, kind and sober, representing the ill, or unbecomingness of the faults, rather than a hasty rating of the child for it, which makes him not sufficiently distinguish whether your dislike be not more directed to him than his fault. Passionate chiding usually carries rough and ill language with it, which has this further ill effect, that it teaches and justifies it in children: and the names that their parents or preceptors give them, they will not be ashamed or backward to bestow on others, having so good authority for the use of them.

OBSTINACY.

72. I foresee here it will be objected to me: what then, will you have children never beaten, nor chid, for any fault? this will be to let loose the reins to all kinds of disorder. Not so much as is imagined, if a right course has been taken in the first seasoning of their minds, and implanting that awe of their parents above-mentioned. For beating, by constant observation, is found to do little good, where the smart of it is all the punishment is feared or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears out with the memory of it. But yet there is one, and but one fault, for which I think children should be beaten; and that is obstinacy or rebellion. And in this too I would have it ordered so, if it can be, that the shame of the whipping, and not the pain, should be the greatest part of the punishment. Shame of doing amiss, and deserving chastisement, is the only true restraint belonging to virtue. The smart of the rod, if shame accompanies it not, soon ceases, and is forgotten, and will quickly, by use, loose its terror. I have known the children of a person of quality kept in awe, by the fear of having their shoes pulled off, as much as others by apprehensions of a rod hanging over them. Some such punishment I think better than beating; for it is shame of the fault, and the disgrace that attends it, that they should stand in fear of, rather than pain, if you would have them have a temper truly ingenuous. But stubbornness, and an obstinate disobedience, must be mastered with a force and blows: for this there is no other remedy. Whatever particular action you bid him do, or forbear, you must be sure to see yourself obeyed; no quarter, in this case, no resistance. For when once it comes to be a trial of skill, a contest for mastery betwixt you, as it is, if you command, and he refuses; you must be sure to carry it, whatever blows it costs, if a nod or words will not prevail; unless, for ever after, you intend to live in obedience to your son. A prudent and kind mother, of my acquaintance, was, on such an occasion, forced to whip her little daughter, at her first coming home from nurse, eight times successively, the same morning, before she could master her stubbornness, and obtain a compliance in a very easy and indifferent matter. If she had left off sooner, and stopped at the seventh whipping, she had spoiled the child forever; and, by her unprevailing blows, only confirmed her refractoriness, very hardly afterwards to be cured: but wisely persisting, till she had bent her mind, and suppled her will, the only end of correction and chastisement, she established her authority thoroughly in the very first occasions, and had ever after a very ready compliance and obedience in all things from her daughter. For, as this was the first time, so, I think, it was the last too she ever struck her.

The pain of the rod, the first occasion that requires it, continued and increased without leaving off, till it has thoroughly prevailed, should first bend the mind and settle the parent's authority; and then gravity, mixed with kindness should for ever after keep it.

This, if well reflected on, would make people more wary in the use of the rod and the cudgel; and keep them from being so apt to think beating the safe and universal remedy, to be applied at random, on all occasions. This is certain, however, if it does no good, it does great harm; if it reaches not the mind, and makes not the will supple, it hardens the offender; and, whatever pains it has suffered for it, it does but endear to him his beloved stubbornness, which has got him this time the victory, and prepares him to contest and hope

for it for the future. Thus, I doubt not, but by ill-ordered correction, many have been taught to be obstinate and refractory, who otherwise would have been very pliant and tractable. For, if you punish a child so, as if it were only to revenge the past fault, which has raised your choler; what operation can this have upon his mind, which is the part to be amended? If there were no sturdy humor or willfulness mixed with his fault, there was nothing in it that required the severity of blows. A kind of grave admonition is enough to remedy the slips of frailty, forgetfulness, or inadvertency, and is as much as they will stand in need of But, if there were a perverseness in the will, if it were a designed, resolved disobedience, the punishment is not to be measured by the greatness or smallness of the matter wherein it appeared, but by the opposition it carries, and stands in, to that respect and submission that is due to the father's orders; which must always be rigorously exacted, and the blows by pauses laid on, till they reach the mind, and you perceive the signs of a true sorrow, shame, and purpose of obedience.

This, I confess, requires something more than setting children a task, and whipping them without any more ado, if it be not done, and done to our fancy. This requires care, attention, observation, and a nice study of children's tempers, and weighing their faults well, before we come to this sort of punishment. But is not that better than always to have a rod in hand, as the only instrument of government; and, by frequent use of it on all occasions, misapply and render inefficacious this last and useful remedy, where there is need of it? For what else can be expected, when it is promiscuously used upon every little slip? When a mistake in concordance, or a wrong position in verse, shall have the severity of the lash, in a well-tempered and industrious lad, as surely as a willful crime in an obstinate and perverse offender; how can such a way of correction be expected to do good on the mind, and set that right, which is the only thing to be looked after? and, when set right, brings all the rest that you can desire along with it.

73. Where a wrong bent of the will wants not amendment, there can be no need of blows. All other faults, where the mind is rightly disposed, and refuses not the government and authority of the father or tutor, are but mistakes, and often be over looked; or, when they are taken notice of, need no other but the gentle remedies of advice, direction, and reproof; till the repeated and willful neglect of these shows the fault to be in the mind, and that a manifest perverseness of the will lies at the root of their disobedience. But whenever obstinacy, which is an open defiance, appears, that can not be winked at, or neglected, but must, in the first instance, be subdued and mastered; only care must be had that we mistake not, and we must be sure it is obstinacy, and nothing else.

74. But since the occasions of punishment, especially beating, are as much to be avoided as may be, I think it should not be often brought to this point. If the awe I spoke of be once got, a look will be sufficient in most cases. Nor indeed should be the same carriage, seriousness, or application be expected from young children, as from those of riper growth. They must be permitted, as I said, the foolish and childish actions suitable to their years, without taking notice of them; inadvertency, carelessness, and gaiety, is the character of that age. I think the severity I spoke of is not to extend itself to such unseasonable restraints; nor is that hastily to be interpreted obstinacy or willfulness, which is the natural product of their age or temper. In such miscarriages they

are to be assisted, and helped towards an amendment, as weak people under a natural infirmity; which, though they are warned of, yet every relapse must not be counted a perfect neglect, and they presently treated as obstinate. Faults of frailty, as they should never be neglected, or let pass without minding; so, unless the will mixed with them, they should never be exaggerated, or very sharply reproved; but with a gentle hand set right, as time and age permit. By this means, children will come to see what is in any miscarriage that is chiefly offensive, and so learn to avoid it. This will encourage them to keep their wills right, which is the great business: when they find that it preserves them from any great displeasure; and that in all their other failings they meet with the kind concern and help, rather than the anger and passionate reproaches, of their tutor and parents. Keep them from vice, and vicious dispositions, and such a kind of behavior in general will come, with every degree of their age, as is suitable to that age, and the company they ordinarily converse with: and as they grow in years, they will grow in attention and application. But that your words may always carry weight and authority with them, if it shall happen upon any occasion, that you bid him leave off the doing of any even childish things, you must be sure to carry the point, and not let him have the mastery. But yet, I say, I would have the father seldom interpose his authority and command in these cases, or in any other, but such as have a tendency to vicious habits. I think there are better ways of prevailing with them; and a gentle persuasion in reasoning, (when the first point of submission to your will is got,) will most times do much better.

REASONING.

75. It will perhaps be wondered, that I mention reasoning with children: and yet I can not but think that the true way of dealing with them. They understand it as early as they do language; and if I mis observe not, they love to be treated as rational creatures sooner than is imagined. It is a pride should be cherished in them, and, as much as can be, made the greatest instrument to turn them by.

But when I talk of reasoning, I do not intend any other but such as is suited to the child's capacity and apprehension. Nobody can think a boy of three or seven years old should be argued with as a grown man. Long discourses, and philosophical reasonings, at best amaze and confound, but do not instruct, children. When I say, therefore, that they must be treated as rational creatures, I mean, that you should make them sensible, by the mildness of your carriage, and the composure, even in your correction of them, that what you do is reasonable in you, and useful and necessary for them; and that it is not out of caprice, passion, or fancy, that you command or forbid them any thing. This they are capable of understanding; and there is no virtue they should be excited to, nor fault they should be kept from, which I do not think they may be convinced of: but it must be by such reasons as their age and understanding are capable of, and those proposed always in very few and plain words. The foundations on which several duties are built, and the fountains of right and wrong, from which they spring, are not, perhaps, easily to be let into the minds of grown men, not used to abstract their thoughts from common received opinions. Much less are children capable of reasonings from remote principles. They can not conceive the force of long deductions: the reasons that move

them must be obvious, and level to their thoughts, and such as may, (if I may so say,) be felt and touched. But yet, if their age, temper, and inclinations be considered, they will never want such motives as may be sufficient to convince them. If there be no other more particular, yet these will always be intelligible, and of force, to deter them from any fault fit to be taken notice of in them, viz. that it will be a discredit and disgrace to them, and displease you.

EXAMPLES.

76. But, of all the ways whereby children are to be instructed, and their manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and most efficacious, is to set before their eyes the examples of those things you would have them do or avoid. Which, when they are pointed out to them, in the practice of persons within their knowledge, with some reflections on their beauty or unbecomingness, are of more force to draw or deter their imitation than any discourses which can be made to them. Virtues and vices can by no words be so plainly set before their understandings as the actions of other men will show them, when you direct their observation, and bid them view this or that good or bad quality in their practice. And the beauty or uncomeliness of many things, in good and ill breeding, will be better learnt, and make deeper impressions, on them, in the examples of others, than from any rules or instructions can be given about them.

This is a method to be used, not only whilst they are young; but to be continued, even as long as they shall be under another's tuition or conduct. Nay, I know not whether it be not the best way to be used by a father, as long as he shall think fit, on any occasion, to reform any thing he wishes mended in his son; nothing sinking so gently, and so deep, into men's minds, as example. And what ill they either overlook, or indulge in themselves, they can not but dislike, and be ashamed of, when it is set before them in another.

WHIPPING.

77. It may be doubted concerning whipping, when, as the last remedy, it comes to be necessary; at what times, and by whom it should be done: whether presently upon the committing the fault, whilst it is yet fresh and hot; and whether parents themselves should beat their children. As to the first; I think it should not be done presently, lest passion mingle with it; and so, though it exceed the just proportion, yet it loses of its due weight: for even children discern when we do things in passion. But, as I said before, that has most weight with them, that appears sedately to come from their parents' reason; and they are not without this distinction. Next, if you have any discreet servant capable of it, and has the place of governing your child, (for if you have a tutor, there is no doubt,) I think it is best the smart should come more immediately from another's hand, though by the parent's order, who should see it done; whereby the parent's authority will be preserved, and the child's aversion, for the pain it suffers, rather be turned on the person that immediately inflicts it. For I would have a father seldom strike his child, but upon very urgent necessity, and as the last remedy: and then perhaps it will be fit to do it so that the child should not quickly forget it.

78. But, as I said before, beating is the worst, and therefore the last, means to be used in the correction of children; and that only in cases of

extremity, after all gentler ways have been tried, and proved unsuccessful; which, if well observed, there will be very seldom any need of blows. For, it not being to be imagined that a child will often, if ever, dispute his father's present command in any particular instance; and the father not interposing his absolute authority, in peremptory rules, concerning either childish or indifferent actions, wherein his son is to have his liberty; or concerning his learning or improvement, wherein there is no compulsion to be used; there remains only the prohibition of some vicious actions, wherein a child is capable of obstinacy, and consequently can deserve beating: and so there will be but very few occasions of that discipline to be used by any one, who considers well, and orders his child's education as it should be. For the first seven years, what vices can a child be guilty of, but lying, or some ill-natured tricks; the repeated commission whereof, after his father's direct command against it, shall bring him into the condemnation of obstinacy, and the chastisement of the rod? If any vicious inclination in him be, in the first appearance and instances of it, treated as it should be, first with your wonder; and then if returning again a second time, discountenanced with the severe brow of the father, tutor, and all about him, and a treatment suitable to the state of discredit before mentioned; and this continued till he be made sensible and ashamed of his fault; I imagine there will be no need of any other correction, nor ever any occasion to come to blows. The necessity of such chastisement is usually the consequence only of former indulgences or neglects. If vicious inclinations were watched from the beginning, and the first irregularities which they caused corrected by those gentle ways, we should seldom have to do with more than one disorder at once: which would be easily set right without any stir or noise, and not require so harsh a discipline as beating. Thus, one by one, as they appeared, they might all be weeded out, without any signs or memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their faults, (by indulging and humoring our little ones,) grow up, till they are sturdy and numerous, and the deformity of them makes us ashamed and uneasy, we are fain to come to the plow and the harrow; the spade and the pick-axe must go deep to come at the roots, and all the force, skill, and diligence we can use is scarce enough to cleanse the vitiated seed-plat, overgrown with weeds, and restore us the hopes of fruits to reward our pains in its season.

79. This course, if observed, will spare both father and child the trouble of repeated injunctions, and multiplied rules of doing and forbearing. For I am of opinion, that of those actions which tend to vicious habits, (which are those alone that a father should interpose his authority and commands in,) none should be forbidden children till they are found guilty of them. For such untimely prohibitions, if they do nothing worse, do at least so much towards teaching and allowing them, that they suppose that children may be guilty of them, who would possibly be safer in the ignorance of any such faults. And the best remedy to stop them, is, as I have said, to show wonder and amazement at any such action as hath a vicious tendency, when it is first taken notice of in a child. For example, when he is first found in a lie, or any ill-natured trick, the first remedy should be, to talk to him of it as a strange monstrous matter, that it could not be imagined he would have done; and so shame him out of it.

80. It will be, (it is like,) objected, that whatsoever I fancy of the tractableness of children, and the prevalency of those softer ways of shame and commendation; yet there are many, who will never apply themselves to their

books, and to what they ought to learn, unless they are scourged to it. This, I fear, is nothing but the language of ordinary schools and fashion, which have never suffered the other to be tried as it should be, in places where it could be taken notice of. Why, else, does the learning of Latin and Greek need the rod, when French and Italian need it not? Children learn to dance and fence without whipping: nay, arithmetic, drawing, &c., they apply themselves well enough to, without beating; which would make one suspect, that there is something strange, unnatural, and disagreeable to that age in the things required in grammar-schools, or in the methods used there, that children can not be brought to, without the severity of the lash, and hardly with that too; or else, that it is a mistake that those tongues could not be taught them without beating.

81. But let us suppose some so negligent or idle, that they will not be brought to learn by the gentle ways proposed, (for we must grant that there will be children found of all tempers;) yet it does not thence follow that the rough discipline of the cudgel is to be used to all. Nor can any one be concluded unmanageable by the milder methods of government, till they have been thoroughly tried upon him; and, if they will not prevail with him to use his endeavors, and do what is in his power to do, we make no excuses for the obstinate: blows are the proper remedies for those: but blows laid on in a way different from the ordinary. He that willfully neglects his book, and stubbornly refuses any thing he can do, required of him by his father, expressing himself in a positive serious command, should not be corrected with two or three angry lashes, for not performing his task, and the same punishment repeated again and again, upon every the like default: but, when it is brought to that pass, that willfulness evidently shows itself and makes blows necessary, I think the chastisement should be a little more sedate, and a little more severe, and the whipping, (mingled with admonition between,) so continued, till the impressions of it, on the mind, were found legible in the face, voice, and submission of the child, not so sensible of the smart, as of the fault he has been guilty of, and melting in true sorrow under it. If such a correction as this tried some few times at fit distances, and carried to the utmost severity, with the visible displeasure of the father all the while, will not work the effect, turn the mind, and produce a future compliance; what can be hoped from blows, and to what purpose should they be any more used? Beating, when you can expect no good from it, will look more like the fury of an enraged enemy than the good-will of a compassionate friend; and such chastisement carries with it only provocation, without any prospect of amendment. If it be any father's misfortune to have a son thus perverse and untractable, I know not what more he can do but pray for him. But I imagine, if a right course be taken with children from the beginning, very few will be found to be such; and when there are any such instances, they are not to be the rule for education of those who are better natured, and may be managed with better usage.

TUTORS AND GOVERNORS.

82. If a tutor can be got, that, thinking himself in the father's place, charged with his care, and relishing these things, will at the beginning apply himself to put them in practice, he will afterwards find his work very easy: and you will, I guess, have your son in a little time a greater proficient in both learning and breeding than perhaps you imagine. But let him by no means beat him, at any time, without your consent and direction; at least till you have expe-

rience of his discretion and temper. But yet, to keep up his authority with his pupil, besides concealing that he has not the power of the rod, you must be sure to use him with great respect yourself, and cause all your family to do so too. For you can not expect your son should have any regard for one whom he sees you, or his mother, or others slight. If you think him worthy of contempt, you have chosen amiss; and if you show any contempt of him, he will hardly escape it from your son: and whenever that happens, whatever worth he may have in himself, and abilities for this employment, they are all lost to your child, and can afterwards never be made useful to him.

83. As the father's example must teach the child respect for his tutor; so the tutor's example must lead the child into those actions he would have him do. His practice must by no means cross his precepts, unless he intend to set him wrong. It will be to no purpose for the tutor to talk of the restraint of the passions, whilst any of his own are let loose; and he will in vain endeavor to reform any vice or indecency in his pupil which he allows in himself. Ill patterns are sure to be followed more than good rules: and, therefore, he must also carefully preserve him from the influence of ill precedents, especially the most dangerous of all, the examples of the servants; from whose company he is to be kept, not by prohibitions, for that will but give him an itch after it, but by other ways I have mentioned.

84. In all the whole business of education, there is nothing like to be less hearkened to, or harder to be well observed, than what I am now going to say; and that is that children should, from their first beginning to talk, have some discreet, sober, nay wise person about them, whose care it should be to fashion them aright and keep them from all ill, especially the infection of bad company. I think this province requires great sobriety, temperance, tenderness, diligence, and discretion; qualities hardly to be found united in persons that are to be had for ordinary salaries, nor easily to be found anywhere. As to the charge of it, I think it will be the money best laid out that can be about our children; and, therefore, though it may be expensive more than is ordinary, yet it can not be thought dear. He that at any rate procures his child a good mind, well-principled, tempered to virtue and usefulness, and adorned with civility and good breeding, makes a better purchase for him, than if he had laid out the money for an addition of more earth to his former acres. Spare it in toys and play-games, in silk and ribbons, laces and other useless expenses, as much as you please; but be not sparing in so necessary a part as this. It is not good husbandry to make his fortune rich, and his mind poor. I have often, with great admiration, seen people lavish it profusely in tricking up their children in fine clothes, lodging, and feeding them sumptuously, allowing them more than enough of useless servants; and yet at the same time starve their minds, and not take sufficient care to cover that which is the most shameful nakedness, viz., their natural wrong inclinations and ignorance. This I can look on as no other than a sacrificing to their own vanity; it showing more their pride than true care of the good of their children. Whatsoever you employ to the advantage of your son's mind will show your true kindness, though it be to the lessening of his estate. A wise and good man can hardly want either the opinion or reality of being great and happy. But he that is foolish or vicious, can be neither great nor happy, what estate soever you leave him: and I ask you whether there be not men in the world whom you had rather have your son be,

with five hundred pounds per annum, than some other you know, with five thousand pounds?

85. The consideration of charge ought not, therefore, to deter those who are able: the great difficulty will be, where to find a proper person. For those of small age, parts and virtue, are unfit for this employment: and those that have greater, will hardly be got to undertake such a charge. You must, therefore, look out early, and inquire everywhere; for the world has people of all sorts: and I remember, Montaigne says in one of his essays, that the learned Castalio was fain to make trenchers at Basil, to keep himself from starving, when his father would have given any money for such a tutor for his son, and Castalio have willingly embraced such an employment upon very reasonable terms: but this was for want of intelligence.

86. If you find it difficult to meet with such a tutor as we desire, you are not to wonder. I only can say, spare no care nor cost to get such an one. All things are to be had that way: and I dare assure you, that, if you can get a good one, you will never repent the charge; but will always have the satisfaction to think it the money, of all other, the best laid out. But be sure take no body upon friends, or charitable, no, nor bare great commendations. Nay, if you will do as you ought, the reputation of a sober man, with a good stock of learning, (which is all usually required in a tutor,) will not be enough to serve your turn. In this choice be as curious as you would be in that of a wife for him: for you must not think of trial, or changing afterwards; that will cause great inconvenience to you, and greater to your son. When I consider the scruples and cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks as if I advised you to something which I would have offered at, but in effect not done. But he that shall consider, how much the business of a tutor, rightly employed, lies out of the road; and how remote it is from the thoughts of many, even of those who propose to themselves this employment; will perhaps be of my mind, that one fit to educate and form the mind of a young gentleman is not everywhere to be found; and that more than ordinary care is to be taken in the choice of him, or else you may fail of your end.

87. The character of a sober man, and a scholar, is, as I have above observed, what every one expects in a tutor. This generally is thought enough, and is all that parents commonly look for. But when such an one has emptied out, into his pupil, all the Latin and logic he has brought from the university, will that furniture make him a fine gentleman? Or, can it be expected, that he should be better bred, better skilled in the world, better principled in the grounds and foundations of true virtue and generosity, than his young tutor is?

To form a young gentleman, as he should be, it is fit his governor should himself be well-bred, understand the ways of carriage, and measures of civility, in all the variety of persons, times, and places; and keep his pupil, as much as his age requires, constantly to the observation of them. This is an art not to be learnt, nor taught by books: nothing can give it but good company and observation joined together. The tailor may make his clothes modish, and the dancing-master give fashion to his motions; yet neither of these, though they set off well, make a well-bred gentleman: no, though he have learning to boot; which, if not well managed, makes him more impertinent and intolerable in conversation. Breeding is that which sets a gloss upon all his other good qualities, and renders them useful to him, in procuring him the esteem and good will

of all that he comes near. Without good breeding, his other accomplishments make him pass but for proud, conceited, vain, or foolish.

Courage, in an ill-bred man, has the air, and escapes not the opinion, of brutality: learning becomes pedantry; wit, buffoonery; plainness, rusticity; good-nature, fawning: and there can not be a good quality in him which want of breeding will not warp, and disfigure to his disadvantage. Nay, virtue and parts, though they are allowed their due commendation, yet are not enough to procure a man a good reception, and make him welcome wherever he comes. Nobody contents himself with rough diamonds, and wears them so, who would appear with advantage. When they are polished and set, then they give a lustre. Good qualities are the substantial riches of the mind; but it is good breeding sets them off: and he that will be acceptable, must give beauty as well as strength to his actions. Solidity, or even usefulness, is not enough: a graceful way and fashion, in everything, is that which gives the ornament and liking. And, in most cases, the manner of doing is of more consequence than the thing done; and upon that depends the satisfaction, or disgust wherewith it is received. This, therefore, which lies not in the putting off the hat, nor making of compliments, but in a due and free composure of language, looks, motion, posture, place, &c., suited to persons and occasions, and can be learned only by habit and use, though it be above the capacity of children, and little ones should not be perplexed about it; yet it ought to be begun, and in a good measure learned, by a young gentleman whilst he is under a tutor, before he comes into the world upon his own legs; for then usually it is too late to hope to reform several habitual indecencies, which lie in little things. For the carriage is not as it should be, till it is become natural in every part; falling, as skillful musicians' fingers do, into harmonious order, without care and without thought. If in conversation a man's mind be taken up with a solicitous watchfulness about any part of his behavior, instead of being mended by it, it will be constrained, uneasy, and ungraceful.

Besides, this part is most necessary to be formed by the hands and care of a governor: because, though the errors committed in breeding are the first that are taken notice of by others, yet they are the last that any one is told of. Not but that the malice of the world is forward enough to tattle of them; but it is always out of his hearing who should make profit of their judgment, and reform himself by their censure. And, indeed, this is so nice a point to be meddled with, that even those who are friends, and wish it were mended, scarce ever dare mention it, and tell those they love that they are guilty in such or such cases of ill breeding. Errors in other things may often with civility be shown another; and it is no breach of good manners, or friendship, to set him right in other mistakes: but good breeding itself allows not a man to touch upon this; or to insinuate to another, that he is guilty of want of breeding. Such information can come only from those who have authority over them: and from them too it comes very hardly and harshly to a grown man; and, however softened, goes but ill down with any one who has lived ever so little in the world. Wherefore, it is necessary that this part should be the governor's principal care; that an habitual gracefulness, and politeness in all his carriage, may be settled in his charge, as much as may be, before he goes out of his hands: and that he may not need advice in this point when he has neither time nor disposition to receive it, nor has any body left to give it him. The tutor, therefore, ought in the first place to be well-bred: and a young gentleman who gets

this one qualification from his governor, sets out with great advantage; and will find, that this one accomplishment will more open his way to him, get him more friends, and carry him farther in the world, than all the hard words, or real knowledge, he has got from the liberal arts, or his tutor's learned encyclopedia; not that those should be neglected, but by no means preferred, or suffered to thrust out the other.

88. Besides being well-bred, the tutor should know the world well; the ways, the humors, the follies, the cheats, the faults of the age he is fallen into, and particularly of the country he lives in. These he should be able to show to his pupil, as he finds him capable; teach him skill in men, and their manners; pull off the mask which their several callings and pretenses cover them with; and make his pupil discern what lies at the bottom under such appearances; that he may not, as unexperienced young men are apt to do, if they are unwarned, take one thing for another, judge by the outside, and give himself up to show, and the insinuation of a fair carriage, or an obliging application. A governor should teach his scholar to guess at, and beware of the designs of men he hath to do with, neither with too much suspicion, nor too much confidence; but, as the young man is by nature most inclined to either side, rectify him, and bend him the other way. He should accustom him to make as much as is possible a true judgment of men by those marks which serve best to show what they are, and give a prospect into their inside; which often shows itself in little things; especially when they are not in parade, and upon their guard. He should acquaint him with the true state of the world, and dispose him to think no man better or worse, wiser or foolisher, than he really is. Thus, by safe and insensible degrees, he will pass from a boy to a man; which is the most hazardous step in all the whole course of life. This, therefore, should be carefully watched, and a young man with great diligence handed over it; and not, as now usually is done, be taken from a governor's conduct, and all at once thrown into the world under his own, not without manifest danger of immediate spoiling; there being nothing more frequent, than instances of the great looseness, extravagancy, and debauchery, which young men have run into, as soon as they have been let loose from a severe and strict education: which I think may be chiefly imputed to their wrong way of breeding, especially in this part; for having been bred up in a great ignorance of what the world truly is, and finding it quite another thing, when they come into it, than what they were taught it should be, and so imagined it was, are easily persuaded, by other kind of tutors, which they are sure to meet with, that the discipline they were kept under, and the lectures that were read to them, were but the formalities of education, and the restraints of childhood; that the freedom belonging to men, is to take their swing in a full enjoyment of what was before forbidden them. They show the young novice the world full of fashionable and glittering examples of this everywhere, and he is presently dazzled with them. My young master failing not to be willing to show himself a man, as much as any of the sparks of his years, lets himself loose to all the irregularities he finds in the most debauched; and thus courts credit and manliness, in the casting off the modesty and sobriety, he has till then been kept in; and thinks it brave, at his first setting out, to signalize himself in running counter to all the rules of virtue, which have been preached to him by his tutor.

The showing him the world as really it is, before he comes wholly into it, is one of the best means, I think, to prevent this mischief. He should, by degrees,

be informed of the vices in fashion, and warned of the applications and designs of those, who will make it their business to corrupt him. He should be told the arts they use, and the trains they lay; and now and then have set before him the tragical or ridiculous examples of those, who are ruining, or ruined this way. The age is not like to want instances of this kind, which should be made landmarks to him; that by the disgraces, diseases, beggary, and shame of hopeful young men thus brought to ruin, he may be precautioned, and be made to see, how those join in the contempt and neglect of them that are undone, who by pretenses of friendship and respect led them into it, and help to prey upon them whilst they were undoing; that he may see, before he buys it by a too dear experience that, those who persuade him not to follow the sober advices he has received from his governors, and the counsel of his own reason, which they call being governed by others, do it only, that they may have the government of him themselves; and make him believe he goes like a man of himself, by his own conduct, and for his own pleasure; when, in truth, he is wholly as a child led by them into those vices, which best serve their purposes. This is a knowledge which, upon all occasions, a tutor should endeavor to instill, and by all methods try to make him comprehend, and thoroughly relish.

I know it is often said, that to discover to a young man the vices of the age, is to teach them him. That I confess is a good deal so, according as it is done; and, therefore, requires a discreet man of parts, who knows the world, and can judge of the temper, inclination and weak side of his pupil. This farther is to be remembered, that it is not possible now (as perhaps formerly it was) to keep a young gentleman from vice, by a total ignorance of it; unless you will all his life mew him up in a closet, and never let him go into company. The longer he is kept thus hood-winked, the less he will see, when he comes abroad into open day-light, and be the more exposed to be a prey to himself, and others. And an old boy at his first appearance, with all the gravity of his ivy-bush about him, is sure to draw on him the eyes and chirping of the whole town volery; amongst which, there will not be wanting some birds of prey, that will presently be on the wing for him.

The only fence against the world is, a thorough knowledge of it; into which a young gentleman should be entered by degrees, as he can bear it; and the earlier the better, so he be in safe and skillful hands to guide him. The scene should be gently opened, and his entrance made step by step, and the dangers pointed out that attend him, from the several degrees, tempters, designs, and clubs of men. He should be prepared to be shocked by some, and caressed by others; warned who are like to oppose, who to mislead, who to undermine him, and who to serve him. He should be instructed how to know, and distinguish men; where he should let them see, and when dissemble the knowledge of them, and their aims and workings. And if he be too forward to venture upon his own strength and skill, the perplexity and trouble of a misadventure now and then, that reaches not his innocence, his health, or reputation, may not be an ill way to teach him more caution.

This, I confess, containing one great part of wisdom, is not the product of some superficial thoughts, or much reading; but the effect of experience and observation in a man, who has lived in the world with his eyes open, and conversed with men of all sorts. And, therefore, I think it of most value to be instilled into a young man, upon all occasions, which offer themselves, that when he comes to launch into the deep himself, he may not be like one at sea

without a line, compass, or sea-chart; but may have some notice beforehand of the rocks and shoals, the currents and quicksands, and know a little how to steer, that he sink not, before he get experience. He that thinks not this of more moment to his son, and for which he more needs a governor, than the languages and learned sciences, forgets of how much more use it is to judge right of men and manage his affairs wisely with them, than to speak Greek and Latin, or argue in mood and figure; or to have his head filled with the abstruse speculations of natural philosophy and metaphysics; nay, than to be well versed in Greek and Roman writers, though that be much better for a gentleman than to be a good peripatetic or Cartesian: because those ancient authors observed and painted mankind well, and give the best light into that kind of knowledge. He that goes into the eastern parts of Asia, will find able and acceptable men, without any of these: but without virtue, knowledge of the world, and civility, an accomplished and valuable man can be found nowhere.

A great part of the learning now in fashion in the schools of Europe, and that goes ordinarily into the round of education, a gentleman may in a good measure be unfurnished with, without any great disparagement to himself, or prejudice to his affairs. But prudence and good breeding are, in all the stations and occurrences of life, necessary; and most young men suffer in the want of them, and come rawer, and more awkward, into the world than they should, for this very reason, because these qualities, which are, of all other, the most necessary to be taught, and stand most in need of the assistance and help of a teacher, are generally neglected, and thought but a slight, or no part of a tutor's business. Latin and learning make all the noise: and the main stress is laid upon his proficiency in things, a great part whereof belongs not to a gentleman's calling; which is to have the knowledge of a man of business, a carriage suitable to his rank, and to be eminent and useful in his country, according to his station. Whenever either spare hours from that, or an inclination to perfect himself in some parts of knowledge, which his tutor did but just enter him in, set him upon any study; the first rudiments of it, which he learned before, will open the way enough for his own industry to carry him as far as his fancy will prompt, or his parts enable him to go: or, if he thinks it may save his time and pains, to be helped over some difficulties by the hands of a master, he may then take a man that is perfectly well skilled in it, or choose such an one as he thinks fittest for his purpose. But to initiate his pupil in any part of learning, as far as is necessary for a young man in the ordinary course of his studies, an ordinary skill in the governor is enough. Nor is it requisite that he should be a thorough scholar, or possess in perfection all those sciences, which it is convenient a young gentleman should have a taste of, in some general view, or short system. A gentleman that would penetrate deeper, must do it by his own genius and industry afterwards: for nobody ever went far in knowledge, or became eminent in any of the sciences by the discipline and constraint of a master.

The great work of a governor is to fashion the carriage, and form the mind; to settle in his pupil good habits, and the principles of virtue and wisdom; to give him by little and little, a view of mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praiseworthy; and in the prosecution of it, to give him vigor, activity and industry. The studies which he sets him upon, are but as it were the exercises of his Faculties, and employment of his time, to keep him from sauntering and idleness, to teach him application, and accus-

tom him to take pains, and to give him some little taste to what his own industry must perfect. For who expects, that under a tutor a young gentleman should be an accomplished critic, orator or logician; go to the bottom of metaphysics, natural philosophy or mathematics; or be a master in history or chronology? though something of each of these is to be taught him: but it is only to open the door that he may look in, and, as it were, begin an acquaintance, but not to dwell there: and a governor would be much blamed, that should keep his pupil too long, and lead him too far in most of them. But of good breeding, knowledge of the world, virtue, industry, and a love of reputation, he can not have too much: and if he have these, he will not long want what he needs or desires of the other.

And, since it can not be hoped he should have time and strength to learn all things, most pains should be taken about that which is most necessary; and that principally looked after which will be of most and frequentest use to him in the world.

Seneca complains of the contrary practice in his time; and yet the Burgersdiciuses and the Scheiblers did not swarm in those days, as they do now in these. What would he have thought, if he had lived now, when the tutors think it their great business to fill the studies and heads of their pupils with such authors as these? He would have had much more reason to say, as he does, "Non vitæ, sed scholæ discimus," We learn not to live, but to dispute; and our education fits us rather for the university than the world. But it is no wonder if those who make the fashion suit it to what they have, and not to what their pupils want. The fashion being once established, who can think it strange, that in this, as well as in all other things, it should prevail; and that the greatest part of those, who find their account in an easy submission to it, should be ready to cry out heresy, when any one departs from it? It is, nevertheless, matter of astonishment, that men of quality, and parts, should suffer themselves to be so far misled by custom and implicit faith. Reason, if consulted with, would advise that their children's time should be spent in acquiring what might be useful to them when they come to be men; rather than to have their heads stuffed with a deal of trash, a great part whereof they usually never do, (it is certain they never need to,) think on again as long as they live; and so much of it as does stick by them, they are only the worse for. This is so well known, that I appeal to parents themselves, who have been at cost to have their young heirs taught it, whether it be not ridiculous for their sons to have any tincture of that sort of learning, when they come abroad into the world; whether any appearance of it would not lessen and disgrace them in company. And that certainly must be an admirable acquisition, and deserves well to make a part in education, which men are ashamed of, where they are most concerned to show their parts and breeding.

There is yet another reason, why politeness of manners, and knowledge of the world, should principally be looked after in a tutor: and that is, because a man of parts and years may enter a lad far enough in any of those sciences, which he has no deep insight into himself. Books in these will be able to furnish him, and give him light and precedency enough, to go before a young follower: but he will never be able to set another right in the knowledge of the world, and, above all, in breeding, who is a novice in them himself.

This is a knowledge he must have about him, worn into him by use and conversation, and a long forming himself by what he has observed to be practiced

and allowed in the best company. This, if he has it not of his own, is nowhere to be borrowed, for the use of his pupil: or if he could find pertinent treatises of it in books, that would reach all the particulars of an English gentleman's behavior; his own ill-fashioned example, if he be not well-bred himself, would spoil all his lectures; it being impossible, that any one should come forth well-fashioned out of unpolished, ill-bred company.

I say this, not that I think such a tutor is every day to be met with, or to be had at the ordinary rates: but that those, who are able, may not be sparing of inquiry or cost in what is of so great moment; and that other parents, whose estates will not reach to greater salaries, may yet remember what they should principally have an eye to, in the choice of one to whom they would commit the education of their children; and what part they should chiefly look after themselves, whilst they are under their care, and as often as they come within their observation; and not think, that all lies in Latin and French, or some dry systems of logic and philosophy.

FAMILIARITY.

89. But to return to our method again. Though I have mentioned the severity of the father's brow, and the awe settled thereby in the mind of children when young, as one main instrument whereby their education is to be managed; yet I am far from being of an opinion, that it should be continued all along to them whilst they are under the discipline and government of pupilage, I think it should be relaxed, as fast as their age, discretion, and good behavior could allow it even to that degree, that a father will do well as his son grows up, and is capable of it, to talk familiarly with him; nay, ask his advice, and consult with him about those things wherein he has any knowledge or understanding. By this the father will gain two things, both of great moment. The one is, that it will put serious considerations into his son's thoughts, better than any rules or advices he can give him. The sooner you treat him as a man, the sooner he will begin to be one, and if you admit him into serious discourses sometimes with you, you will insensibly raise his mind above the usual amusements of youth, and those trifling occupations which it is commonly wasted in. For it is easy to observe, that many young men continue longer in the thought and conversation of school-boys, than otherwise they would, because their parents keep them at that distance, and in that low rank, by all their carriage to them.

90. Another thing of greater consequence, which you will obtain by such a way of treating him, will be his friendship. Many fathers, though they proportion to their sons liberal allowances, according to their age and condition, yet they keep the knowledge of their estates and concerns from them with as much reservedness as if they were guarding a secret of state from a spy or an enemy. This, if it looks not like jealousy, yet it wants those marks of kindness and intimacy, which a father should show to his son, and, no doubt, often hinders or abates that cheerfulness and satisfaction wherewith a son should address himself to, and rely upon his father. And I can not but often wonder to see fathers, who love their sons very well, yet so order the matter by a constant stiffness, and a mien of authority and distance to them all their lives, as if they were never to enjoy or have any comfort from those they love best in the world till they have lost them by being removed into another. Nothing cements and

establishes friendship and good-will so much as confident communication of concernments and affairs. Other kindnesses, without this, leave still some doubts; but when your son sees you open your mind to him, when he finds that you interest him in your affairs as things you are willing should, in their turn, come into his hands, he will be concerned for them as for his own, wait his season with patience, and love you in the mean time, who keep him not at the distance of a stranger. This will also make him see, that the enjoyment you have is not without care, which the more he is sensible of, the less will he envy you the possession, and the more think himself happy under the management of so favorable a friend, and so careful a father. There is scarce any young man of so little thought, or so void of sense, that would not be glad of a sure friend, that he might have recourse to, and freely consult on occasion. The reservedness and distance that fathers keep, often deprive their sons of that refuge which would be of more advantage to them than a hundred rebukes and chidings. Would your son engage in some frolic, or take a vagary, were it not much better he should do it with than without your knowledge? For since allowances for such things must be made to young men, the more you know of his intrigues and designs, the better will you be able to prevent great mischiefs; and, by letting him see what is like to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to avoid less inconveniences. Would you have him open his heart to you, and ask your advice? You must begin to do so with him first, and by your carriage beget that confidence.

91. But whatever he consults you about, unless it lead to some fatal and irremediable mischief, be sure you advise only as a friend of more experience; but with your advice mingle nothing of command or authority, nor more than you would to your equal, or a stranger. That would be to drive him forever from any farther demanding, or receiving advantage from your counsel. You must consider that he is a young man, and has pleasures and fancies which you are passed. You must not expect his inclinations should be just as yours, nor that at twenty he should have the same thoughts you have at fifty. All that you can wish is, that since youth must have some liberty, some outleaps, they might be with the ingenuity of a son, and under the eye of a father, and then no very great harm can come of it. The way to obtain this, as I said before, is (according as you find him capable,) to talk with him about your affairs, propose matters to him familiarly, and ask his advice; and when he ever lights on the right follow it as his, and if it succeed well, let him have the commendation. This will not at all lessen your authority, but increase his love and esteem of you. Whilst you keep your estate, the staff will still be in your own hands, and your authority the surer, the more it is strengthened with confidence and kindness. For you have not that power you ought to have over him, till he comes to be more afraid of offending so good a friend than of losing some part of his future expectation.

92. Familiarity of discourse, if it can become a father to his son, may much more be condescended to by a tutor to his pupil. All their time together should not be spent in reading of lectures, and magisterially dictating to him what he is to observe and follow, hearing him in his turn, and using him to reason about what is proposed, will make the rules go down the easier, and sink the deeper, and will give him a liking to study and instruction, and he will then begin to value knowledge, when he sees that it enables him to discourse, and he finds

the pleasure and credit of bearing a part in the conversation. and of having his reasons sometimes approved and hearkened to. Particularly in morality, prudence, and breeding, cases should be put to him, and his judgment asked; this opens the understanding better than maxims; how well soever explained, and settles the rules better in the memory for practice. This way lets things into the mind, which stick there and retain their evidence with them; whereas words at best are faint representations, being not so much as the true shadows of things, and are much sooner forgotten. He will better comprehend the foundations and measures of decency and justice, and have livelier and more lasting impressions of what he ought to do, by giving his opinion on cases proposed, and reasoning with his tutor on fit instances, than by giving a silent, negligent, sleepy audience to his tutor's lectures, and much more than by captious logical disputes, or set declamations of his own, upon any question. The one sets the thoughts upon wit, and false colors, and not upon truth; the other teaches fallacy, wrangling, and opiniatry, and they are both of them things that spoil the judgment, and put a man out of the way of right and fair reasoning, and therefore carefully to be avoided by one who would improve himself, and be acceptable to others.

REVERENCE.

93. When, by making your son sensible that he depends on you, and is in your power, you have established your authority, and by being inflexibly severe in your carriage to him, when obstinately persisting in any ill-natured trick which you have forbidden, especially lying, you have imprinted on his mind that awe which is necessary; and, on the other side, when (by permitting him the full liberty due to his age, and laying no restraint in your presence to those childish actions, and gayety of carriage which, whilst he is very young, are as necessary to him as meat or sleep,) you have reconciled him to your company, and made him sensible of your care and love of him by indulgence and tenderness, especially caressing him on all occasions wherein he does any thing well, and being kind to him, after a thousand fashions, suitable to his age, which nature teaches parents better than I can; when, I say, by these ways of tenderness and affection, which parents never want for their children, you have also planted in him a particular affection for you; he is then in the state you could desire, and you have formed in his mind that true reverence which is always afterwards carefully to be continued and maintained in both parts of it, love and fear, as the great principles whereby you will always have hold upon him to turn his mind to the ways of virtue and honor.

TEMPER.

94. When this foundation is once well laid, and you find this reverence begin to work in him, the next thing to be done is carefully to consider his temper and the particular constitution of his mind. Stubbornness, lying, and ill-natured actions, are not (as has been said,) to be permitted in him from the beginning, whatever his temper be; those seeds of vices are not to be suffered to take any root, but must be carefully weeded out as soon as ever they begin to show themselves in him; and your authority is to take place and influence his mind from the very dawning of any knowledge in him, that it may operate as a natural principle, whereof he never perceived the beginning, never knew that it was, or could be otherwise. By this, if the reverence he owes you be estab-

lished early, it will always be sacred to him, and it will be as hard for him to resist it, as the principles of his nature.

95. Having thus very early set up your authority, and, by the gentler applications of it, shamed him out of what leads towards an immoral; habit as soon as you have observed it in him, (for I would by no means have chiding used, much less blows, till obstinacy and incorrigibleness make it absolutely necessary,) it will be fit to consider which way the natural make of his mind inclines him. Some men, by the unalterable frame of their constitutions, are stout, others timorous; some confident, others modest, tractable or obstinate, curious or careless, quick or slow. There are not more differences in men's faces, and the outward lineaments of their bodies, than there are in the makes and tempers of their minds, only there is this difference, that the distinguishing characters of the face, and the lineaments of the body, grow more plain and visible with time and age, but the peculiar physiognomy of the mind is most discernible in children before art and cunning have taught them to hide their deformities, and conceal their ill inclinations under a dissembled outside.

96. Begin, therefore, betimes nicely to observe your son's temper, and that when he is under least restraint, in his play, and as he thinks, out of your sight. See what are his predominant passions, and prevailing inclinations; whether he be fierce or mild, bold or bashful, compassionate or cruel, open or reserved, &c. For as these are different in him, so are your methods to be different, and your authority must hence take measures to apply itself different ways to him. These native propensities, these prevalences of constitution, are not to be cured by rules, or a direct contest; especially those of them that are the humbler and meaner sort, which proceed from fear and lowness of spirit; though with art they may be much mended, and turned to good purpose. But this be sure of, after all is done, the bias will always hang on that side where nature first placed it; and, if you carefully observe the characters of his mind now in the first scenes of his life, you will ever after be able to judge which way his thoughts lean, and what he aims at even hereafter, when, as he grows up, the plot thickens, and he puts on several shapes to act it.

DOMINION.

97. I told you before, that children love liberty, and therefore they should be brought to do the things that are fit for them, without feeling any restraint laid upon them. I now tell you they love something more, and that is dominion; and this is the first original of most vicious habits that are ordinary and natural. This love of power and dominion shows itself very early, and that in these two things.

98. 1. We see children (as soon almost as they are born, I am sure long before they can speak,) cry, grow peevish, sullen, and out of humor, for nothing but to have their wills. They would have their desires submitted to by others; they contend for a ready compliance from all about them, especially from those that stand near or beneath them in age or degree, as soon as they come to consider others with those distinctions.

99. 2. Another thing wherein they show their love of dominion, is their desire to have things to be theirs; they would have property and possession, pleasing themselves with the power which that seems to give, and the right they thereby have to dispose of them as they please. He that has not observed these two humors working very betimes in children, has taken little

notice of their actions, and he who thinks that these two roots of almost all the injustice and contention that so disturb human life, are not early to be weeded out, and contrary habits introduced, neglects the proper season to lay the foundations of a good and worthy man. To do this, I imagine, these following things may somewhat conduce.

CRAVING.

100. 1. That a child should never be suffered to have what he craves, much less what he cries for, I had said, or so much as speaks for. But that being apt to be misunderstood and interpreted as if I meant a child should never speak to his parents for any thing, which will perhaps be thought to lay too great a curb on the minds of children, to the prejudice of that love and affection which should be between them and their parents, I shall explain myself a little more particularly. It is fit that they should have liberty to declare their wants to their parents, and that with all tenderness they should be hearkened to, and supplied at least whilst they are very little. But it is one thing to say, I am hungry; another to say, I would have roast-meat. Having declared their wants, their natural wants, the pain they feel from hunger, thirst, cold, or any other necessity of nature, it is the duty of their parents, and those about them, to relieve them; but children must leave it to the choice and ordering of their parents what they think properest for them, and how much, and must not be permitted to choose for themselves, and say, I would have wine, or white bread; the very naming of it should make them lose it.

101. That which parents should take care of here, is to distinguish between the wants of fancy and those of nature, which Horace has well taught them to do in this verse,

"Queis humana sibi doleat natura negatis."

Those are truly natural wants, which reason alone, without some other help, is not able to fence against nor keep from disturbing us. The pains of sickness and hurts, hunger, thirst, and cold, want of sleep and rest, or relaxation of the part wearied with labor, are what all men feel, and the best disposed mind can not but be sensible of their uneasiness, and therefore ought, by fit applications, to seek their removal, though not with impatience, or over-great haste, upon the first approaches of them, where delay does not threaten some irreparable harm. The pains that come from the necessities of nature, are monitors to us to beware of greater mischiefs, which they are the forerunners of, and therefore they must not be wholly neglected, nor strained too far. But yet, the more children can be inured to hardships of this kind, by a wise care to make them stronger in body and mind, the better it will be for them. I need not here give any caution to keep within the bounds of doing them good, and to take care that what children are made to suffer should neither break their spirits, nor injure their health, parents being but too apt of themselves to incline, more than they should, to the softer side.

But whatever compliance the necessities of nature may require, the wants of fancy children should never be gratified in, nor suffered to mention. The very speaking for any such thing should make them lose it. Clothes, when they need, they must have; but if they speak for this stuff, or that color, they should be sure to go without it. Not that I would have parents purposely cross the desires of their children in matters of indifferency; on the contrary, where their carriage deserves it, and one is sure it will not corrupt or effeminate their

minds, and make them fond of trifles, I think all things should be contrived, as much as could be, to their satisfaction, that they might find the ease and pleasure of doing well. The best for children is, that they should not place any pleasure in such things at all, nor regulate their delight by their fancies; but be indifferent to all that nature has made so. This is what their parents and teachers should chiefly aim at; but till this be obtained, all that I oppose here, is the liberty of asking; which, in these things of conceit, ought to be restrained by a constant forfeiture annexed to it.

This may perhaps be thought a little too severe, by the natural indulgence of tender parents, but yet it is no more than necessary. For since the method I propose is to banish the rod, this restraint of their tongues will be of great use to settle that awe we have elsewhere spoken of, and to keep up in them the respect and reverence due to their parents. Next, it will teach them to keep in, and so master their inclinations. By this means they will be brought to learn the art of stifling their desires, as soon as they rise up in them, when they are easiest to be subdued. For giving vent, gives life and strength to our appetites, and he that has the confidence to turn his wishes into demands, will be but a little way from thinking he ought to obtain them. This I am sure of, every one can more easily bear a denial from himself, than from anybody else. They should therefore be accustomed betimes to consult and make use of their reason, before they give allowance to their inclinations. It is a great step towards the mastery of our desires, to give this stop to them, and shut them up in silence. This habit, got by children, of staying the forwardness of their fancies, and deliberating whether it be fit or no before they speak, will be of no small advantage to them in matters of greater consequence in the future course of their lives. For that which I can not too often inculcate, is that whatever the matter be, about which it is conversant, whether great or small, the main (I had almost said only) thing to be considered, in every action of a child is, what influence it will have upon his mind; what habit it tends to, and is like to settle in him; how it will become him when he is bigger; and, if it be encouraged, whither it will lead him when he is grown up.

My meaning, therefore, is not, that children should purposely be made uneasy; this would relish too much of inhumanity and ill-nature, and be apt to infect them with it. They should be brought to deny their appetites, and their minds as well as bodies, be made vigorous, easy, and strong, by the custom of having their inclinations in subjection, and their bodies exercised with hardships; but all this without giving them any mark or apprehension of ill-will towards them. The constant loss of what they craved or carved to themselves should teach them modesty, submission, and a power to forbear; but the rewarding their modesty and silence, by giving them what they liked, should also assure them of the love of those who rigorously exacted this obedience. The contenting themselves now, in the want of what they wished for, is a virtue that another time should be rewarded with what is suited and acceptable to them; which should be bestowed on them as if it were a natural consequence of their good behavior, and not a bargain about it. But you will lose your labor, and, what is more, their love and reverence too, if they can receive from others what you deny them. This is to be kept very staunch, and carefully to be watched. And here the servants come again in my way.

CURIOSITY.

102. If this be begun by times, and they accustom themselves early to silence their desires, this useful habit will settle them; and, as they come to grow up in age and discretion, they may be allowed greater liberty; when reason comes to speak in them, and not passion. For whenever reason would speak, it should be hearkened to. But, as they should never be heard, when they speak for any particular thing they would have, unless it be first proposed to them; so they should always be heard, and fairly and kindly answered, when they ask after any thing they would know, and desire to be informed about. Curiosity should be as carefully cherished in children, as other appetites suppressed.

RECREATION.

However strict a hand is to be kept upon all desires of fancy, yet there is one case wherein fancy must be permitted to speak, and be hearkened to also. Recreation is as necessary as labor or food; but because there can be no recreation without delight, which depends not always on reason, but oftener on fancy, it must be permitted children not only to divert themselves, but to do it after their own fashion, provided it be innocently, and without prejudice to their health; and therefore in this case they should not be denied, if they proposed any particular kind of recreation; though I think, in a well-ordered education, they will seldom be brought to the necessity of asking any such liberty. Care should be taken that what is of advantage to them, they should always do with delight; and, before they are wearied with one, they should be timely diverted to some other useful employment. But if they are not yet brought to that degree of perfection, that one way of improvement can be made a recreation to them, they must be let loose to the childish play they fancy, which they should be weaned from, by being made surfeited of it; but from things of use, that they are employed in, they should always be sent away with an appetite; at least be dismissed before they are tired, and grow quite sick of it; that so they may return to it again, as to a pleasure that diverts them. For you must never think them set right, till they can find delight in the practice of laudable things; and the useful exercises of the body and mind, taking their turns, make their lives and improvement pleasant in a continued train of recreations, wherein the wearied part is constantly relieved and refreshed. Whether this can be done in every temper, or whether tutors and parents will be at the pains, and have the discretion and patience to bring them to this, I know not; but that it may be done in most children, if a right course be taken to raise in them the desire of credit, esteem, and reputation, I do not at all doubt. And when they have so much true life put into them, they may freely be talked with about what most delights them, and be directed or let loose to it, so that they may perceive that they are beloved and cherished, and that those under whose tuition they are, are not enemies to their satisfaction. Such a management will make them in love with the hand that directs them, and the virtue they are directed to.

This farther advantage may be made by a free liberty permitted them in their recreations, that it will discover their natural tempers, show their inclinations and aptitudes, and thereby direct wise parents in the choice, both of the course of life and employment they shall design them for, and of fit remedies in the

mean time, to be applied to whatever bent of nature they may observe most likely to mislead any of their children.

103. 2. Children, who live together, often strive for mastery, whose wills shall carry it over the rest; whoever begins the contest, should be sure to be crossed in it. But not only that, but they should be taught to have all the deference, complaisance, and civility one for the other imaginable. This, when they see it procures them respect, love, and esteem, and that they lose no superiority by it, they will take more pleasure in, than in insolent domineering, for so plainly is the other.

COMPLAINTS.

The accusations of children one against another, which usually are but the clamors of anger and revenge, desiring aid, should not be favorably received nor hearkened to. It weakens and effeminates their minds to suffer them to complain; and if they endure sometimes crossing or pain from others, without being permitted to think it strange or intolerable, it will do them no harm to learn sufferance, and harden them early. But, though you give no countenance to the complaints of the querulous, yet take care to curb the insolence and ill-nature of the injurious. When you observe it yourself, reprove it before the injured party; but if the complaint be of something really worth your notice and prevention another time, then reprove the offender by himself alone, out of sight of him that complained, and make him go and ask pardon, and make reparation: which coming thus, as it were, from himself, will be the more cheerfully performed, and more kindly received, the love strengthened between them, and a custom of civility grow familiar amongst your children.

LIBERALITY.

104. 3. As to having and possessing of things, teach them to part with what they have, easily and freely to their friends, and let them find by experience, that the most liberal has always most plenty, with esteem and commendation to boot, and they will quickly learn to practice it. This, I imagine, will make brothers and sisters kinder and civiller to one another, and consequently to others, than twenty rules about good manners, with which children are ordinarily perplexed and cumbered. Covetousness, and the desire of having in our possession and under our dominion, more than we have need of, being the root of all evil, should be early and carefully weeded out, and the contrary quality, or a readiness to impart to others, implanted. This should be encouraged by great commendation and credit, and constantly taking care that he loses nothing by his liberality. Let all the instances he gives of such freeness, be always repaid, and with interest, and let him sensibly perceive, that the kindness he shows to others is no ill husbandry for himself, but that it brings a return of kindness, both from those that receive it, and those who look on. Make this a contest among children, who shall outdo one another this way. And by this means, by a constant practice, children having made it easy to themselves to part with what they have, good-nature may be settled in them into an habit, and they may take pleasure, and pique themselves in being kind, liberal, and civil to others.

JUSTICE.

If liberality ought to be encouraged, certainly great care is to be taken that

children transgress not the rules of justice; and whenever they do, they should be set right, and, if there be occasion for it, severely rebuked.

Our first actions being guided more by self-love than reason or reflection, it is no wonder that in children they should be very apt to deviate from the just measures of right and wrong, which are in the mind the result of improved reason and serious meditation. This the more they are apt to mistake, the more careful guard ought to be kept over them, and every the least slip in this great social virtue taken notice of and rectified; and that in things of the least weight and moment, both to instruct their ignorance, and prevent ill habits, which, from small beginnings, in pins and cherry-stones, will, if let alone, grow up to higher frauds, and be in danger to end at last in down right hardened dishonesty. The first tendency to any injustice that appears, must be suppressed with a show of wonder and abhorrency in the parents and governors. But because children can not well comprehend what injustice is, till they understand property, and how particular persons come by it, the safest way to secure honesty is to lay the foundations of it early in liberality, and an easiness to part with to others whatever they have, or like, themselves. This may be taught them early, before they have language and understanding enough to form distinct notions of property, and to know what is theirs by a peculiar right exclusive of others. And since children seldom have any thing but by gift, and that for the most part from their parents, they may be at first taught not to take or keep any thing but what is given them by those whom they take to have a power over it; and, as their capacities enlarge, other rules and cases of justice, and rights concerning "meum" and "tuum," may be proposed and inculcated. If any act of injustice in them appears to proceed, not from mistake, but perverseness in their wills, when a gentle rebuke and shame will not reform this irregular and covetous inclination, rougher remedies must be applied; and it is but for the father or tutor to take and keep from them something that they value and think their own; or, order somebody else to do it, and by such instances make them sensible, what little advantage they are like to make, by possessing themselves unjustly of what is another's, whilst there are in the world stronger and more men than they. But if an ingenuous detestation of this shameful vice be but carefully and early instilled into them, as I think it may, that is the true and genuine method to obviate this crime, and will be a better guard against dishonesty, than any considerations drawn from interest; habits working more constantly, and with greater facility, than reason; which, when we have most need of it, is seldom fairly consulted, and more rarely obeyed.

CRYING.

105. Crying is a fault that should not be tolerated in children; not only for the unpleasant and unbecoming noise it fills the house with, but for more considerable reasons, in reference to the children themselves, which is to be our aim in education.

Their crying is of two sorts; either stubborn and domineering, or querulous and whining.

1. Their crying is very often a striving for mastery, and an open declaration of their insolence or obstinacy: when they have not the power to obtain their desire, they will, by their clamor and sobbing, maintain their title and right to it. This is an avowed continuing of their claim, and a sort of remonstrance

against the oppression and injustice of those who deny them what they have a mind to.

106. 2. Sometimes their crying is the effect of pain or true sorrow, and a bemoaning themselves under it.

These two, if carefully observed, may, by the mien, look, and actions, and particularly by the tone of their crying, be easily distinguished; but neither of them must be suffered, much less encouraged.

1. The obstinate or stomachful crying should by no means be permitted; because it is but another way of flattering their desires, and encouraging those passions, which it is our main business to subdue; and if it be, as often it is, upon the receiving any correction, it quite defeats all the good effects of it; for any chastisement which leaves them in this declared opposition, only serves to make them worse. The restraints and punishments laid on children are all misapplied and lost, as far as they do not prevail over their wills, teach them to submit their passions, and make their minds supple and pliant to what their parents' reason advises them now, and so prepare them to obey what their own reason should advise hereafter. But if in any thing wherein they are crossed, they may be suffered to go away crying, they confirm themselves in their desires, and cherish the ill humor with a declaration of their right, and a resolution to satisfy their inclinations the first opportunity. This, therefore, is another argument against the frequent use of blows; for, whenever you come to that extremity, it is not enough to whip or beat them; you must do it till you find you have subdued their minds; till with submission and patience they yield to the correction, which you shall best discover by their crying, and their ceasing from it upon your bidding. Without this, the beating of children is but a passionate tyranny over them; and it is mere cruelty, and not correction, to put their bodies in pain, without doing their minds any good. As this gives us a reason why children should seldom be corrected, so it also prevents their being so. For if, whenever they are chastised, it were done thus without passion, soberly and yet effectually too, laying on the blows and smart, not furiously and all at once, but slowly, with reasoning between, and with observation how it wrought, stopping when it had made them pliant, penitent, and yielding; they would seldom need the like punishment again, being made careful to avoid the fault that deserved it. Besides, by this means, as the punishment would not be lost, for being too little, and not effectual; so it would be kept from being too much, if we gave off as soon as we perceived it reached the mind, and that was bettered. For, since the chiding or beating of children should be always the least that possibly may be, that which is laid on in the heat of anger, seldom observes that measure, but is commonly more than it should be, though it prove less than enough.

107. 2. Many children are apt to cry upon any little pain they suffer, and the least harm that befalls them, puts them into complaints and bawling. This few children avoid; for it being the first and natural way to declare their sufferings or wants, before they can speak, the compassion that is thought due to that tender age foolishly encourages, and continues it in them long after they can speak. It is the duty, I confess, of those about children, to compassionate them whenever they suffer any hurt, but not to show it in pitying them. Help and ease them the best you can, but by no means bemoan them. This softens their minds, and makes them yield to the little harms that happen to

them; whereby they sink deeper into that part which alone feels, and make larger wounds there, than otherwise they would. They should be hardened against all sufferings, especially of the body, and have no tenderness but what rises from an ingenuous shame and a quick sense of reputation. The many inconveniences this life is exposed to, require we should not be too sensible of every little hurt. What our minds yield not to, makes but a slight impression, and does us but very little harm; it is the suffering of our spirits that gives and continues the pain. This brawniness and insensibility of mind, is the best armor we can have against the common evils and accidents of life; and being a temper that is got by exercise and custom, more than any other way, the practice of it should be begun betimes, and happy is he that is taught it early. That effeminacy of spirit, which is to be prevented or cured, and which nothing, that I know, so much increases in children as crying; so nothing, on the other side, so much checks and restrains, as their being hindered from that sort of complaining. In the little harms they suffer, from knocks and falls, they should not be pitied for falling, but bid do so again; which, besides that it stops their crying, is a better way to cure their heedlessness, and prevent their tumbling another time, than either chiding or bemoaning them. But, let the hurts they receive be what they will, stop their crying, and that will give them more quiet and ease at present, and harden them for the future.

108. The former sort of crying requires severity to silence it; and where a look, or positive command, will not do it, blows must; for it proceeding from pride, obstinacy, and stomach, the will, where the fault lies, must be bent, and made to comply, by a rigor sufficient to master it; but this latter, being ordinarily from softness of mind, a quite contrary cause ought to be treated with a gentler hand. Persuasion, or diverting the thoughts another way, or laughing at their whining, may perhaps be at first the proper method. But for this, the circumstances of the thing, and the particular temper of the child, must be considered; no certain invariable rules can be given about it; but it must be left to the prudence of the parents or tutor. But this I think I may say in general, that there should be a constant discountenancing of this sort of crying also; and that the father, by his authority, should always stop it, mixing a greater degree of roughness in his looks or words, proportionably as the child is of a greater age, or a sturdier temper; but always, let it be enough to silence their whimpering, and put an end to the disorder.

FOOL-HARDINESS.

109. Cowardice and courage are so nearly related to the fore-mentioned tempers, that it may not be amiss here to take notice of them. Fear is a passion, that, if rightly governed, has its use. And though self-love seldom fails to keep it watchful and high enough in us, yet there may be an excess on the daring side; fool-hardiness and insensibility of danger being as little reasonable, as trembling and shrinking at the approach of every little evil. Fear was given us as a monitor to quicken our industry, and keep us upon our guard against the approaches of evil; and, therefore, to have no apprehension of mischief at hand, not to make a just estimate of the danger, but heedlessly to run into it, be the hazard what it will, without considering of what use or consequence it may be; is not the resolution of a rational creature, but brutish fury. Those who have children of this temper, have nothing to do but a little to awaken

their reason, which self-preservation will quickly dispose them to hearken to; unless (which is usually the case) some other passion hurries them on headlong, without sense, and without consideration. A dislike of evil is so natural to mankind, that nobody, I think, can be without fear of it; fear being nothing but an uneasiness under the apprehension of that coming upon us which we dislike. And therefore, whenever any one runs into danger, we may say it is under the conduct of ignorance, or the command of some more imperious passion, nobody being so much an enemy to himself as to come within the reach of evil out of free choice, and court danger for danger's sake. If it be therefore pride, vain-glory, or rage, that silences a child's fear, or makes him not hearken to its advice, those are by fit means to be abated, that a little consideration may allay his heat, and make him bethink himself whether this attempt be worth the venture. But this being a fault that children are not so often guilty of, I shall not be more particular in its cure. Weakness of spirit is the more common defect, and therefore will require the greater care.

Fortitude is the guard and support of the other virtues; and without courage a man will scarce keep steady to his duty, and fill up the character of a truly worthy man.

COURAGE.

Courage, that makes us bear up against dangers that we fear, and evils that we feel, is of great use in an estate, as ours is in this life, exposed to assaults on all hands; and therefore it is very advisable to get children into this armor as early as we can. Natural temper, I confess, does here a great deal; but even where that is defective, and the heart is in itself weak and timorous, it may, by a right management, be brought to a better resolution. What is to be done to prevent breaking children's spirits by frightful apprehensions instilled into them when young, or bemoaning themselves under every little suffering, I have already taken notice. How to harden their tempers, and raise their courage, if we find them too much subject to fear, is farther to be considered.

True fortitude I take to be the quiet possession of a man's self, and an undisturbed doing his duty, whatever evil besets, or danger lies in his way. This there are so few men attain to, that we are not to expect it from children. But yet something may be done; and a wise conduct, by insensible degrees, may carry them farther than one expects.

The neglect of this great care of them, whilst they are young, is the reason, perhaps, why there are so few that have this virtue, in its full latitude, when they are men. I should not say this in a nation so naturally brave as ours is, did I think that true fortitude required nothing but courage in the field, and a contempt of life in the face of an enemy. This, I confess, is not the least part of it, nor can be denied the laurels and honors always justly due to the valor of those who venture their lives for their country. But yet this is not all; dangers attack us in other places besides the field of battle; and though death be the king of terrors, yet pain, disgrace, and poverty, have frightful looks, able to discompose most men, whom they seem ready to seize on; and there are those who contemn some of these, and yet are heartily frightened with the other. True fortitude is prepared for dangers of all kinds, and unmoved, whatsoever evil it be that threatens; I do not mean unmoved with any fear at all. Where danger shows itself, apprehension can not, without stupidity, be wanting. Where danger is, sense of danger should be; and so much fear as should keep

us awake, and excite our attention, industry, and vigor; but not disturb the calm use of our reason nor hinder the execution of what that dictates.

COWARDICE.

The first step to get this noble and manly steadiness, is, what I have abovementioned, carefully to keep children from frights of all kinds, when they are young. Let not any fearful apprehensions be talked into them, nor terrible objects surprise them. This often so shatters and discomposes the spirits, that they never recover it again; but during their whole life, upon the first suggestion, or appearance of any terrifying idea, are scattered and confounded; the body is enervated, and the mind disturbed, and the man scarce himself, or capapable of any composed or rational action. Whether this be from an habitual motion of the animal spirits, introduced by the first strong impression; or from the alteration of the constitution, by some more unaccountable way; this is certain, that so it is. Instances of such, who in a weak, timorous mind have born, all their whole lives through, the effects of a fright when they were young, are everywhere to be seen; and therefore, as much as may be, to be prevented.

The next thing is, by gentle degrees, to accustom children to those things they are too much afraid of. But here great caution is to be used, that you do not make too much haste, nor attempt this cure too early, for fear lest you increase the mischief instead of remedying it. Little ones in arms may be easily kept out of the way of terrifying objects, and till they can talk and understand what is said to them, are scarce capable of that reasoning and discourse, which should be used to let them know there is no harm in those frightful objects which we would make them familiar with, and do, to that purpose, by gentle degrees, bring nearer and nearer to them. And, therefore, it is seldom there is need of any application to them of this kind, till after they can run about and talk. But yet, if it should happen, that infants should have taken offense at any thing which can not be easily kept out of their way; and that they show marks of terror, as often as it comes in sight; all the allays of fright, by diverting their thoughts, or mixing pleasant and agreeable appearances with it, must be used, till it be grown familiar and inoffensive to them.

I think we may observe, that when children are first born, all objects of sight that do not hurt the eyes, are indifferent to them; and they are no more afraid of a blackamoor, or a lion, than of their nurse, or a cat. What is it, then, that afterwards, in certain mixtures of shape and color, comes to affright them? Nothing but the apprehensions of harm that accompanies those things. Did a child suck every day a new nurse, I make account it would be no more affrighted with the change of faces at six months old, than at sixty. The reason then, why it will not come to a stranger, is, because, having been accustomed to receive its food and kind usage only from one or two that are about it, the child apprehends, by coming into the arms of a stranger, the being taken from what delights and feeds it, and every moment supplies its wants, which it often feels, and therefore fears when the nurse is away.

TIMOROUSNESS.

The only thing we naturally are afraid of, is pain, or loss of pleasure. And because these are not annexed to any shape, color, or size of visible objects, we are frightened with none of them, till either we have felt pain from them, or

have notions put into us that they will do us harm. The pleasant brightness and luster of flame and fire so delights children, that at first they always desire to be handling of it: but when constant experience has convinced them, by the exquisite pain it has put them to, how cruel and unmerciful it is, they are afraid to touch it, and carefully avoid it. This being the ground of fear, it is not hard to find whence it arises, and how it is to be cured in all mistaken objects of terror; and when the mind is confirmed against them, and has got a mastery over itself, and its usual fears in lighter occasions, it is in good preparation to meet more real dangers. Your child shrieks, and runs away at the sight of a frog; let another catch it, and lay it down at a good distance from him; at first accustom him to look upon it; when he can do that, then to come nearer to it, and see it leap without emotion; then to touch it lightly, when it is held fast in another's hand; and so on, till he can come to handle it as confidently as a butterfly, or a sparrow. By the same way any other vain terrors may be removed, if care be taken that you go not too fast, and push not the child on to a new degree of assurance, till he be thoroughly confirmed in the former. And thus the young soldier is to be trained on to the warfare of life; wherein care is to be taken, that more things be not represented as dangerous, than really are so; and then, that whatever you observe him to be more frightened at than he should, you be sure to toll him on to, by insensible degrees, till he at last, quitting his fears, masters the difficulty, and comes off with applause. Successes of this kind, often repeated, will make him find, that evils are not always so certain, or so great, as our fears represent them; and that the way to avoid them is not to run away, or be discomposed, dejected, and deterred by fear, where either our credit or duty requires us to go on.

HARDINESS.

But, since the great foundation of fear in children is pain, the way to harden and fortify children against fear and danger, is to accustom them to suffer pain. This, it is possible, will be thought by kind parents, a very unnatural thing towards their children; and by most, unreasonable, to endeavor to reconcile any one to the sense of pain, by bringing it upon him. It will be said, it may perhaps give the child an aversion for him that makes him suffer, but can never recommend to him suffering itself. This is a strange method. You will not have children whipped and punished for their faults, but you would have them tormented for doing well, or for tormenting's sake. I doubt not but such objections as these will be made, and I shall be thought inconsistent with myself, or fantastical, in proposing it. I confess it is a thing to be managed with great discretion; and therefore it falls not out amiss, that it will not be received or relished, but by those who consider well, and look into the reason of things. I would not have children much beaten for their faults, because I would not have them think bodily pain the greatest punishment; and I would have them when they do well, be sometimes put in pain, for the same reason, that they might be accustomed to bear it without looking on it as the greatest evil. How much education may reconcile young people to pain and sufferance, the examples of Sparta do sufficiently show; and they who have once brought themselves not to think bodily pain the greatest of evils, or that which they ought to stand most in fear of, have made no small advance towards virtue. But I am not so foolish to propose the Lacedæmonian discipline in our age or constitution; but

yet I do say, that inuring children gently to suffer some degrees of pain without shrinking, is a way to gain firmness to their minds, and lay a foundation for courage and resolution in the future part of their lives.

Not to bemoan them, or permit them to bemoan themselves, on every little pain they suffer, is the first step to be made. But of this I have spoken elsewhere.

The next thing is, sometimes designedly to put them in pain; but care must be taken that this be done when the child is in good humor, and satisfied of the good-will and kindness of him that hurts him, at the time that he does it. There must no marks of anger or displeasure on the one side, nor compassion or repenting on the other, go along with it; and it must be sure to be no more than the child can bear, without repining or taking it amiss, or for a punishment. Managed by these degrees, and with such circumstances, I have seen a child run away laughing, with good smart blows of a wand on his back, who would have cried for an unkind word, and have been very sensible of the chastisement of a cold look from the same person. Satisfy a child, by a constant course of your care and kindness, that you perfectly love him; and he may by degrees be accustomed to bear very painful and rough usage from you, without flinching or complaining; and this we see children do every day in play one with another. The softer you find your child is, the more you are to seek occasions at fit times thus to harden him. The great art in this is to begin with what is but very little painful, and to proceed by insensible degrees, when you are playing and in good humor with him, and speaking well of him; and when you have once got him to think himself made amends for his suffering, by the praise given him for his courage; when he can take a pride in giving such marks of his manliness, and can prefer the reputation of being brave and stout, to the avoiding a little pain, or the shrinking under it; you need not despair in time, and by the assistance of his growing reason, to master his timorousness, and mend the weakness of his constitution. As he grows bigger, he is to be set upon bolder attempts than his natural temper carries him to; and whenever he is observed to flinch from what one has reason to think he would come off well in, if he had but courage to undertake; that he should be assisted in at first, and by degrees shamed to, till at last practice has given more assurance, and with it a mastery, which must be rewarded with great praise, and the good opinion of others, for his performance. When by these steps he has got resolution enough not to be deterred from what he ought to do, by the apprehension of danger; when fear does not, in sudden or hazardous occurrences, discompose his mind, set his body a trembling, and make him unfit for action, or run away from it; he has then the courage of a rational creature; and such an hardiness we should endeavor by custom and use to bring children to, as proper occasions come in our way.

CRUELTY.

110. One thing I have frequently observed in children, that, when they have got possession of any poor creature, they are apt to use it ill; they often torment and treat very roughly young birds, butterflies, and such other poor animals, which fall into their hands, and that with a seeming kind of pleasure. This, I think, should be watched in them; and if they incline to any such cruelty, they should be taught the contrary usage; for the custom of torment-

ing and killing of beasts will, by degrees, harden their minds even towards men; and they who delight in the suffering and destruction of inferior creatures, will not be apt to be very compassionate or benign to those of their own kind. Our practice takes notice of this, in the exclusion of butchers from juries of life and death. Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing or tormenting any living creature, and be taught not to spoil or destroy any thing unless it be for the preservation or advantage of some other that is nobler. And truly, if the preservation of all mankind, as much as in him lies, where every one's persuasion, as indeed it is every one's duty, and the true principle to regulate our religion, politics, and morality by, the world would be much quieter, and better-natured than it is. But to return to our present business; I can not but commend both the kindness and prudence of a mother I knew, who was wont always to indulge her daughters, when any of them desired dogs, squirrels, birds, or any such things, as young girls use to be delighted with; but then, when they had them, they must be sure to keep them well, and look diligently after them, that they wanted nothing, or were not ill used; for, if they were negligent in their care of them, it was counted a great fault, which often forfeited their possession; or, at least, they failed not to be rebuked for it, whereby they were early taught diligence and good-nature. And, indeed, I think people should be accustomed, from their cradles, to be tender to all sensible creatures, and to spoil or waste nothing at all.

This delight they take in doing of mischief (whereby I mean spoiling of any thing to no purpose, but more especially the pleasure they take to put any thing in pain that is capable of it,) I can not persuade myself to be any other than a foreign and introduced disposition, an habit borrowed from custom and conversation. People teach children to strike, and laugh when they hurt, or see harm come to others; and they have the examples of most about them to confirm them in it. All the entertainment of talk and history is of nothing almost but fighting and killing; and the honor and renown that is bestowed on conquerors (who for the most part are but the great butchers of mankind) farther mislead growing youths, who by this means come to think slaughter the laudable business of mankind, and the most heroic of virtues. By these steps unnatural cruelty is planted in us; and what humanity abhors, custom reconciles and recommends to us by laying it in the way to honor. Thus, by fashion and opinion, that comes to be a pleasure, which in itself neither is, nor can be any. This ought carefully to be watched, and early remedied, so as to settle and cherish the contrary and more natural temper of benignity and compassion in the room of it; but still by the same gentle methods, which are to be applied to the other two faults before mentioned. It may not perhaps be unreasonable here to add this farther caution, viz., that the mischiefs or harms that come by play, inadvertency, or ignorance, and were not known to be harms, or designed for mischief's sake, though they may perhaps be sometimes of considerable damage, yet are not at all, or but very gently, to be taken notice of. For this, I think, I can not too often inculcate, that whatever miscarriage a child is guilty of, and whatever be the consequence of it, the thing to be regarded in taking notice of it, is only what root it springs from, and what habit it is like to establish; and to that the correction ought to be directed, and the child not to suffer any punishment for any harm which may have come by his play or inadvertency. The faults to be amended lie in the mind; and if they are such as either

age will cure, or no ill habits will follow from, the present action, whatever displeasing circumstances it may have, is to be passed by without any animadversion.

111. Another way to instill sentiments of humanity, and to keep them lively in young folks, will be to accustom them to civility, in their language and deportment towards their inferiors, and the meaner sort of people, particularly servants. It is not unusual to observe the children, in gentlemen's families, treat the servants of the house with domineering words, names of contempt, and an imperious carriage, as if they were of another race, and species beneath them. Whether ill example, the advantage of fortune, or their natural vanity, inspire this haughtiness, it should be prevented, or weeded out; and a gentle, courteous, affable carriage towards the lower ranks of men, placed in the room of it. No part of their superiority will be hereby lost, but the distinction increased, and their authority strengthened, when love in inferiors is joined to outward respect, and an esteem of the person has a share in their submission; and domestics will pay a more ready and cheerful service, when they find themselves not spurned, because fortune has laid them below the level of others, at their master's feet. Children should not be suffered to lose the consideration of human nature in the shufflings of outward conditions; the more they have, the better humored they should be taught to be, and the more compassionate and gentle to those of their brethren, who are placed lower, and have scantier portions. If they are suffered from their cradles to treat men ill and rudely, because by their father's title, they think they have a little power over them: at best it is ill-bred; and, if care be not taken, will, by degrees, nurse up their natural pride into an habitual contempt of those beneath them; and where will that probably end, but in oppression and cruelty?

CURIOSITY.

112. Curiosity in children, (which I had occasion just to mention, §102,) is but an appetite after knowledge, and therefore ought to be encouraged in them, not only as a good sign, but as the great instrument nature has provided, to remove that ignorance they were born with, and which without this busy inquisitiveness will make them dull and useless creatures. The ways to encourage it, and keep it active and busy, are, I suppose, these following:—

1. Not to check or discountenance any inquiries he shall make, nor suffer them to be laughed at; but to answer all his questions, and explain the matters he desires to know, so as to make them as much intelligible to him, as suits the capacity of his age and knowledge. But confound not his understanding with explications or notions that are above it, or with the variety or number of things that are not to his present purpose. Mark what it is his mind aims at in the question, and not what words he expresses it in: and, when you have informed and satisfied him in that, you shall see how his thoughts will enlarge themselves, and how by fit answers he may be led on farther than perhaps you could imagine. For knowledge is grateful to the understanding, as light to the eyes: children are pleased and delighted with it exceedingly, especially if they see that their inquiries are regarded, and that their desire of knowing is encouraged and commended. And I doubt not but one great reason, why many children abandon themselves wholly to silly sports, and trifle away all their time insipidly, is, because they have found their curiosity baulked, and their inquiries neglected. But had they been treated with more kindness and respect,

and their questions answered, as they should, to their satisfaction, I doubt not but they would have taken more pleasure in learning, and improving their knowledge, wherein there would be still newness and variety, which is what they are delighted with, than in returning over and over to the same play and playthings.

113. 2. To this serious answering their questions, and informing their understandings in what they desire, as if it were a matter that needed it, should be added some peculiar ways of commendation. Let others, whom they esteem, be told before their faces of the knowledge they have in such and such things; and since we are all, even from our cradles, vain and proud creatures, let their vanity be flattered with things that will do them good; and let their pride set them on work on something which may turn to their advantage. Upon this ground you shall find, that there can not be a greater spur to the attaining what you would have the elder learn and know himself, than to set him upon teaching it his younger brothers and sisters.

114. 3. As children's inquiries are not to be slighted, so also great care is to be taken, that they never receive deceitful and illuding answers. They easily perceive when they are slighted or deceived, and quickly learn the trick of neglect, dissimulation, and falsehood, which they observe others to make use of. We are not to intrench upon truth in any conversation, but least of all with children; since, if we play false with them, we not only deceive their expectation, and hinder their knowledge, but corrupt their innocence, and teach them the worst of vices. They are travelers newly arrived in a strange country, of which they know nothing: we should, therefore, make conscience not to mislead them. And though their questions seem sometimes not very material, yet they should be seriously answered; for however they may appear to us, (to whom they are long since known,) inquiries not worth making, they are of moment to those who are wholly ignorant. Children are strangers to all we are acquainted with; and all the things they meet with, are at first unknown to them, as they once were to us: and happy are they who meet with civil people, that will comply with their ignorance, and help them to get out of it.

If you or I should be set down in Japan, with all our prudence and knowledge about us, a conceit whereof makes us perhaps so apt to slight the thoughts and inquiries of children: should we, I say, be set down in Japan, we should, no doubt, (if we would inform ourselves of what is there to be known,) ask a thousand questions, which, to a supercilious or inconsiderate Japanese, would seem very idle and impertinent; though to us they would be very material, and of importance to be resolved; and we should be glad to find a man so complaisant and courteous, as to satisfy our demands, and instruct our ignorance.

When any new thing comes in their way, children usually ask the common question of a stranger, What is it? whereby they ordinarily mean nothing but the name; and, therefore, to tell them how it is called, is usually the proper answer to that demand. The next question usually is, What is it for? And to this it should be answered truly and directly: the use of the thing should be told, and the way explained, how it serves to such a purpose, as far as their capacities can comprehend it; and so of any other circumstances they shall ask about it; not turning them going, till you have given them all the satisfaction they are capable of, and so leading them by your answers into farther questions. And perhaps to a grown man such conversation will not be altogether so idle and insignificant, as we are apt to imagine. The native and untaught

suggestions of inquisitive children do often offer things that may set a considering man's thoughts on work. And I think there is frequently more to be learned from the unexpected questions of a child, than the discourses of men, who talk in a road, according to the notions they have borrowed, and the prejudices of their education.

115. 4. Perhaps it may not sometimes be amiss to excite their curiosity, by bringing strange and new things in their way, on purpose to engage their inquiry, and give him occasion to inform themselves about them; and if by chance their curiosity leads them to ask what they should not know, it is a great deal better to tell them plainly, that it is a thing that belongs not to them to know, than to pop them off with a falsehood, or a frivolous answer.

116. Pertness, that appears sometimes so early, proceeds from a principle that seldom accompanies a strong constitution of body, or ripens into a strong judgment of mind. If it were desirable to have a child a more brisk talker, I believe there might be ways found to make him so; but, I suppose, a wise father had rather that his son should be able and useful, when a man, than pretty company, and a diversion to others, whilst a child; though, if that too were to be considered, I think I may say, there is not so much pleasure to have a child prattle agreeably, as to reason well. Encourage, therefore, his inquisitiveness all you can, by satisfying his demands, and informing his judgment, as far as it is capable. When his reasons are any way tolerable, let him find the credit and commendation of them; and when they are quite out of the way, let him, without being laughed at for his mistake, be gently put into the right; and if he show a forwardness to be reasoning about things that come in his way, take care, as much as you can, that nobody check this inclination in him, or mislead it by captious or fallacious ways of talking with him: for, when all is done, this, as the highest and most important faculty of our minds, deserves the greatest care and attention in cultivating it; the right improvement and exercise of our reason being the highest perfection that a man can attain to in this life.

SAUNTERING.

117. Contrary to this busy inquisitive temper, there is sometimes observable in children a listless carelessness, a want of regard to any thing, and a sort of trifling, even at their business. This sauntering humor I look on as one of the worst qualities can appear in a child, as well as one of the hardest to be cured, where it is natural. But it being liable to be mistaken in some cases, care must be taken to make a right judgment concerning that trifling at their books or business, which may sometimes be complained of in a child. Upon the first suspicion a father has, that his son is of a sauntering temper, he must carefully observe him, whether he be listless and indifferent in all his actions, or whether in some things alone he be slow and sluggish, but in others vigorous and eager: for though he find that he does loiter at his book, and let a good deal of the time he spends in his chamber or study, run idly away, he must not presently conclude, that this is from a sauntering humor in his temper; it may be childishness, and a preferring something to his study, which his thoughts run on; and he dislikes his book, as is natural, because it is forced upon him as a task. To know this perfectly, you must watch him at play, when he is out of his place and time of study, following his own inclinations; and see there, whether he be stirring and active; whether he designs any thing, and with labor and eagerness pursues it, till he

has accomplished what he aimed at; or whether he lazily and listlessly dreams away his time. If this sloth be only when he is about his book, I think it may be easily cured; if it be in his temper, it will require a little more pains and attention to remedy it.

118. If you are satisfied, by his earnestness at play, or any thing else he sets his mind on, in the intervals between his hours of business, that he is not of himself inclined to laziness, but that only want of relish of his book makes him negligent and sluggish in his application to it; the first step is to try, by talking to him kindly of the folly and inconvenience of it, whereby he loses a good part of his time, which he might have for his diversion: but be sure to talk calmly and kindly, and not much at first, but only these plain reasons in short. If this prevails, you have gained the point in the most desirable way, which is that of reason and kindness. If this softer application prevails not, try to shame him out of it, by laughing at him for it, asking every day, when he comes to the table, if there be no strangers there, "how long he was that day about his business?" And if he has not done it, in the time he might be well supposed to have dispatched it, expose and turn him into ridicule for it; but mix no chiding, only put on a pretty cold brow towards him, and keep it till he reform; and let his mother, tutor, and all about him do so too. If this work not the effect you desire, then tell him, "he shall be no longer troubled with a tutor to take care of his education: you will not be at the charge to have him spend his time idly with him; but since he prefers this or that, [whatever play he delights in,] to his book, that only he shall do;" and so in earnest set him to work on his beloved play, and keep him steadily, and in earnest to it, morning and afternoon, till he be fully surfeited, and would, at any rate, change it for some hours at his book again: but when you thus set him his task of play, you must be sure to look after him yourself, or set somebody else to do it, that may constantly see him employed in it, and that he be not permitted to be idle at that too. I say, yourself look after him; for it is worth the father's while, whatever business he has, to bestow two or three days upon his son, to cure so great a mischief as his sauntering at his business.

119. This is what I propose, if it be idleness, not from his general temper, but a peculiar or acquired aversion to learning, which you must be careful to examine and distinguish. But though you have your eyes upon him, to watch what he does with the time which he has at his own disposal, yet you must not let him perceive that you, or any body else do so; for that may hinder him from following his own inclinations, which he being full of, and not daring, for fear of you, to prosecute what his head and heart are set upon, he may neglect all other things, which then he relishes not, and so may seem to be idle and listless, when, in truth, it is nothing but being intent on that, which the fear of your eye or knowledge keeps him from executing. To be clear in this point, the observation must be made when you are out of the way, and he not so much as under the restraint of a suspicion that any body has an eye upon him. In those seasons of perfect freedom, let somebody you can trust mark how he spends his time, whether he inactively loiters it away, when, without any check, he is left to his own inclination. Thus, by his employing of such times of liberty, you will easily discern whether it be listlessness in his temper, or aversion to his book, that makes him saunter away his time of study.

120. If some defect in his constitution has cast a damp on his mind, and he be naturally listless and dreaming, this unpromising disposition is none of the

easiest to be dealt with; because, generally carrying with it an unconcernedness for the future, it wants the two great springs of action, foresight and desire; which, how to plant and increase, where nature has given a cold and contrary temper, will be the question. As soon as you are satisfied that this is the case, you must carefully inquire whether there be nothing he delights in; inform yourself what it is he is most pleased with; and if you can find any particular tendency his mind hath, increase it all you can, and make use of that to set him on work, and to excite his industry. If he loves praise, or play, or fine clothes, &c., or, on the other side, dreads pain, disgrace, or your displeasure, &c., whatever it be that he loves most, except it be sloth, (for that will never set him on work,) let that be made use of to quicken him, and make him bestir himself; for in this listless temper you are not to fear an excess of appetite, (as in all other cases,) by cherishing it. It is that which you want, and, therefore, must labor to raise and increase; for, where there is no desire, there will be no industry.

121. If you have not hold enough upon him this way, to stir up vigor and activity in him, you must employ him in some constant bodily labor, whereby he may get an habit of doing something; the keeping him hard to some study were the better way to get him an habit of exercising and applying his mind. But because this is an invisible attention, and nobody can tell when he is, or is not idle at it, you must find bodily employments for him, which he must be constantly busied in, and kept to; and, if they have some little hardship and shame in them, it may not be the worse, that they may the sooner weary him, and make him desire to return to his book: but be sure when you exchange his book for his other labor, set him such a task, to be done in such a time, as may allow him no opportunity to be idle. Only, after you have by this way brought him to be attentive and industrious at his book, you may, upon his dispatching his study within the time set him, give him as a reward, some respite from his other labor; which you may diminish, as you find him grow more and more steady in his application; and, at last, wholly take off, when his sauntering at his books is cured.

COMPULSION.

122. We formerly observe, that variety and freedom was that which delighted children, and recommended their plays to them; and that, therefore, their book, or any thing we would have them learn, should not be enjoined them as business. This their parents, tutors, and teachers, are apt to forget; and their impatience to have them busied in what is fit for them to do, suffers them not to deceive them into it; but by the repeated injunctions they meet with, children quickly distinguish between what is required of them, and what not. When this mistake has once made his book uneasy to him, the cure is to be applied at the other end. And since it will be then too late to endeavor to make it a play to him, you must take the contrary course; observe what play he is most delighted with; enjoin that, and make him play so many hours every day, not as a punishment for playing, but as if it were the business required of him. This, if I mistake not, will in a few days, make him so weary of his most beloved sport, that he will prefer his book, or any thing to it, especially if it may redeem him from any part of the task of play is set him; and he may be suffered to employ some part of the time destined to his task of play in his book, or such other exercise as is really useful to him. This I at least think a better cure than that forbidding, (which usually increases the desire,) or any other

punishment should be made use of to remedy it; for, when you have once glutted his appetite, (which may safely be done in all things but eating and drinking,) and made him surfeit of what you would have him avoid, you have put into him a principle of aversion, and you need not so much fear afterwards his longing for the same thing again.

123. This, I think, is sufficiently evident, that children generally hate to be idle: all the care then is, that their busy humor should be constantly employed in something of use to them; which if you will attain, you must make what you would have them do, a recreation to them, and not a business. The way to do this, so that they may not perceive you have any hand in it, is this proposed here, viz., to make them weary of that which you would not have them do, by enjoining and making them, under some pretense or other, do it till they are surfeited. For example; does your son play at top and scourge too much? Enjoin him to play so many hours every day, and look that he do it; and you shall see he will quickly be sick of it, and willing to leave it. By this means making the recreations you dislike a business to him, he will of himself, with delight, betake himself to those things you would have him do, especially if they be proposed as rewards for having performed his task in that play which is commanded him. For, if he be ordered every day to whip his top, so long as to make him sufficiently weary, do you not think he will apply himself with eagerness to his book, and wish for it, if you promise it him as a reward of having whipped his top lustily, quite out all the time that is set him? Children, in the things they do, if they comport with their age, find little difference, so they may be doing: the esteem they have for one thing above another, they borrow from others; so that what those about them make to be a reward to them, will really be so. By this art, it is in their governor's choice, whether scotch-hoppers shall reward their dancing, or dancing their scotch-hoppers; whether peg-top, or reading, playing at trap, or studying the globes, shall be more acceptable and pleasing to them; all that they desire being to be busy, as they imagine, in things of their own choice, and which they receive as favors from their parents, or others for whom they have a respect and with whom they would be in credit. A set of children thus ordered, and kept from the ill example of others, would, all of them, I suppose, with as much earnestness and delight, learn to read, write, and what else one would have them, as others do their ordinary plays: and the eldest being thus entered, and this made the fashion of the place, it would be as impossible to hinder them from learning the one, as it is ordinarily to keep them from the other.

PLAY-GAMES.

124. Playthings, I think, children should have, and of divers sorts; but still to be in the custody of their tutors, or somebody else, whereof a child should have in his power but one at once, and should not be suffered to have another, but when he restored that; this teaches them, betimes, to be careful of not losing or spoiling the things they have; whereas plenty and variety, in their own keeping, makes them wanton and careless, and teaches them from the beginning to be squanderers and wasters. These, I confess, are little things, and such as will seem beneath the care of a governor; but nothing that may form children's minds is to be overlooked and neglected; and whatsoever introduces habits, and settles customs in them, deserves the care and attention of their governors, and is not a small thing in its consequences.

One thing more about children's playthings may be worth their parents' care: though it be agreed they should have of several sorts, yet, I think, they should have none bought for them. This will hinder that great variety they are often overcharged with, which serves only to teach the mind to wander after change and superfluity, to be unquiet, and perpetually stretching itself after something more still, though it knows not what, and never to be satisfied with what it hath. The court that is made to people of condition in such kind of presents to their children, does the little ones great harm; by it they are taught pride, vanity, and covetousness, almost before they can speak; and I have known a young child so distracted with the number and variety of his play-games, that he tired his maid every day to look them over; and was so accustomed to abundance, that he never thought he had enough, but was always asking, What more? What more? What new thing shall I have? A good introduction to moderate desires, and the ready way to make a contented happy man.

How then shall they have the play-games you allow them, if none must be bought for them? I answer, they should make them themselves, or at least endeavor it, and set themselves about it; till then they should have none, and till then, they will want none of any great artifice. A smooth pebble, a piece of paper, the mother's bunch of keys, or any thing they can not hurt themselves with, serves as much to divert little children, as those more chargeable and curious toys from the shops, which are presently put out of order and broken. Children are never dull or out of humor for want of such playthings, unless they have been used to them; when they are little, whatever occurs, serves the turn; and as they grow bigger, if they are not stored by the expensive folly of others, they will make them themselves. Indeed, when they once begin to set themselves to work about any of their inventions, they should be taught and assisted; but should have nothing whilst they lazily sit still, expecting to be furnished from other hands without employing their own: and if you help them where they are at a stand, it will more endear you to them, than any chargeable toys you shall buy for them. Playthings which are above their skill to make, as tops, gigs, battledores, and the like, which are to be used with labor, should, indeed, be procured them: these, it is convenient, they should have, not for variety, but for exercise; but these, too, should be given them as bare as might be. If they had a top, the scourge-stick and leather-strap should be left to their own making and fitting. If they sit gaping to have such things drop into their mouths, they should go without them. This will accustom them to seek for what they want in themselves, and in their own endeavors; whereby they will be taught moderation in their desires, application, industry, thought, contrivance, and good husbandry; qualities that will be useful to them when they are men, and therefore, can not be learned too soon, nor fixed too deep. All the plays and diversions of children should be directed towards good and useful habits, or else they will introduce ill ones. Whatever they do, leaves some impression on that tender age, and from thence they receive a tendency to good or evil: and whatever hath such an influence, ought not to be neglected.

LYING.

125. Lying is so ready and cheap a cover for any miscarriage, and so much in fashion amongst all sorts of people, that a child can hardly avoid observing the use is made of it on all occasions, and so can scarce be kept, without great care, from getting into it. But it is so ill a quality, and the mother of so many

ill ones, that spawn from it, and take shelter under it, that a child should be brought up in the greatest abhorrence of it imaginable: it should be always, (when occasionally it comes to be mentioned,) spoken of before him with the utmost detestation, as a quality so wholly inconsistent with the name and character of a gentleman, that nobody of any credit can bear the imputation of a lie; a mark that is judged the utmost disgrace, which debases a man to the lowest degree of a shameful meanness, and ranks him with the most contemptible part of mankind, and the abhorred rascality; and is not to be endured in any one, who would converse with people of condition, or have any esteem or reputation in the world. The first time he is found in a lie, it should rather be wondered at, as a monstrous thing in him, than reproved as an ordinary fault. If that keeps him not from relapsing, the next time he must be sharply rebuked, and fall into the state of great displeasure of his father and mother, and all about him who take notice of it. And if this way work not the cure, you must come to blows; for, after he has been thus warned, a premeditated lie must always be looked upon as obstinacy, and never be permitted to escape unpunished.

EXCUSES.

126. Children afraid to have their faults seen in their naked colors, will, like the rest of the sons of Adam, be apt to make excuses. This is a fault usually bordering upon, and leading to untruth, and is not to be indulged in them: but yet it ought to be cured rather with shame than roughness. If, therefore, when a child is questioned for anything, his first answer be an excuse, warn him soberly to tell the truth; and then, if he persists to shuffle it off with a falsehood, he must be chastised; but, if he directly confess, you must commend his ingenuity, and pardon the fault, be it what it will; and pardon it so, that you never so much as reproach him with it, or mention it to him again; for, if you would have him in love with ingenuity, and by a constant practice make it habitual to him, you must take care that it never procure him the least inconvenience; but, on the contrary, his own confession, bringing always with it perfect impunity, should be, besides, encouraged by some marks of approbation. If his excuse be such at any time, that you can not prove it to have any falsehood in it, let it pass for true, and be sure not to show any suspicion of it. Let him keep up his reputation with you as high as is possible; for when once he finds he has lost that, you have lost a great and your best hold upon him. Therefore, let him not think he has the character of a liar with you, as long as you can avoid it without flattering him in it. Thus, some slips in truth may be overlooked. But, after he has once been corrected for a lie, you must be sure never after to pardon it in him, whenever you find, and take notice to him, that he is guilty of it: for it being a fault which he has been forbid, and may, unless he be willful, avoid, the repeating of it is perfect perverseness, and must have the chastisement due to that offense.

127. This is what I have thought concerning the general method of educating a young gentleman; which, though I am apt to suppose may have some influence on the whole course of his education, yet I am far from imagining it contains all those particulars which his growing years, or peculiar temper, may require. But this being premised in general, we shall, in the next place, descend to a more particular consideration of the several parts of his education.

128. That which every gentleman, (that takes any care of his education,)

desires for his son, besides the estate he leaves him, is contained, (I suppose,) in these four things, virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning. I will not trouble myself whether these names do not some of them sometimes stand for the same thing, or really include one another. It serves my turn here to follow the popular use of these words, which I presume is clear enough to make me be understood, and I hope there will be no difficulty to comprehend my meaning.

129. I place virtue as the first and most necessary of those endowments that belong to a man or a gentleman, as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himself. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this nor the other world.

GOD.

130. As the foundation of this, there ought very early to be imprinted on his mind, a true notion of God, as of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all things, from whom we receive all our good, who loves us, and gives us all things: and, consequent to this, instill into him a love and reverence of this Supreme Being. This is enough to begin with, without going to explain this matter any farther, for fear lest by talking too early to him of spirits, and being unseasonably forward to make him understand the incomprehensible nature of that infinite Being, his head be either filled with false, or perplexed with unintelligible notions of him. Let him only be told upon occasion, that God made and governs all things, hears and sees every thing, and does all manner of good to those that love and obey him. You will find, that being told of such a God, other thoughts will be apt to rise up fast enough in his mind about him; which, as you observe them to have any mistakes, you must set right. And I think it would be better, if men generally rested in such an idea of God, without being too curious in their notions about a Being, which all must acknowledge incomprehensible; whereby many who have not strength and clearness of thought to distinguish between what they can, and what they can not know, run themselves into superstition or atheism, making God like themselves, or, (because they can not comprehend any thing else,) none at all. And I am apt to think the keeping of children constantly morning and evening to acts of devotion to God, as to their Maker, Preserver and Benefactor, in some plain and short form of prayer, suitable to their age and capacity, will be of much more use to them in religion, knowledge, and virtue, than to distract their thoughts with curious inquiries into his inscrutable essence and being.

SPIRITS.

131. Having by gentle degrees, as you find him capable of it, settled such an idea of God in his mind, and taught him to pray to him, and praise him as the Author of his being, and of all the good he does or can enjoy, forbear any discourse of other spirits, till the mention of them coming in his way, upon occasion hereafter to be set down, and his reading the Scripture-history, put him upon that inquiry.

GOBLINS.

132. But even then, and always whilst he is young, be sure to preserve his tender mind from all impressions and notions of spirits and goblins, or any fearful apprehensions in the dark. This he will be in danger of from the indiscretion of servants, whose usual method is to awe children, and keep them in subjection, by telling them of raw-head and bloody-bones, and such other

names, as carry with them the ideas of something terrible and hurtful, which they have reason to be afraid of, when alone, especially in the dark. This must be carefully prevented; for though by this foolish way they may keep them from little faults, yet the remedy is much worse than the disease; and there are stamped upon their imaginations ideas that follow them with terror and affrightment. Such bugbear thoughts, once got into the tender minds of children, and being set on with a strong impression from the dread that accompanies such apprehensions, sink deep, and fasten themselves so, as not easily, if ever, to be got out again; and, whilst they are there, frequently haunt them with strange visions, making children dastards when alone, and afraid of their shadows and darkness all their lives after. I have had those complain to me, when men, who had been thus used when young; that, though their reason corrected the wrong ideas they had taken in, and they were satisfied, that there was no cause to fear invisible beings more in the dark than in the light; yet that these notions were apt still, upon any occasion, to start up first in their prepossessed fancies, and not to be removed without some pains. And, to let you see how lasting frightful images are, that take place in the mind early, I shall here tell you a pretty remarkable, but true story: there was in a town in the west, a man of a disturbed brain, whom the boys used to tease, when he came in their way: this fellow one day, seeing in the street one of those lads that used to vex him, stepped into a cutler's shop he was near, and there seizing on a naked sword, made after the boy, who seeing him coming so armed, betook himself to his feet, and ran for his life, and by good luck had strength and heels enough to reach his father's house, before the madman could get up to him: the door was only latched; and when he had the latch in his hand, he turned about his head to see how near his pursuer was, who was at the entrance of the porch, with his sword up ready to strike; and he had just time to get in and clap to the door to avoid the blow, which, though his body escaped, his mind did not. This frightening idea made so deep an impression there, that it lasted many years, if not all his life after; for telling this story when he was a man, he said, that after that time till then, he never went in at that door, (that he could remember,) at any time, without looking back, whatever business he had in his head, or how little soever, before he came thither, he thought of this madman.

If children were let alone, they would be no more afraid in the dark than in broad sunshine; they would in their turns as much welcome the one for sleep, as the other to play in: there should be no distinction made to them, by any discourse, of more danger, or terrible things in the one than the other. But, if the folly of any one about them should do them this harm, and make them think there is any difference between being in the dark and winking, you must get it out of their minds as soon as you can; and let them know, that God, who made all things good for them, made the night, that they might sleep the better and quieter; and that they being under his protection, there is nothing in the dark to hurt them. What is to be known more of God and good spirits, is to be deferred till the time we shall hereafter mention; and of evil spirits, it will be well if you can keep him from wrong fancies about them, till he is ripe for that sort of knowledge.

TRUTH. GOOD-NATURE.

133. Having laid the foundations of virtue in a true notion of a God, such as the creed wisely teaches, as far as his age is capable, and by accustoming him to

pray to him; the next thing to be taken care of, is to keep him exactly to speaking of truth, and by all the ways imaginable inclining him to be good-natured. Let him know, that twenty faults are sooner to be forgiven than the straining of truth, to cover any one by an excuse: and to teach him betimes to love and be good-natured to others, is to lay early the true foundation of an honest man; all injustice generally springing from too great love of ourselves, and too little of others.

This is all I shall say of this matter in general, and is enough for laying the first foundations of virtue in a child. As he grows up, the tendency of his natural inclination must be observed; which, as it inclines him, more than is convenient, on one or the other side, from the right path of virtue, ought to have proper remedies applied; for few of Adam's children are so happy as not to be born with some bias in their natural temper, which it is the business of education either to take off, or counterbalance: but to enter into particulars of this, would be beyond the design of this short treatise of education. I intend not a discourse of all the virtues and vices, and how each virtue is to be attained, and every particular vice by its peculiar remedies cured; though I have mentioned some of the most ordinary faults, and the ways to be used in correcting them.

WISDOM.

134. Wisdom I take, in the popular acceptation, for a man's managing his business ably, and with foresight, in this world. This is the product of a good natural temper, application of mind and experience together, and so above the reach of children. The greatest thing that in them can be done towards it, is to hinder them, as much as may be, from being cunning; which being the ape of wisdom, is the most distant from it that can be: and, as an ape, for the likeness it has to a man, wanting what really should make him so, is by so much the uglier; cunning is only the want of understanding; which, because it can not compass its ends by direct ways, would do it by a trick and circumvention; and the mischief of it is, a cunning trick helps but once, but hinders ever after. No cover was ever made either so big, or so fine, as to hide itself. Nobody was ever so cunning, as to conceal their being so: and when they are once discovered, every body is shy, every body distrustful of crafty men; and all the world forwardly join to oppose and defeat them: whilst the open, fair, wise man has every body to make way for him, and goes directly to his business. To accustom a child to have true notions of things, and not to be satisfied till he has them; to raise his mind to great and worthy thoughts; and to keep him at a distance from falsehood, and cunning, which has always a broad mixture of falsehood in it; is the fittest preparation of a child for wisdom. The rest, which is to be learned from time, experience, and observation, and an acquaintance with men, their tempers and designs, is not to be expected in the ignorance and inadvertency of childhood, or the inconsiderate heat and unweariness of youth: all that can be done towards it, during this unripe age, is, as I have said, to accustom them to truth and sincerity; to a submission to reason; and, as much as may be, to reflection on their own actions.

BREEDING.

135. The next good quality belonging to a gentleman, is good-breeding. There are two sorts of ill-breeding; the one a sheepish bashfulness; and the

other, a misbecoming negligence and disrespect in our carriage; both which are avoided, by duly observing this one rule, Not to think meanly of ourselves, and not to think meanly of others.

136. The first part of this rule must not be understood in opposition to humility, but to assurance. We ought not to think so well of ourselves, as to stand upon our own value; and assume to ourselves a preference before others, because of any advantage we may imagine we have over them; but modestly to take what is offered, when it is our due. But yet we ought to think so well of ourselves, as to peform those actions which are incumbent on, and expected of us, without discomposure or disorder, in whose presence soever we are, keeping that respect and distance which is due to every one's rank and quality. There is often in people, especially children, a clownish shamefacedness before strangers, or those above them; they are confounded in their thoughts, words, and looks, and so lose themselves in that confusion, as not to be able to do any thing, or at least not to do it with that freedom and gracefulness which pleases, and makes them acceptable. The only cure for this, as for any other miscarriage, is by use to introduce the contrary habit. But since we can not accustom ourselves to converse with strangers, and persons of quality, without being in their company, nothing can cure this part of ill-breeding but change and variety of company, and that of persons above us.

137. As the before-mentioned consists in too great a concern how to behave ourselves towards others, so the other part of ill-breeding lies in the appearance of too little care of pleasing or showing respect to those we have to do with. To avoid this these two things are requisite: first, a disposition of the mind not to offend others; and secondly, the most acceptable and agreeable way of expressing that disposition. From the one, men are called civil; from the other, well-fashioned. The latter of these is that decency and gracefulness of looks, voice, words, motions, gestures, and of all the whole outward demeanor, which takes in company, and makes those with whom we may converse easy and well pleased. This is, as it were, the language whereby that internal civility of the mind is expressed; which, as other languages are, being very much governed by the fashion and custom of every country, must in the rules and practice of it, be learned chiefly from observation, and the carriage of those who are allowed to be exactly well-bred. The other part, which lies deeper than the outside, is that general good-will and regard for all people, which makes any one have a care not to show, in his carriage, any contempt, disrespect, or neglect of them; but to express, according to the fashion and way of that country, a respect and value for them, according to their rank and condition. It is a disposition of the mind that shows itself in the carriage, whereby a man avoids making any one uneasy in conversation.

I shall take notice of four qualities, that are most directly opposite to this first and most taking of all the social virtues. And from some one of these four, it is, that incivility commonly has its rise. I shall set them down, that children may be preserved or recovered from their ill influence.

ROUGHNESS.

1. The first is a natural roughness, which makes a man uncomplaisant to others, so that he has no deference for their inclinations, tempers, or conditions. It is the sure badge of a clown, not to mind what pleases or displeases those he is with; and yet one may often find a man, in fashionable clothes, give an un-

bounded swing to his own humor, and suffer it to justle or overrun any one that stands in its way, with a perfect indifferency how they take it. This is a brutality that every one sees and abhors, and nobody can be easy with: and therefore this finds no place in any one, who would be thought to have the least tincture of good-breeding. For the very end and business of good-breeding is to supple the natural stiffness, and so soften men's tempers, that they may bend to a compliance, and accommodate themselves to those they have to do with.

CONTEMPT.

2. Contempt, or want of due respect, discovered either in looks, words, or gestures: this, from whomsoever it comes, brings always uneasiness with it; for nobody can contentedly bear being slighted.

CENSORIOUSNESS. RAILLERY.

3. Censoriousness, and finding fault with others, has a direct opposition to civility. Men, whatever they are, or are not guilty of, would not have their faults displayed, and set in open view and broad daylight, before their own, or other people's eyes. Blemishes affixed to any one, always carry shame with them: and the discovery, or even bare imputation of any defect, is not borno without some uneasiness. Raillery is the most refined way of exposing the faults of others; but, because it is usually done with wit and good language, and gives entertainment to the company, people are led into a mistake, and, where it keeps within fair bounds, there is no incivility in it: and so the pleasantry of this sort of conversation often introduces it amongst people of the better rank; and such talkers are favorably heard, and generally applauded by the laughter of the by-standers on their side: but they ought to consider, that the entertainment of the rest of the company is at the cost of that one, who is set out in their burlesque colors, who, therefore, is not without uneasiness, unless the subject, for which he is rallied, be really in itself matter of commendation; for then the pleasant images and representations which make the raillery, carrying praise as well as sport with them, the rallied person also finds his account, and takes part in the diversion. But, because the nice management of so nice and ticklish a business, wherein a little slip may spoil all, is not every body's talent, I think those, who would secure themselves from provoking others, especially all young people, should carefully abstain from raillery; which, by a small mistake, or any wrong turn, may leave upon the mind of those, who are made uneasy by it, the lasting memory of having been piquantly, though wittily, taunted for something censurable in them.

CONTRADICTION.

Besides raillery, contradiction is a kind of censoriousness, where-in ill-breeding often shows itself. Complaisance does not require that we should always admit all the reasonings or relations that the company is entertained with; no, nor silently let pass all that is vented in our hearing. The opposing the opinions, and rectifying the mistakes of others, is what truth and charity sometimes require of us, and civility does not oppose, if it be done with due caution and care of circumstances. But there are some people, that one may observe possessed, as it were, with the spirit of contradiction, that steadily, and without regard to right or wrong, oppose some one, or perhaps every one of the company, whatever they say. This is so visible and outrageous a way of censuring,

that nobody can avoid thinking himself injured by it. All opposition to what another man has said, is so apt to be suspected of censoriousness, and is so seldom received without some sort of humiliation, that it ought to be made in the gentlest manner, and softest words can be found; and such as, with the whole deportment, may express no forwardness to contradict. All marks of respect and good-will ought to accompany it, that whilst we gain the argument, we may not lose the esteem of those that hear us.

CAPTIOUSNESS.

4. Captiousness is another fault opposite to civility, not only because it often produces misbecoming and provoking expressions and carriage, but because it is a tacit accusation and reproach of some incivility, taken notice of in those whom we are angry with. Such a suspicion, or intimation, can not be borne by any one without uneasiness. Besides, one angry body discomposes the whole company, and the harmony ceases upon any such jarring.

The happiness, that all men so steadily pursue, consisting in pleasure, it is easy to see why the civil are more acceptable than the useful. The ability, sincerity, and good intention, of a man of weight and worth, or a real friend, seldom atone for the uneasiness, that is produced by his grave and solid representations. Power and riches, nay virtue itself, are valued only as conducing to our happiness; and, therefore, he recommends himself ill to another as aiming at his happiness, who, in the services he does him, makes him uneasy in the manner of doing them. He that knows how to make those he converses with easy, without debasing himself to low and servile flattery, has found the true art of living in the world, and being both welcome and valued every where. Civility therefore, is what, in the first place, should with great care be made habitual to children and young people.

BREEDING.

138. There is another fault in good manners, and that is, excess of ceremony and an obstinate persisting to force upon another what is not his due, and what he can not take without folly or shame. This seems rather a design to expose, than oblige; or, at least, looks like a contest for mastery; and, at best, is but troublesome, and so can be no part of good-breeding, which has no other use or end, but to make people easy and satisfied in their conversation with us. This is a fault few young people are apt to fall into; but yet, if they are ever guilty of it, or are suspected to incline that way, they should be told of it, and warned of this mistaken civility. The thing they should endeavor and aim at in conversation, should be to show respect, esteem, and good-will, by paying to every one that common ceremony and regard, which is in civility due to them. To do this, without a suspicion of flattery, dissimulation, or meanness, is a great skill, which good sense, reason, and good company, can only teach; but is of so much use in civil life, that it is well worth the studying.

139. Though the managing ourselves well in this part of our behavior has the name of good-breeding, as if peculiarly the effect of education; yet, as I have said, young children should not be much perplexed about it; I mean, about putting off their hats, and making legs modishly. Teach them humility, and to be good-natured, if you can, and this sort of manners will not be wanting: being in truth, nothing but a care not to show any slighting, or contempt, of any one in conversation. What are the most allowed and esteemed ways of

expressing this, we have above observed. It is as peculiar and different, in several countries of the world, as their languages; and, therefore, if it be rightly considered, rules and discourses, made to children about it, are as useless and impertinent, as it would be, now and then, to give a rule or two of the Spanish tongue, to one that converses only with Englishmen. Be as busy as you please with discourses of civility to your son; such as is his company, such will be his manners. A plowman of your neighborhood, that has never been out of his parish, read what lectures you please to him, will be as soon in his language, as his carriage, a courtier; that is, in neither will be more polite, than those he uses to converse with: and, therefore, of this no other care can be taken, till he be of an age to have a tutor put to him, who must not fail to be a well-bred man. And, in good earnest, if I were to speak my mind freely, so children do nothing out of obstinacy, pride, and ill-nature, it is no great matter how they put off their hats, or make legs. If you can teach them to love and respect other people, they will, as their age requires it, find ways to express it acceptably to every one, according to the fashions they have been used to: and as to their notions, and carriage of their bodies, a dancing-master, as has been said, when it is fit, will teach them what is most becoming. In the mean time, when they are young, people expect not that children should be over-mindful of these ceremonies; carelessness is allowed to that age, and becomes them as well as compliments do grown people: or, at least, if some very nice people will think it a fault, I am sure it is a fault that should be overlooked, and left to time, a tutor, and conversation, to cure: and, therefore, I think it not worth your while to have your son, (as I often see children are,) molested or chid about it; but where there is pride, or ill-nature, appearing in his carriage, there he must be persuaded, or shamed out of it.

INTERRUPTION.

Though children when little, should not be much perplexed with rules and ceremonious parts of breeding; yet there is a sort of unmannerliness very apt to grow up with young people, if not early restrained; and that is a forwardness to interrupt others that are speaking, and to stop them with some contradiction. Whether the custom of disputing, and the reputation of parts, and learning usually given to it, as if it were the only standard and evidence of knowledge, make young men so forward to watch occasions to correct others in their discourse, and not to slip any opportunity of showing their talents; so it is, that I have found scholars most blamed in this point. There can not be a greater rudeness, than to interrupt another in the current of his discourse; for, if there be not impertinent folly in answering a man before we know what he will say, yet it is a plain declaration, that we are weary to hear him talk any longer, and have a disesteem of what he says; which we, judging not fit to entertain the company, desire them to give audience to us, who have something to produce worth their attention. This shows a very great disrespect, and can not but be offensive; and yet, this is what almost all interruption constantly carries with it. To which, if there be added, as is usual, a correcting of any mistake, or a contradiction of what has been said, it is a mark of yet greater pride and self-conceitedness, when we thus intrude ourselves for teachers, and take upon us, either to set another right in his story, or show the mistakes of his judgment.

I do not say this, that I think there should be no difference of opinions in

conversation, nor opposition in men's discourses: this would be to take away the greatest advantage of society, and the improvements that are to be made by ingenious company, where the light is to be got from the opposite arguings of men of parts, showing the different sides of things, and their various aspects and probabilities, would be quite lost, if every one were obliged to assent to, and say after the first speaker. It is not the owning one's dissent from another that I speak against, but the manner of doing it. Young men should be taught not to be forward to interpose their opinions, unless asked, or when others have done, and are silent; and then only by way of inquiry, not instruction. The positive asserting, and the magisterial air, should be avoided; and when a general pause of the whole company affords an opportunity, they may modestly put in their question as learners.

This becoming decency will not cloud their parts, nor weaken the strength of their reason; but bespeak the more favorable attention, and give what they say the greater advantage. An ill argument, or ordinary observation, thus introduced, with some civil preface of deference and respect to the opinions of others, will procure them more credit and esteem, than the sharpest wit, or profoundest science, with a rough, insolent, and noisy management; which always shocks the hearers, and leaves an ill opinion of the man, though he get the better of it in the argument.

DISPUTE.

This, therefore, should be carefully watched in young people, stopped in the beginning, and the contrary habit introduced in all their conversation: and the rather, because forwardness to talk, frequent interruptions in arguing, and loud wrangling, are too often observable amongst grown people, even of rank amongst us. The Indians, whom we call barbarous, observe much more decency and civility in their discourses and conversation, giving one another a fair silent hearing, till they have quite done; and then answering them calmly, and without noise or passion. And if it be not so in this civilized part of the world, we must impute it to a neglect in education, which has not yet reformed this ancient piece of barbarity amongst us. Was it not, think you, an entertaining spectacle, to see two ladies of quality accidentally seated on the opposite sides of a room, set round with company, fall into a dispute, and grow so eager in it, that in the heat of their controversy, edging by degrees their chairs forwards, they were in a little time got up close to one another in the middle of the room; where they for a good while managed the dispute as fiercely as two game-cocks in the pit, without minding or taking any notice of the circle, which could not all the while forbear smiling? This I was told by a person of quality, who was present at the combat, and did not omit to reflect upon the indecencies, that warmth in dispute often runs people into; which, since custom makes too frequent, education should take the more care of. There is nobody but condemns this in others, though they overlook it in themselves: and many who are sensible of it in themselves, and resolve against it, can not get rid of an ill custom, which neglect in their education has suffered to settle into an habit.

COMPANY.

140. What has been above said concerning company, would, perhaps, if it were well reflected on, give us a larger prospect, and let us see how much farther its influence reaches. It is not the modes of civility alone, that are

imprinted by conversation; the tincture of company sinks deeper than the outside; and possibly, if a true estimate were made of the morality and religions of the world, we should find, that the far greater part of mankind received even those opinions and ceremonies they would die for, rather from the fashions of their countries, and the constant practice of those about them, than from any conviction of their reasons. I mention this only to let you see of what moment I think company is to your son in all the parts of his life, and, therefore, how much that one part is to be weighed and provided for, it being of greater force to work upon him than all you can do besides.

LEARNING.

141. You will wonder, perhaps, that I put learning last, especially if I tell you I think it the least part. This may seem strange in the mouth of a bookish man: and this making usually the chief, if not only bustle and stir about children, this being almost that alone which is thought on, when people talk of education, makes it the greater paradox. When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking, that the parents of children still live in fear of the school-master's rod, which they look on as the only instrument of education; as if a language or two were its whole business. How else is it possible, that a child should be chained to the oar seven, eight, or ten of the best years of his life, to get a language or two, which I think might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of pains and time, and be learned almost in playing?

Forgive me, therefore, if I say, I can not with patience think, that a young gentleman should be put into the herd, and be driven with the whip and scourge, as if he were to run the gauntlet through the several classes, "ad capiendum ingenii cultum." "What then, say you, would you not have him write and read? Shall he be more ignorant than the clerk of our parish, who takes Hopkins and Sternhold for the best poets in the world, whom yet he makes worse than they are, by his ill reading?" Not so, not so fast, I beseech you. Reading, and writing, and learning, I allow to be necessary, but yet not the chief business. I imagine you would think him a very foolish fellow, that should not value a virtuous, or a wise man, infinitely before a great scholar. Not but that I think learning a great help to both, in well disposed minds; but yet it must be confessed also, that in others not so disposed, it helps them only to be the more foolish, or worse men. I say this, that, when you consider of the breeding of your son, and are looking out for a school-master, or a tutor, you would not have, (as is usual,) Latin and logic only in your thoughts. Learning must be had, but in the second place as subservient only to greater qualities. Seek out somebody, that may know how discreetly to frame his manners: place him in hands, where you may, as much as possible, secure his innocence, cherish and nurse up the good, and gently correct and weed out any bad inclinations, and settle in him good habits. This is the main point; and this being provided for, learning may be had into the bargain; and that, as I think, at a very easy rate, by methods that may be thought on.

READING.

142. When he can talk, it is time he should begin to learn to read. But as to this, give me leave here to inculcate again what is very apt to be forgotten,

viz., that a great care is to be taken, that it be never made as a business to him, nor he look on it as a task. We naturally, as I said, even from our cradles, love liberty, and have, therefore, an aversion to many things, for no other reason, but because they are enjoined us. I have always had a fancy, that learning might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honor, credit, delight, and recreation, or as a reward for doing something else, and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it. That which confirms me in this opinion is, that amongst the Portuguese, it is so much a fashion and emulation amongst their children to learn to read and write, that they can not hinder them from it: they will learn it one from another, and are as intent on it as if it were forbid them. I remember, that being at a friend's house, whose younger son, a child in coats, was not easily brought to his book, (being taught to read at home by his mother;) I advised to try another way than requiring it of him as his duty. We therefore, in a discourse on purpose amongst ourselves, in his hearing, but without taking any notice of him, declared, that it was the privilege and advantage of heirs and elder brothers, to be scholars; that this made them fine gentlemen, and beloved by every body: and that for younger brothers, it was a favor to admit them to breeding; to be taught to read and write was more than came to their share; they might be ignorant bumpkins and clowns, if they pleased. This so wrought upon the child, that afterwards he desired to be taught; would come himself to his mother to learn; and would not let his maid be quiet, till she heard him his lesson. I doubt not but some way like this might be taken with other children; and, when their tempers are found, some thoughts be instilled into them, that might set them upon desiring of learning themselves, and make them seek it, as another sort of play or recreation. But then, as I said before, it must never be imposed as a task, nor made a trouble to them. There may be dice and playthings, with the letters on them, to teach children the alphabet by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular tempers, to make this kind of learning a sport to them.

143. Thus children may be cozened into a knowledge of the letters; be taught to read, without perceiving it to be any thing but a sport, and play themselves into that which others are whipped for. Children should not have any thing like work, or serious, laid on them; neither their minds nor bodies will bear it. It injures their healths; and their being forced and tied down to their books, in an age at enmity with all such restraint, has, I doubt not, been the reason why a great many have hated books and learning all their lives after: it is like a surfeit, that leaves an aversion, behind not to be removed.

144. I have therefore thought, that if playthings were fitted to this purpose, as they are usually to none, contrivances might be made to teach children to read, whilst they thought they were only playing. For example; What if an ivory-ball were made like that of the royal oak lottery, with thirty-two sides, or rather of twenty-four or twenty-five sides; and upon several of those sides pasted on an A, upon several others B, on others C, on others D? I would have you begin with but these four letters, or perhaps only two at first; and when he is perfect in them, then add another; and so on, till each side having one letter, there be on it the whole alphabet. This I would have others play with before him, it being as good a sort of play to lay a stake who shall first throw an A or B, as who upon dice shall throw six or seven. This being a play

amongst you, tempt him not to it, lest you make it business; for I would not have him understand it is any thing but a play of older people, and I doubt not but he will take to it of himself. And that he may have the more reason to think it is a play, that he is sometimes in favor admitted to; when the play is done, the ball should be laid up safe out of his reach, that so it may not, by his having it in his keeping at any time, grow stale to him.

145. To keep up his eagerness to it, let him think it a game belonging to those above him: and when by this means he knows the letters, by changing them into syllables, he may learn to read, without knowing how he did so, and never have any chiding or trouble about it, nor fall out with books, because of the hard usage and vexation they have caused him. Children, if you observe them, take abundance of pains to learn several games, which, if they should be enjoined them, they would abhor as a task, and business. I know a person of great quality, (more yet to be honored for his learning and virtue, than for his rank and high place,) who, by pasting on the six vowels, (for in our language Y is one,) on the six sides of a die, and the remaining eighteen consonants on the sides of three other dice, has made this a play for his children, that he shall win, who at one cast, throws most words on these four dice; whereby his eldest son, yet in coats, has played himself into spelling, with great eagerness, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it.

146. I have seen little girls exercise whole hours together, and take abundance of pains to be expert at dibstones, as they call it. Whilst I have been looking on, I have thought it wanted only some good contrivance to make them employ all that industry about something that might be more useful to them; and methinks it is only the fault and negligence of elder people, that it is not so. Children are much less apt to be idle than men; and men are to be blamed, if some part of that busy humor be not turned to useful things; which might be made usually as delightful to them as those they are employed in, if men would be but half so forward to lead the way, as these little apes would be to follow. I imagine some wise Portuguese heretofore began this fashion amongst the children of his country, where I have been told, as I said, it is impossible to hinder the children from learning to read and write: and in some parts of France they teach one another to sing and dance from the cradle.

147. The letters pasted upon the sides of the dice, or polygon, were best to be of the size of those of the folio Bible to begin with, and none of them capital letters; when once he can read what is printed in such letters, he will not long be ignorant of the great ones: and in the beginning he should not be perplexed with variety. With this die also, you might have a play just like the royal-oak, which would be another variety; and play for cherries or apples, &c.

148. Besides these, twenty other plays might be invented, depending on letters, which those, who like this way, may easily contrive, and get made to this use, if they will. But the four dice above mentioned I think so easy and useful, that it will be hard to find any better, and there will be scarce need of any other.

149. Thus much for learning to read, which let him never be driven to, nor chid for; cheat him into it if you can, but make it not a business for him. It is better it be a year later before he can read, than that he should this way get an aversion to learning. If you have any contests with him, let it be in matters of moment, of truth, and good-nature; but lay no task on him about A B C.

Use your skill to make his will supple and pliant to reason: teach him to love credit and commendation; to abhor being thought ill or meanly of, especially by you and his mother; and then the rest will come all easily. But, I think, if you will do that, you must not shackle and tie him up with rules about indifferent matters, nor rebuke him for every little fault, or perhaps some, that to others would seem great ones. But of this I have said enough already.

150. When by these gentle ways he begins to be able to read, some easy pleasant book, suited to his capacity, should be put into his hands, wherein the entertainment that he finds, might draw him on, and reward his pains in reading; and yet not such as should fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery, or lay the principles of vice and folly. To this purpose I think Æsop's Fables the best, which being stories apt to delight and entertain a child, may yet afford useful reflections to a grown man; and if his memory retain them all his life after, he will not repent to find them there, amongst his manly thoughts, and serious business. If his Æsop has pictures in it, it will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the increase of knowledge with it: for such visible objects children hear talked of in vain, and without any satisfaction, whilst they have no ideas of them; those ideas being not to be had from sounds, but from the things themselves, or their pictures. And therefore, I think, as soon as he begins to spell, as many pictures of animals should be got him as can be found, with the printed names to them, which at the same time will invite him to read, and afford him matter of inquiry and knowledge. Reynard the Fox is another book, I think, may be made use of to the same purpose. And if those about him will talk to him often about the stories he has read, and hear him tell them, it will, besides other advantages, add encouragement and delight to his reading, when he finds there is some use and pleasure in it. These baits seem wholly neglected in the ordinary method; and it is usually long before learners find any use or pleasure in reading, which may tempt them to it, and so take books only for fashionable amusements, or impertinent troubles, good for nothing.

151. The Lord's prayer, the creed, and ten commandments, it is necessary he should learn perfectly by heart; but, I think, not by reading them himself in his primer, but by somebody's repeating them to him, even before he can read. But learning by heart, and learning to read, should not, I think, be mixed, and so one made to clog the other. But his learning to read should be made as little trouble or business to him as might be.

What other books there are in English of the kind of those above-mentioned, fit to engage the liking of children, and tempt them to read, I do not know; but am apt to think, that children, being generally delivered over to the method of schools, where the fear of the rod is to enforce, and not any pleasure of the employment to invite them to learn; this sort of useful books, amongst the number of silly ones that are of all sorts, have yet had the fate to be neglected: and nothing that I know has been considered of this kind out of the ordinary road of the horn-book, primer, psalter, Testament, and Bible.

152. As for the Bible, which children are usually employed in, to exercise and improve their talent in reading, I think the promiscuous reading of it, though by chapters as they lie in order, is so far from being of any advantage to children, either for the perfecting their reading, or principling their religion, that perhaps a worse could not be found. For what pleasure or encourage-

ment can it be to a child, to exercise himself in reading those parts of a book where he understands nothing? And how little are the law of Moses, the Song of Solomon, the prophecies in the Old, and the epistles and apocalypse in the New Testament, suited to a child's capacity? And though the history of the evangelists, and the Acts, have something easier; yet, taken all together, it is very disproportional to the understanding of childhood. I grant, that the principles of religion are to be drawn from thence, and in the words of the scripture; yet none should be proposed to a child, but such as are suited to a child's capacity and notions. But it is far from this to read through the whole Bible, and that for reading's sake. And what an odd jumble of thoughts must a child have in his head, if he have any at all, such as he should have concerning religion, who in his tender age reads all the parts of the Bible indifferently, as the word of God, without any other distinction! I am apt to think, that this, in some men, has been the very reason why they never had clear and distinct thoughts of it all their lifetime.

153. And now I am by chance fallen on this subject, give me leave to say, that there are some parts of the scripture, which may be proper to be put into the hands of a child to engage him to read; such as are the story of Joseph and his brethren, of David and Goliath, of David and Jonathan, &c., and others, that he should be made to read for his instruction; as that, "What you would have others do unto you, do you the same unto them;" and such other easy and plain moral rules, which, being fitly chosen, might often be made use of, both for reading and instruction together; and so often read, till they are thoroughly fixed in his memory; and then afterwards, as he grows ripe for them, may in their turns, on fit occasions, be inculcated as the standing and sacred rules of his life and actions. But the reading of the whole scripture indifferently, is what I think very inconvenient for children, till, after having been made acquainted with the plainest fundamental parts of it, they have got some kind of general view of what they ought principally to believe and practice, which yet, I think, they ought to receive in the very words of the scripture, and not in such as men, prepossessed by systems and analogies, are apt in this case to make use of, and force upon them. Dr. Worthington, to avoid this, has made a catechism, which has all its answers in the precise words of the scripture, a thing of good example, and such a sound form of words as no Christian can except against, as not fit for his child to learn. Of this, as soon as he can say the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments by heart, it may be fit for him to learn a question every day, or every week, as his understanding is able to receive, and his memory to retain them. And, when he has this catechism perfectly by heart, so as readily and roundly to answer to any question in the whole book, it may be convenient to lodge in his mind the remaining moral rules, scattered up and down in the Bible, as the best exercise of his memory, and that which may be always a rule to him, ready at hand, in the whole conduct of his life.

WRITING.

154. When he can read English well, it will be seasonable to enter him in writing. And here the first thing should be taught him, is to hold his pen right; and this he should be perfect in, before he should be suffered to put it to paper: for not only children, but any body else, that would do any thing well, should never be put upon too much of it at once, or be set to perfect

themselves in two parts of an action at the same time, if they can possibly be separated. I think the Italian way of holding the pen between the thumb and the fore-finger alone may be best; but in this you should consult some good writing-master, or any other person who writes well and quick. When he has learned to hold his pen right, in the next place he should learn how to lay his paper, and place his arm and body to it. These practices being got over, the way to teach him to write without much trouble, is to get a plate graved with the characters of such a hand as you like best: but you must remember to have them a pretty deal bigger than he should ordinarily write; for every one naturally comes by degrees to write a less hand than he at first was taught, but never a bigger. Such a plate being graved, let several sheets of good writing-paper be printed off with red ink, which he has nothing to do but to go over with a good pen filled with black ink, which will quickly bring his hand to the formation of those characters, being at first showed where to begin, and how to form every letter. And when he can do that well, he must then exercise on fair paper; and so may easily be brought to write the hand you desire.

DRAWING.

155. When he can write well, and quick, I think it may be convenient, not only to continue the exercise of his hand in writing, but also to improve the use of it farther in drawing, a thing very useful to a gentleman on several occasions, but especially if he travel, as that which helps a man often to express, in a few lines well put together, what a whole sheet of paper in writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible. How many buildings may a man see, how many machines and habits meet with, the ideas whereof would be easily retained and communicated by a little skill in drawing; which, being committed to words, are in danger to be lost, or at best but ill retained in the most exact descriptions? I do not mean that I would have your son a perfect painter; to be that to any tolerable degree, will require more time than a young gentleman can spare from his other improvements of greater moment; but so much insight into perspective, and skill in drawing, as will enable him to represent tolerably on paper any thing he sees, except faces, may, I think, be got in a little time, especially if he have a genius to it; but where that is wanting, unless it be in the things absolutely necessary, it is better to let him pass them by quietly, than to vex him about them to no purpose; and therefore in this, as in all other things not absolutely necessary, the rule holds, "Nihil invitâ Minervâ."

SHORT-HAND.

¶ 1. Short-hand, an art, as I have been told, known only in England, may perhaps be thought worth the learning, both for dispatch in what men write for their own memory, and concealment of what they would not have lie open to every eye. For he that has once learned any sort of character, may easily vary it to his own private use or fancy, and with more contraction suit it to the business he would employ it in. Mr. Rich's, the best contrived of any I have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and considers grammar well, be made much easier and shorter. But, for the learning this compendious way of writing, there will be no need hastily to look out a master; it will be early enough, when any convenient opportunity offers itself, at any time after his hand is well settled in fair and quick writing. For boys have but little use of short-hand, and

should by no means practice it, till they write perfectly well, and have thoroughly fixed the habit of doing so.

FRENCH.

156. As soon as he can speak English, it is time for him to learn some other language; this nobody doubts of, when French is proposed. And the reason is, because people are accustomed to the right way of teaching that language, which is by talking it into children in constant conversation, and not by grammatical rules. The Latin tongue would easily be taught the same way, if his tutor, being constantly with him, would talk nothing else to him, and make him answer still in the same language. But because French is a living language, and to be used more in speaking, that should be first learned, that the yet pliant organs of speech might be accustomed to a due formation of those sounds, and he get the habit of pronouncing French well, which is the harder to be done, the longer it is delayed.

LATIN.

157. When he can speak and read French well, which in this method is usually in a year or two, he should proceed to Latin, which it is a wonder parents, when they have had the experiment in French, should not think ought to be learned the same way, by talking and reading. Only care is to be taken, whilst he is learning these foreign languages, by speaking and reading nothing else with his tutor, that he do not forget to read English, which may be preserved by his mother, or somebody else, hearing him read some chosen parts of the Scripture or other English book, every day.

158. Latin I look upon as absolutely necessary to a gentleman; and indeed custom, which prevails over every thing, has made it so much a part of education, that even those children are whipped to it, and made to spend many hours of their precious time uneasily in Latin, who, after they are once gone from school, are never to have more to do with it, as long as they live. Can there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a father should waste his own money, and his son's time, in setting him to learn the Roman language, when, at the same time, he designs him for a trade, wherein he having no use of Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from school, and which it is ten to one he abhors for the ill usage it procured him? Could it be believed, unless we had every where amongst us examples of it, that a child should be forced to learn the rudiments of a language, which he is never to use in the course of life that he is designed to, and neglect all the while the writing a good hand, and casting accounts, which are of great advantage in all conditions of life, and to most trades indispensably necessary? But though these qualifications, requisite to trade and commerce, and the business of the world, are seldom or never to be had at grammar-schools; yet thither not only gentlemen send their younger sons intended for trades, but even tradesmen and farmers fail not to send their children, though they have neither intention nor ability to make them scholars. If you ask them, why they do this? they think it as strange a question as if you should ask them why they go to church? Custom serves for reason, and has, to those who take it for reason, so consecrated this method, that it is almost religiously observed by them; and they stick to it, as if their children had scarce an orthodox education, unless they learned Lilly's grammar.

159. But how necessary soever Latin be to some, and is thought to be to

others, to whom it is of no manner of use or service, yet the ordinary way of learning it in a grammar-school, is that, which having had thoughts about, I can not be forward to encourage. The reasons against it are so evident and cogent, that they have prevailed with some intelligent persons to quit the ordinary road, not without success, though the method made use of was not exactly that which I imagine the easiest, and in short is this: to trouble the child with no grammar at all, but to have Latin, as English has been, without the perplexity of rules, talked into him; for, if you will consider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child, when he comes into the world, than English; and yet he learns English without master, rule, or grammar; and so might he Latin too, as Tully did, if he had somebody always to talk to him in this language. And when we so often see a French woman teach an English girl to speak and read French perfectly, in a year or two, without any rule of grammar, or any thing else, but prattling to her; I can not but wonder, how gentlemen have been overseen this way for their sons, and thought them more dull or incapable than their daughters.

160. If therefore a man could be got, who, himself speaking good Latin, could always be about your son, talk constantly to him, and suffer him to speak or read nothing else, this will be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propose, not only as the easiest and best, wherein a child might, without pains or chiding, get a language, which others are wont to be whipped for at school, six or seven years together; but also as that, wherein at the same time he might have his mind and manners formed, and he be instructed to boot in several sciences, such as are a good part of geography, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, besides some parts of history, and all other parts of knowledge of things, that fall under the senses, and require little more than memory. For there, if we would take the true way, our knowledge should begin, and in those things be laid the foundation; and not in the abstract notions of logic and metaphysics, which are fitter to amuse, than inform the understanding, in its first setting out towards knowledge. When young men have had their heads employed a while in those abstract speculations, without finding the success and improvement, or that use of them which they expected, they are apt to have mean thoughts, either of learning, or themselves; they are tempted to quit their studies, and throw away their books, as containing nothing but hard words, and empty sounds: or else to conclude that if there be any real knowledge in them, they themselves have not understandings capable of it. That this is so, perhaps I could assure you upon my own experience. Amongst other things to be learned by a young gentleman in this method, whilst others of his age are wholly taken up with Latin and languages, I may also set down geometry for one, having known a young gentleman, bred something after this way, able to demonstrate several propositions in Euclid, before he was thirteen.

161. But if such a man can not be got, who speaks good Latin, and, being able to instruct your son in all these parts of knowledge, will undertake it by this method; the next best is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easy and pleasant book, such as Æsop's Fables, and writing the English translation, (made as literal as it can be,) in one line, and the Latin words, which answer each of them, just over it in another. These let him read every day over and over again, till he perfectly understands the

Latin; and then go on to another fable, till he be also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but sometimes reviewing that, to keep it in his memory. And when he comes to write, let these be set him for copies; which, with the exercise of his hand, will also advance him in Latin. This being a more imperfect way than by talking Latin unto him, the formation of the verbs first, and afterwards the declensions of the nouns and pronouns perfectly learnt by heart, may facilitate his acquaintance with the genius and manner of the Latin tongue, which varies the signification of verbs and nouns, not as the modern languages do, by particles prefixed, but by changing the last syllables. More than this of grammar I think he need not have, till he can read himself "Sanctii Minerva," with Scioppius and Perizonius's notes.

In teaching of children this too, I think, it is to be observed, that in most cases, where they stick, they are not to be farther puzzled, by putting them upon finding it out themselves; as by asking such questions as these, viz.: Which is the nominative case in the sentence they are to construe? or demanding what "aufero" signifies, to lead them to the knowledge what "abstulere" signifies, &c., when they can not readily tell. This wastes time only in disturbing them; for whilst they are learning, and applying themselves with attention, they are to be kept in good humor, and every thing made easy to them, and as pleasant as possible. Therefore, wherever they are at a stand, and are willing to go forwards, help them presently over the difficulty without any rebuke or chiding: remembering that, where harsher ways are taken, they are the effect only of pride and peevishness in the teacher, who expects children should instantly be masters of as much as he knows: whereas he should rather consider, that his business is to settle in them habits, not angrily to inculcate rules, which serve for little in the conduct of our lives; at least are of no use to children, who forget them as soon as given. In sciences where their reason is to be exercised, I will not deny, but this method may sometimes be varied, and difficulties proposed on purpose to excite industry, and accustom the mind to employ its whole strength and sagacity in reasoning. But yet, I guess, this is not to be done to children whilst very young; nor at their entrance upon any sort of knowledge: then every thing of itself is difficult, and the great use and skill of a teacher is to make all as easy as he can. But particularly in learning of languages there is least occasion for posing of children. For languages being to be learned by rote, custom, and memory, are then spoken in greatest perfection, when all rules of grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the grammar of a language is sometimes very carefully to be studied: but it is only to be studied by a grown man, when he applies himself to the understanding of any language critically, which is seldom the business of any but professed scholars. This, I think, will be agreed to, that, if a gentleman be to study any language, it ought to be that of his own country, that he may understand the language, which he has constant use of, with the utmost accuracy.

There is yet a farther reason, why masters and teachers should raise no difficulties to their scholars; but, on the contrary, should smooth their way, and readily help them forwards, where they find them stop. Children's minds are narrow and weak, and usually susceptible but of one thought at once. Whatever is in a child's head, fills it for the time, especially if set on with any passion. It should therefore be the skill and art of the teacher, to clear their heads of all other thoughts, whilst they are learning of any thing, the better

to make room for what he would instill into them, that it may be received with attention and application, without which it leaves no impression. The natural temper of children disposes their minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that presents, they are presently eager to have a taste of, and are as soon satiated with it. They quickly grow weary of the same thing, and so have almost their whole delight in change and variety. It is a contradiction to the natural state of childhood, for them to fix their fleeting thoughts. Whether this be owing to the temper of their brains, or the quickness or instability of their animal spirits, over which the mind has not yet got a full command; this is visible, that it is a pain to children to keep their thoughts steady to any thing. A lasting continued attention is one of the hardest tasks can be imposed on them: and therefore, he that requires their application, should endeavor to make what he proposes as grateful and agreeable as possible; at least, he ought to take care not to join any displeasing or frightful idea with it. If they come not to their books with some kind of liking and relish, it is no wonder their thoughts should be perpetually shifting from what disgusts them, and seek better entertainment in more pleasing objects, after which they will unavoidably be gadding.

It is, I know, the usual method of tutors, to endeavor to procure attention in their scholars, and to fix their minds to the business in hand, by rebukes and corrections, if they find them ever so little wandering. But such treatment is sure to produce the quite contrary effect. Passionate words or blows from the tutor fill the child's mind with terror and affrightment, which immediately takes it wholly up, and leaves no room for other impressions. I believe there is nobody, that reads this, but may recollect, what disorder hasty or imperious words from his parents or teachers have caused in his thoughts; how for the time it has turned his brains, so that he scarce knew what was said by, or to him: he presently lost the sight of what he was upon; his mind was filled with disorder and confusion, and in that state was no longer capable of attention to any thing else.

It is true, parents and governors ought to settle and establish their authority, by an awe over the minds of those under their tuition; and to rule them by that: but when they have got an ascendant over them, they should use it with great moderation, and not make themselves such scarecrows, that their scholars should always tremble in their sight. Such an austerity may make their government easy to themselves, but of very little use to their pupils. It is impossible children should learn any thing, whilst their thoughts are possessed and disturbed with any passion, especially fear, which makes the strongest impression on their yet tender and weak spirits. Keep the mind in an easy calm temper, when you would have it receive your instructions, or any increase of knowledge. It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters on a trembling mind, as on a shaking paper.

The great skill of a teacher is to get and keep the attention of his scholar: whilst he has that, he is sure to advance as fast as the learner's abilities will carry him; and without that, all his bustle and pother will be to little or no purpose. To attain this, he should make the child comprehend, (as much as may be,) the usefulness of what he teaches him; and let him see, by what he has learned, that he can do something which he could not do before; something which gives him some power and real advantage above others, who are

ignorant of it. To this he should add sweetness in all his instructions; and by a certain tenderness in his whole carriage, make the child sensible that he loves him, and designs nothing but his good; the only way to beget love in the child, which will make him hearken to his lessons, and relish what he teaches him.

Nothing but obstinacy should meet with any imperiousness or rough usage. All other faults should be corrected with a gentle hand; and kind encouraging words will work better and more effectually upon a willing mind and even prevent a good deal of that perverseness, which rough and imperious usage often produces in well-disposed and generous minds. It is true, obstinacy and willful neglects must be mastered, even though it cost blows to do it: but I am apt to think perverseness in the pupils is often the effect of forwardness in the tutor: and that most children would seldom have deserved blows, if needless and misapplied roughness had not taught them ill-nature, and given them an aversion to their teacher and all that comes from him.

Inadvertency, forgetfulness, unsteadiness, and wandering of thought, are the natural faults of childhood; and therefore, when they are not observed to be willful, are to be mentioned softly, and gained upon by time. If every slip of this kind produces anger and rating, the occasions of rebuke and corrections will return so often that the tutor will be a constant terror and uneasiness to his pupils; which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his lessons, and to defeat all his methods of instruction.

Let the awe he has got upon their minds be so tempered with the constant marks of tenderness and good will, that affection may spur them to their duty, and make them find a pleasure in complying with his dictates. This will bring them with satisfaction to their tutor; make them hearken to him, as to one who is their friend, that cherishes them, and takes pains for their good; this will keep their thoughts easy and free, whilst they are with him, the only temper wherein the mind is capable of receiving new informations, and of admitting into itself those impressions, which if not taken and retained, all that they and their teacher do together is lost labor; there is much uneasiness, and little learning.

162. When, by this way of interlining Latin and English one with another, he has got a moderate knowledge of the Latin tongue, he may then be advanced a little farther to the reading of some other easy Latin book, such as Justin, or Eutropius; and to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself, if the please, with the English translation. Nor let the objection, that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well considered, is not of any moment against, but plainly for, this way of learning a language; for languages are only to be learned by rote; and a man, who does not speak English or Latin perfectly by rote, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his tongue of course, without thought of rule or grammar, falls into the proper expression and idiom of that language, does not speak it well, nor is master of it. And I would fain have any one name to me that tongue, that any one can learn or speak as he should do, by the rules of grammar. Languages were made not by rules or art, but by accident, and the common use of the people. And he that will speak them well, has no other rule but that; nor any thing to trust to but his memory, and the habit of speaking after the fashion learned from those that are allowed to speak properly, which, in other words, is only to speak by rote.

GRAMMAR.

It will possibly be asked here, Is grammar then of no use? And have those who have taken so much pains in reducing several languages to rules and observations, who have writ so much about declensions and conjugations, about concords and syntaxis, lost their labor, and been learned to no purpose? I say not so; grammar has its place too. But this I think I may say, there is more stir a great deal made with it than there needs, and those are tormented about it, to whom it does not at all belong; I mean children, at the age wherein they are usually perplexed with it in grammar schools.

There is nothing more evident, than that languages learned by rote serve well enough for the common affairs of life, and ordinary commerce. Nay, persons of quality of the softer sex, and such of them as have spent their time in well-bred company, show us, that this plain natural way, without the least study or knowledge of grammar, can carry them to a great degree of elegancy and politeness in their language: and there are ladies who, without knowing what tenses and participles, adverbs and prepositions are, speak as properly, and as correctly, (they might take it for an ill compliment, if I said as any country school-master,) as most gentlemen who have been bred up in the ordinary methods of grammar schools. Grammar, therefore, we see may be spared in some cases. The question then will be, To whom should it be taught, and when? To this I answer,

1. Men learn languages for the ordinary intercourse of society, and communication of thoughts in common life, without any farther design in their use of them. And for this purpose the original way of learning a language by conversation not only serves well enough, but is to be preferred as the most expedite, proper, and natural. Therefore, to this use of language one may answer, that grammar is not necessary. This so many of my readers must be forced to allow, as understand what I here say, and who conversing with others, understand them without having ever been taught the grammar of the English tongue: which I suppose is the case of incomparably the greatest part of Englishmen; of whom I have never yet known any one who learned his mother-tongue by rules.

2. Others there are, the greatest part of whose business in this world is to be done with their tongues, and with their pens; and to those it is convenient, if not necessary, that they should speak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their thoughts into other men's minds the more easily, and with the greater impression. Upon this account it is, that any sort of speaking, so as will make him be understood, is not thought enough for a gentleman. He ought to study grammar, amongst the other helps of speaking well; but it must be the grammar of his own tongue, of the language he uses, that he may understand his own country speech nicely, and speak it properly, without shocking the ears of those it is addressed to with solecisms and offensive irregularities. And to this purpose grammar is necessary; but it is the grammar only of their own proper tongues, and to those only who would take pains in cultivating their language, and in perfecting their styles. Whether all gentlemen should not do this, I leave to be considered, since the want of propriety, and grammatical exactness, is thought very mis-becoming one of that rank, and usually draws on one guilty of such faults the censure of having had a lower breeding, and worse company than suits with his quality. If this be so, (as I suppose it

is,) it will be matter of wonder, why young gentlemen are forced to learn the grammars of foreign and dead languages, and are never once told of the grammar of their own tongues: they do not so much as know there is any such thing, much less is it made their business to be instructed in it. Nor is their own language ever proposed to them as worthy their care and cultivating, though they have daily use of it, and are not seldom in the future course of their lives judged of, by their handsome or awkward way of expressing themselves in it. Whereas the languages whose grammars they have been so much employed in, are such as probably they shall scarce ever speak or write; or, if upon occasion this should happen, they shall be excused for the mistakes and faults they make in it. Would not a Chinese, who took notice of this way of breeding, be apt to imagine, that all our young gentlemen were designed to be teachers and professors of the dead languages of foreign countries, and not to be men of business in their own?

3. There is a third sort of men, who apply themselves to two or three foreign, dead, (and which amongst us are called the learned,) languages, make them their study, and pique themselves upon their skill in them. No doubt those who propose to themselves the learning of any language with this view, and would be critically exact in it, ought carefully to study the grammar of it. I would not be mistaken here, as if this were to under-value Greek and Latin: I grant these are languages of great use and excellency; and a man can have no place amongst the learned, in this part of the world, who is a stranger to them. But the knowledge a gentleman would ordinarily draw for his use, out of the Roman and Greek writers, I think he may attain without studying the grammars of those tongues, and, by bare reading, may come to understand them sufficiently for all his purposes. How much farther he shall at any time be concerned to look into the grammar and critical niceties of either of these tongues, he himself will be able to determine, when he comes to propose to himself the study of any thing that shall require it. Which brings me to the other part of the inquiry, viz.:—

"When grammar should be taught?"

To which, upon the premised grounds, the answer is obvious, viz.:—

That if grammar ought to be taught at any time, it must be to one that can speak the language already: how else can he be taught the grammar of it? This, at least, is evident from the practice of the wise and learned nations amongst the ancients. They made it a part of education to cultivate their own, not foreign tongues. The Greeks counted all other nations barbarous, and had a contempt for their languages. And, though the Greek learning grew in credit amongst the Romans, towards the end of their commonwealth, yet it was the Roman tongue that was made the study of their youth: their own language they were to make use of, and therefore it was their own language they were instructed and exercised in.

But more particularly to determine the proper season for grammar; I do not see how it can reasonably be made any one's study, but as an introduction to rhetoric: when it is thought time to put any one upon the care of polishing his tongue, and of speaking better than the illiterate, then is the time for him to be instructed in the rules of grammar, and not before. For grammar being to teach men not to speak, but to speak correctly, and according to the exact rules of the tongue, which is one part of elegancy, there is little use of the one to

him that has no need of the other; where rhetoric is not necessary, grammar may be spared. I know not why any one should waste his time and beat his head about the Latin grammar, who does not intend to be a critic, or make speeches, and write dispatches in it. When any one finds in himself a necessity or disposition to study any foreign language to the bottom, and to be nicely exact in the knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a grammatical survey of it. If his use of it be only to understand some books writ in it without a critical knowledge of the tongue itself, reading alone, as I have said, will attain this end, without charging the mind with the multiplied rules and intricacies of grammar.

163. For the exercise of his writing, let him sometimes translate Latin into English: but the learning of Latin being nothing but the learning of words, a very unpleasant business both to young and old, join as much other real knowledge with it as you can, beginning still with that which lies most obvious to the senses; such as is the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals, and particularly timber and fruit trees, their parts and ways of propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a child, which will not be useless to the man. But more especially geography, astronomy, and anatomy. But whatever you are teaching him, have a care still, that you do not clog him with too much at once; or make any thing his business but downright virtue, or reprove him for any thing but vice, or some apparent tendency to it.

THEMES.

164. But, if, after all, his fate be to go to school to get the Latin tongue, it will be in vain to talk to you concerning the method I think best to be observed in schools. You must submit to that you find there, not expect to have it changed for your son; but yet by all means obtain, if you can, that he be not employed in making Latin themes and declamations, and, least of all, verses of any kind.* You may insist on it, if it will do any good, that you have no design to make him either a Latin orator or poet, but barely would have him understand perfectly a Latin author; and that you observe those who teach any of the modern languages, and that with success, never amuse their scholars to make speeches or verses either in French or Italian, their business being language barely and not invention.

165. But to tell you, a little more fully, why I would not have him exercised in making of themes and verses: 1. As to themes, they have, I confess, the pretense of something useful, which is to teach people to speak handsomely and well on any subject; which, if it could be attained this way, I own would be a great advantage; there being nothing more becoming a gentleman, nor more useful in all the occurrences of life, than to be able, on any occasion, to speak well, and to the purpose. But this I say, that the making of themes, as is usual in schools, helps not one jot towards it: for do but consider what it is in making a theme that a young lad is employed about; it is to make a speech on some Latin saying, as "Omnia vincitamor," or "Non licet in bello bis peccare," &c. And here the poor lad, who wants knowledge of those things he is to speak of, which is to be had only from time and observation, must set his invention on

* In this and several following topics, the author seems entirely to overlook the benefits of *practice*, the most effectual method of learning.—Ed.

the rack, to say something where he knows nothing, which is a sort of Ægyptian tyranny, to bid them make bricks who have not yet any of the materials. And therefore it is usual, in such cases, for the poor children to go to those of higher forms with this petition, "Pray give me a little sense;" which whether it be more reasonable or more ridiculous, is not easy to determine. Before a man can be in any capacity to speak on any subject, it is necessary he be acquainted with it; or else it is as foolish to set him to discourse of it, as to set a blind man to talk of colors, or a deaf man of music. And would you not think him a little cracked who would require another to make an argument on a moot-point, who understands nothing of our laws? And what, I pray, do school-boys understand concerning those matters, which are used to be proposed to them in their themes, as subjects to discourse on, to whet and exercise their fancies?

166. In the next place, consider the language that their themes are made in: it is Latin, a language foreign in their country, and long since dead every where; a language which your son, it is a thousand to one, shall never have an occasion once to make a speech in as long as he lives, after he comes to be a man; and a language, wherein the manner of expressing one's self is so far different from ours, that to be perfect in that, would very little improve the purity and facility of his English style. Besides that, there is now so little room or use for set speeches in our own language in any part of our English business, that I can see no pretense for this sort of exercise in our schools; unless it can be supposed, that the making of set Latin speeches should be the way to teach men to speak well in English extempore. The way to that I should think rather to be this: that there should be proposed to young gentlemen rational and useful questions, suited to their age and capacities, and on subjects not wholly unknown to them, nor out of their way: such as these, when they are ripe for exercises of this nature, they should, extempore, or after a little meditation upon the spot, speak to, without penning of any thing. For I ask, if he will examine the effects of this way of learning to speak well, who speak best in any business, when occasion calls them to it upon any debate; either those who have accustomed themselves to compose and write down beforehand what they would say, or those who thinking only of the matter, to understand that as well as they can, use themselves only to speak extempore? And he that shall judge by this, will be little apt to think, that the accustoming him to studied speeches, and set compositions, is the way to fit a young gentleman for business.

167. But, perhaps, we shall be told, it is to improve and perfect them in the Latin tongue. It is true, that is their proper business at school; but the making of themes is not the way to it: that perplexes their brains, about invention of things to be said, not about the signification of words to be learnt; and, when they are making a theme, it is thoughts they search and sweat for, and not language. But the learning and mastery of a tongue, being uneasy and unpleasant enough in itself, should not be cumbered with any other difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding. In fine, if boys' invention be to be quickened by such exercise, let them make themes in English, where they have facility, and a command of words, and will better see what kind of thoughts they have, when put into their own language: and, if the Latin tongue be to be learned, let it be done in the easiest way, without toiling and disgusting the mind by so uneasy an employment as that of making speeches joined to it.

VERSIFYING.

168. If these may be any reasons against children's making Latin themes at school, I have much more to say, and of more weight, against their making verses of any sort: for if he has no genius to poetry, it is the most unreasonable thing in the world to torment a child, and waste his time about that which can never succeed; and if he have a poetic vein, it is to me the strangest thing in the world, that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the parents should labor to have it stifled and suppressed as much as may be; and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business: which is not yet the worst of the case; for if he proves a successful rhymer, and gets once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is likely to spend his time in, nay, and estate too: for it is very seldom seen, that any one discovers mines of gold, or silver in Parnassus. It is a pleasant air, but a barren soil; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage, but to those who have nothing else to live on. Men of estates almost constantly go away losers; and it is well if they escape at a cheaper rate than their whole estates, or the greatest part of them. If, therefore, you would not have your son the fiddle to every jovial company, without whom the sparks could not relish their wine, nor know how to pass an afternoon idly; if you would not have him waste his time and estate to divert others, and contemn the dirty acres left him by his ancestors, I do not think you will much care he should be a poet, or that his schoolmaster should enter him in versifying. But yet, if any one will think poetry a desirable quality in his son, and that the study of it would raise his fancy and parts, he must needs yet confess, that, to that end, reading the excellent Greek and Roman poets is of more use than making bad verses of his own, in a language that is not his own. And he, whose design it is to excel in English poetry, would not, I guess, think the way to it were to make his first essays in Latin verses.

MEMORITER RECITATION.

169. Another thing, very ordinary in the vulgar method of grammar-schools, there is, of which I see no use at all, unless it be to balk young lads in the way to learning languages, which, in my opinion, should be made as easy and pleasant as may be; and that which was painful in it, as much as possible, quite removed. That which I mean, and here complain of, is, their being forced to learn by heart great parcels of the authors which are taught them; wherein I can discover no advantage at all, especially to the business they are upon. Languages are to be learnt only by reading and talking, and not by scraps of authors got by heart; which when a man's head is stuffed with, he has got the just furniture of a pedant, and it is the ready way to make him one, than which there is nothing less becoming a gentleman. For what can be more ridiculous, than to mix the rich and handsome thoughts and sayings of others with a deal of poor stuff of his own; which is thereby the more exposed; and has no other grace in it, nor will otherwise recommend the speaker than a thread-bare

russet coat would, that was set off with large patches of scarlet and glittering brocade? Indeed, where a passage comes in the way, whose matter is worth remembrance, and the expression of it very close and excellent, (as there are many such in the ancient authors,) it may not be amiss to lodge it in the minds of young scholars, and with such admirable strokes of those great masters sometimes exercise the memories of school-boys: but their learning of their lessons by heart, as they happen to fall out in their books, without choice or distinction, I know not what it serves for, but to mispend their time and pains, and give them a disgust and aversion to their books, wherein they find nothing but useless trouble.

170. I hear it is said, that children should be employed in getting things by heart, to exercise and improve their memories. I could wish this were said with as much authority of reason, as it is with forwardness of assurance; and that this practice were established upon good observation, more than old custom; for it is evident, that strength of memory is owing to a happy constitution, and not to any habitual improvement got by exercise. It is true, what the mind is intent upon, and for fear of letting it slip, often imprints afresh on itself by frequent reflection, that it is apt to retain, but still according to its own natural strength of retention. An impression made on beeswax or lead will not last so long as on brass or steel. Indeed, if it be renewed often, it may last the longer; but every new reflecting on it is a new impression, and it is from thence one is to reckon, if one would know how long the mind retains it. But the learning pages of Latin by heart, no more fits the memory for retention of any thing else, than the graving of one sentence in lead, makes it the more capable of retaining firmly any other characters. If such a sort of exercise of the memory were able to give it strength, and improve our parts, players of all other people must needs have the best memories, and be the best company: but whether the scraps they have got into their head this way, make them remember other things the better; and whether their parts be improved proportionably to the pains they have taken in getting by heart other sayings; experience will show. Memory is so necessary to all parts and conditions of life, and so little is to be done without it, that we are not to fear it should grow dull and useless for want of exercise, if exercise would make it grow stronger. But I fear this faculty of the mind is not capable of much help and amendment in general, by any exercise or endeavor of ours, at least not by that used upon this pretense in grammar-schools. And if Xerxes was able to call every common soldier by his name, in his army, that consisted of no less than a hundred thousand men, I think it may be guessed, he got not this wonderful ability by learning his lessons by heart, when he was a boy. This method of exercising and improving the memory by toilsome repetitions, without book, of what they read, is, I think, little used in the education of princes; which, if it had that advantage talked of, should be as little neglected in them, as in the meanest school-boys; princes having as much need of good memories as any men living, and have generally an equal share in this faculty with other men: though it has never been taken care of this way. What the mind is intent upon, and careful of, that it remembers best, and for the reason above mentioned: to which if method and order be joined, all is done, I think, that can be, for the help of a weak memory; and he that will take any other way to do it, especially that of charging it with a train of other people's words, which he that learns cares not

for; will, I guess, scarce find the profit answer half the time and pains employed in it.

I do not mean hereby, that there should be no exercise given to children's memories. I think their memories should be employed, but not in learning by rote whole pages out of books, which, the lesson being once said, and that task over, are delivered up again to oblivion, and neglected forever. This mends neither the memory nor the mind. What they should learn by heart out of authors, I have above mentioned: and such wise and useful sentences being once given in charge to their memories, they should never be suffered to forget again, but be often called to account for them: whereby, besides the use those sayings may be to them in their future life, as so many good rules and observations; they will be taught to reflect often, and bethink themselves what they have to remember, which is the only way to make the memory quick and useful. The custom of frequent reflection will keep their minds from running adrift, and call their thoughts home from useless inattentive roving: and therefore, I think, it may do well to give them something every day to remember; but something still, that is in itself worth the remembering, and what you would never have out of mind, whenever you call, or they themselves search for it. This will oblige them often to turn their thoughts inwards, than which you can not wish them a better intellectual habit.

LATIN.

171. But under whose care soever a child is put to be taught, during the tender and flexible years of his life, this is certain, it should be one who thinks Latin and language the least part of education; one, who knowing how much virtue, and a well-tempered soul, is to be preferred to any sort of learning or language, makes it his chief business to form the mind of his scholars, and give that a right disposition: which, if once got, though all the rest should be neglected, would, in due time, produce all the rest; and which if it be not got and settled, so as to keep out ill and vicious habits, languages and sciences, and all the other accomplishments of education, will be to no purpose, but to make the worse or more dangerous man. And indeed, whatever stir there is made about getting of Latin, as the great and difficult business; his mother may teach it him herself, if she will but spend two or three hours in a day with him, and make him read the evangelists in Latin to her: for she need but buy a Latin Testament, and having got somebody to mark the last syllable but one, where it is long, in words above two syllables, (which is enough to regulate her pronunciation, and accenting the words,) read daily in the Gospels; and then let her avoid understanding them in Latin, if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in Latin, let her, in the same manner, read Æsop's Fables, and so proceed on to Eutropius, Justin, and other such books. I do not mention this as an imagination of what I fancy may do, but as of a thing I have known done, and the Latin tongue, with ease, got this way.

But to return to what I was saying: he that takes on him the charge of bringing up young men, especially young gentlemen, should have something more in him than Latin, more than even a knowledge in the liberal sciences; he should be a person of eminent virtue and prudence, and with good sense have good humor, and the skill to carry himself with gravity, ease, and kind-

ness, in a constant conversation with his pupils. But of this I have spoken at large in another place.

GEOGRAPHY.

172. At the same time that he is learning French and Latin, a child, as has been said, may also be entered in arithmetic, geography, chronology, history, and geometry too. For if these be taught him in French or Latin, when he begins once to understand either of these tongues, he will get a knowledge in these sciences, and the language to boot.

Geography, I think, should be begun with; for the learning of the figure of the globe, the situation and boundaries of the four parts of the world, and that of particular kingdoms and countries, being only an exercise of the eyes and memory, a child with pleasure will learn and retain them: and this is so certain, that I now live in the house with a child, whom his mother has so well instructed this way in geography, that he knew the limits of the four parts of the world, could readily point, being asked, to any country upon the globe, or any county in the map of England; knew all the great rivers, promontories, straits, and bays in the world, and could find the longitude and latitude of any place, before he was six years old. These things, that he will thus learn by sight, and have by rote in his memory, are not all, I confess, that he is to learn upon the globes. But yet it is a good step and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much easier, when his judgment is grown ripe enough for it: besides that, it gets so much time now, and by the pleasure of knowing things, leads him on insensibly to the gaining of languages.

173. When he has the natural parts of the globe well fixed in his memory, it may then be time to begin arithmetic. By the natural parts of the globe, I mean several positions of the parts of the earth and sea, under different names and distinctions of countries; not coming yet to those artificial and imaginary lines, which have been invented, and are only supposed, for the better improvement of that science.

ARITHMETIC.

174. Arithmetic is the easiest, and consequently the first sort of abstract reasoning, which the mind commonly bears, or accustoms itself to; and is of so general use in all parts of life and business, that scarce any thing is to be done without it. This is certain, a man can not have too much of it, nor too perfectly; he should therefore begin to be exercised in counting, as soon, and as far, as he is capable of it; and do something in it every day till he is master of the art of numbers. When he understands addition and subtraction, he may then be advanced farther in geography, and after he is acquainted with the poles, zones, parallel circles, and meridians, be taught longitude and latitude, and by them be made to understand the use of maps, and by the numbers placed on their sides, to know the respective situation of countries, and how to find them out on the terrestrial globe. Which when he can readily do, he may then be entered in the celestial; and there going over all the circles again, with a more particular observation of the ecliptic or zodiac, to fix them all very clearly and distinctly in his mind, he may be taught the figure and position of the several constellations, which may be showed him first upon the globe, and then in the heavens.

ASTRONOMY.

When that is done, and he knows pretty well the constellations of this our hemisphere, it may be time to give him some notions of this our planetary world, and to that purpose it may not be amiss to make him a draught of the Copernican system; and therein explain to him the situation of the planets, their respective distances from the sun, the center of their revolutions. This will prepare him to understand the motion and theory of the planets the most easy and natural way. For, since astronomers no longer doubt of the motion of the planets about the sun, it is fit he should proceed upon that hypothesis, which is not only the simplest and least perplexed for a learner, but also the likeliest to be true in itself. But in this, as in all other parts of instruction, great care must be taken with children, to begin with that which is plain and simple, and to teach them as little as can be at once, and settle that well in their heads, before you proceed to the next, or any thing new in that science. Give them first one simple idea, and see that they take it right, and perfectly comprehend it, before you go any farther; and then add some other simple idea, which lies next in your way to what you aim at; and so proceeding by gentle and insensible steps, children, without confusion and amazement, will have their understandings opened, and their thoughts extended, farther than could have been expected. And when any one has learned any thing himself, there is no such way to fix it in his memory, and to encourage him to go on, as to set him to teach it others.

GEOMETRY.

175. When he has once got such an acquaintance with the globes, as is above mentioned, he may be fit to be tried a little in geometry; wherein I think the six first books of Euclid enough for him to be taught. For I am in some doubt whether more to a man of business be necessary or useful; at least if he have a genius and inclination to it, being entered so far by his tutor, he will be able to go on of himself without a teacher.

The globes, therefore, must be studied, and that diligently, and, I think, may be begun betimes, if the tutor will but be careful to distinguish what the child is capable of knowing, and what not; for which this may be a rule, that perhaps will go a pretty way, (viz.) that children may be taught any thing that falls under their senses, especially their sight, as far as their memories only are exercised: and thus a child very young may learn, which is the equator, which the meridian, &c., which Europe, and which England, upon the globes, as soon almost as he knows the rooms of the house he lives in; if care be taken not to teach him too much at once, nor to set him upon a new part, till that, which he is upon, be perfectly learned and fixed in his memory.

CHRONOLOGY.

176. With geography, chronology ought to go hand in hand; I mean the general part of it, so that he may have in his mind a view of the whole current of time, and the several considerable epochs that are made use of in history. Without these two, history, which is the great mistress of prudence and civil knowledge; and ought to be the proper study of a gentleman or man of business in the world; without geography and chronology, I say, history will be very ill retained, and very little useful; but be only a jumble of matters of fact,

confusedly heaped together without order or instruction. It is by these two that the actions of mankind are ranked into their proper places of times and countries; under which circumstances, they are not only much easier kept in the memory, but, in that natural order, are only capable to afford those observations, which make a man the better and the abler for reading them.

177. When I speak of chronology as a science he should be perfect in, I do not mean the little controversies that are in it. These are endless, and most of them of so little importance to a gentleman, as not to deserve to be inquired into were they capable of an easy decision. And, therefore, all that learned noise and dust of the chronologist is wholly to be avoided. The most useful book I have seen in that part of learning, is a small treatise of Strauchius, which is printed in twelves, under the title of "Breviarium Chronologicum," out of which may be selected all that is necessary to be taught a young gentleman concerning chronology; for all that is in that treatise a learner need not be cumbered with. He has in him the most remarkable or usual epochs reduced all to that of the Julian period, which is the easiest, and plainest, and surest method, that can be made use of in chronology. To this treatise of Strauchius, Helvicus's tables may be added, as a book to be turned to on all occasions.

HISTORY.

178. As nothing teaches, so nothing delights, more than history. The first of these recommends it to the study of grown men; the latter makes me think it the fittest for a young lad, who, as soon as he is instructed in chronology, and acquainted with the several epochs, in use in this part of the world, and can reduce them to the Julian period, should then have some Latin history put into his hand. The choice should be directed by the easiness of the style; for wherever he begins, chronology will keep it from confusion; and the pleasantness of the subject inviting him to read, the language will insensibly be got, without that terrible vexation and uneasiness which children suffer where they are put into books beyond their capacity, such as are the Roman orators and poets, only to learn the Roman language. When he has by reading mastered the easier, such perhaps as Justin, Eutropius, Quintus Curtius, &c., the next degree to these will give him no great trouble: and thus, by a gradual progress from the plainest and easiest historians, he may at last come to read the most difficult and sublime of the Latin authors, such as are Tully, Virgil, and Horace.

ETHICS.

179. The knowledge of virtue, all along from the beginning, in all the instances he is capable of, being taught him, more by practice than rules; and the love of reputation, instead of satisfying his appetite, being made habitual in him; I know not whether he should read any other discourses of morality, but what he finds in the Bible; or have any system of ethics put into his hand, till he can read Tully's Offices, not as a school-boy to learn Latin, but as one that would be informed in the principles and precepts of virtue, for the conduct of his life.

CIVIL LAW.

180. When he has pretty well digested Tully's Offices, and added to it "Puffendorf de Officio Hominis et Civis," it may be seasonable to set him upon "Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis," or, which perhaps is the better of the two, "Puffen-

dorf de Jure Naturali et Gentium," wherein he will be instructed in the natural rights of men, and the original and foundations of society, and the duties resulting from thence. This general part of civil law and history are studies which a gentleman should not barely touch at, but constantly dwell upon, and never have done with. A virtuous and well-behaved young man, that is well versed in the general part of the civil law, (which concerns not the chicane of private cases, but the affairs and intercourse of civilized nations in general, grounded upon principles of reason,) understands Latin well, and can write a good hand, one may turn loose into the world, with great assurance that he will find employment and esteem everywhere.

ENGLISH LAW.

181. It would be strange to suppose an English gentleman should be ignorant of the law of his country. This, whatever station he is in, is so requisite, that, from a justice of the peace to a minister of state, I know no place he can well fill without it. I do not mean the chicane or wrangling and captious part of the law; a gentleman whose business is to seek the true measures of right and wrong, and not the arts how to avoid doing the one, and secure himself in doing the other, ought to be as far from such a study of the law, as he is concerned diligently to apply himself to that wherein he may be serviceable to his country. And to that purpose I think the right way for a gentleman to study our law, which he does not design for his calling, is to take a view of our English constitution and government, in the ancient books of the common law, and some more modern writers, who out of them have given an account of this government. And having got a true idea of that, then to read our history, and with it join in every king's reign the laws then made. This will give an insight into the reason of our statutes, and show the true ground upon which they came to be made, and what weight they ought to have.

RHETORIC. LOGIC.

182. Rhetoric and logic being the arts that in the ordinary method usually follow immediately after grammar, it may perhaps be wondered that I have said so little of them. The reason is, because of the little advantage young people receive by them; for I have seldom or never observed any one to get the skill of reasoning well, or speaking handsomely, by studying those rules which pretend to teach it; and therefore I would have a young gentleman take a view of them in the shortest systems could be found, without dwelling long on the contemplation and study of those formalities. Right reasoning is founded on something else than the predicaments and predicables, and does not consist in talking in mode and figure itself. But it is besides my present business to enlarge upon this speculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand; if you would have your son reason well, let him read Chillingworth; and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in Tully, to give him the true idea of eloquence; and let him read those things that are well writ in English, to perfect his style in the purity of our language.

183. If the use and end of right reasoning be to have right notions, and a right judgment of things; to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and to act accordingly; be sure not to let your son be bred up in the art and formality of disputing, either practicing it himself, or admiring it in

others; unless, instead of an able man, you desire to have him an insignificant wrangler, opiniatre in discourse, and priding himself in contradicting others; or, which is worse, questioning every thing, and thinking there is no such thing as truth to be sought, but only victory, in disputing. There can not be any thing so disingenuous, so misbecoming a gentleman, or any one who pretends to be a rational creature, as not to yield to plain reason, and the conviction of clear arguments. Is there any thing more inconsistent with civil conversation, and the end of all debate, than not to take an answer, though ever so full and satisfactory; but still to go on with the dispute, as long as equivocal sounds can furnish [a "medius terminus"] a term to wrangle with on the one side, or a distinction on the other? Whether pertinent or impertinent, sense or nonsense, agreeing with, or contrary to, what he had said before, it matters not. For this, in short, is the way and perfection of logical disputes, that the opponent never takes any answer, nor the respondent ever yields to any argument. This neither of them must do, whatever becomes of truth or knowledge, unless he will pass for a poor baffled wretch, and lie under the disgrace of not being able to maintain whatever he has once affirmed, which is the great aim and glory in disputing. Truth is to be found and supported by a mature and due consideration of things themselves, and not by artificial terms and ways of arguing: these lead not men so much into the discovery of truth, as into a captious and fallacious use of doubtful words, which is the most useless and most offensive way of talking, and such as least suits a gentleman or a lover of truth of any thing in the world.

There can scarce be a greater defect in a gentleman, than not to express himself well, either in writing or speaking. But yet, I think, I may ask my reader, whether he doth not know a great many, who live upon their estates, and so, with the name, should have the qualities of gentlemen, who can not so much as tell a story as they should, much less speak clearly and persuasively in any business? This I think not to be so much their fault, as the fault of their education; for I must, without partiality, do my countrymen this right, that where they apply themselves, I see none of their neighbors outgo them. They have been taught rhetoric, but yet never taught how to express themselves handsomely with their tongues, or pens, in the language they are always to use; as if the names of the figures, that embellished the discourses of those who understood the art of speaking, were the very art and skill of speaking well. This, as all other things of practice, is to be learned not by a few or a great many rules given, but by exercise and application, according to good rules, or rather patterns, till habits are got, and a facility of doing it well.

STYLE.

Agreeable hereunto, perhaps it might not be amiss to make children, as soon as they are capable of it, often to tell a story of any thing they know; and to correct at first the most remarkable fault they are guilty of, in their way of putting it together. When that fault is cured, then to show them the next, and so on, till, one after another, all, at least the gross ones, are mended. When they can tell tales pretty well, then it may be time to make them write them. The fables of Æsop, the only book almost that I know fit for children, may afford them matter for this exercise of writing English, as well as for reading and translating, to enter them in the Latin tongue. When they are got past

the faults of grammar, and can join in a continued coherent discourse of the several parts of a story, without bald and unhandsome forms of transition (as is usual,) often repeated; he that desires to perfect them yet farther in this, which is the first step to speaking well, and needs no invention, may have recourse to Tully; and by putting in practice those rules, which that master of eloquence gives in his first book "De Inventione," § 20, make them know wherein the skill and graces of a handsome narrative, according to the several subjects and designs of it, lie. Of each of which rules fit examples may be found out, and therein they may be shown how others have practiced them. The ancient classic authors afford plenty of such examples, which they should be made not only to translate, but have set before them as patterns for their daily imitation.

LETTERS.

When they understand how to write English with due connection, propriety, and order, and are pretty well masters of a tolerable narrative style, they may be advanced to writing of letters; wherein they should not be put upon any strains of wit or compliment, but taught to express their own plain easy sense, without any incoherence, confusion, or roughness. And when they are perfect in this, they may, to raise their thoughts, have set before them the example of Voiture's, for the entertainment of their friends at a distance, with letters of compliment, mirth, raillery, or diversion; and Tully's epistles, as the best pattern, whether for business or conversation. The writing of letters has so much to do in all the occurrences of human life, that no gentleman can avoid showing himself in this kind of writing: occasions will daily force him to make this use of his pen, which, besides the consequences, that, in his affairs, his well or ill managing of it often draws after it, always lays him open to a severer examination of his breeding, sense, and abilities, than oral discourses; whose transient faults, dying for the most part with the sound that gives them life, and so not subject to a strict review, more easily escape observation and censure.

ENGLISH.

Had the methods of education been directed to their right end, one would have thought this so necessary a part, could not have been neglected, whilst themes and verses in Latin, of no use at all, were, so constantly every where pressed, to the racking of children's inventions beyond their strength, and hindering their cheerful progress in learning the tongues, by unnatural difficulties. But custom has so ordained it, and who dares disobey? And would it not be very unreasonable to require of a learned country schoolmaster (who has all the tropes and figures in Farnaby's rhetoric at his fingers' ends,) to teach his scholar to express himself handsomely in English, when it appears to be so little his business or thought, that the boy's mother (despised, it is like, as illiterate, for not having read a system of logic and rhetoric,) outdoes him in it?

To write and speak correctly, gives a grace, and gains a favorable attention to what one has to say; and, since it is English that an English gentleman will have constant use of, that is the language he should chiefly cultivate, and wherein most care should be taken to polish and perfect his style. To speak or write better Latin than English, may make a man be talked of; but he would find it more to his purpose to express himself well in his own tongue, that he uses every moment, than to have the vain commendation of others for a very

insignificant quality. This I find universally neglected, and no care taken any where to improve young men in their own language, that they may thoroughly understand and be masters of it. If any one among us have a facility or purity more than ordinary in his mother tongue, it is owing to chance, or his genius, or any thing, rather than to his education, or any care of his teacher. To mind what English his pupil speaks or writes, is below the dignity of one bred up amongst Greek and Latin, though he have but little of them himself. These are the learned languages, fit only for learned men to meddle with and teach; English is the language of the illiterate vulgar; though yet we see the policy of some of our neighbors hath not thought it beneath the public care to promote and reward the improvement of their own language. Polishing and enriching their tongue, is no small business amongst them; it hath colleges and stipends appointed it, and there is raised amongst them a great ambition and emulation of writing correctly; and we see what they are come to by it, and how far they have spread one of the worst languages, possibly in this part of the world, if we look upon it as it was in some few reigns backwards, whatever it be now. The great men amongst the Romans were daily exercising themselves in their own language; and we find yet upon record the names of orators, who taught some of their emperors Latin, though it were their mother tongue.

It is plain the Greeks were yet more nice in theirs; all other speech was barbarous to them but their own, and no foreign language appears to have been studied or valued amongst that learned and acute people; though it be past doubt, that they borrowed their learning and philosophy from abroad.

I am not here speaking against Greek and Latin; I think they ought to be studied; and the Latin, at least, understood well, by every gentleman. But whatever foreign languages a young man meddles with, (and the more he knows, the better,) that which he should critically study, and labor to get a facility, clearness, and elegancy to express himself in, should be his own, and to this purpose he should daily be exercised in it.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

184. Natural philosophy, as a speculative science, I imagine, we have none; and perhaps I may think I have reason to say, we never shall be able to make a science of it. The works of nature are contrived by a wisdom, and operato by ways, too far surpassing our faculties to discover, or capacities to conceive, for us ever to be able to reduce them into a science. Natural philosophy being the knowledge of the principles, properties, and operations of things, as they are in themselves, I imagine there are two parts of it, one comprehending spirits, with their nature and qualities; and the other, bodies. The first of these is usually referred to metaphysics; but under what title soever the consideration of spirits comes, I think it ought to go before the study of matter and body, not as a science that can be methodized into a system, and treated of, upon principles of knowledge; but as an enlargement of our minds towards a truer and fuller comprehension of the intellectual world, to which we are led both by reason and revelation. And since the clearest and largest discoveries we have of other spirits, besides God and our own souls, is imparted to us from heaven by revelation, I think the information, that at least young people should have of them, should be taken from that revelation. To this purpose, I con-

clude, it would be well, if there were made a good history of the Bible for young people to read; wherein if every thing that is fit to be put into it, were laid down in its due order of time, and several things omitted, which are suited only to riper age; that confusion, which is usually produced by promiscuous reading of the Scripture, as it lies now bound up in our Bibles, would be avoided; and also this other good obtained, that by reading of it constantly, there would be instilled into the minds of children a notion and belief of spirits, they having so much to do, in all the transactions of that history, which will be a good preparation to the study of bodies. For, without the notion and allowance of spirit, our philosophy will be lame and defective in one main part of it, when it leaves out the contemplation of the most excellent and powerful part of the creation.

185. Of this history of the Bible, I think too it would be well, if there were a short and plain epitome made, containing the chief and most material heads for children to be conversant in, as soon as they can read. This, though it will lead them early into some notion of spirits, yet is not contrary to what I said above, that I would not have children troubled, whilst young, with notions of spirits; whereby my meaning was, that I think it inconvenient, that their yet tender minds should receive early impressions of goblins, specters, and apparitions, wherewith their maids, and those about them, are apt to fright them into a compliance of their orders, which often proves a great inconvenience to them all their lives after, by subjecting their minds to frights, fearful apprehensions, weakness, and superstition; which, when coming abroad into the world and conversation, they grow weary and ashamed of; it not seldom happens, that to make, as they think, a thorough cure, and ease themselves of a load, which has sat so heavy on them, they throw away the thoughts of all spirits together, and so run into the other, but worse extreme.

186. The reason why I would have this premised to the study of bodies, and the doctrine of the Scriptures well imbibed, before young men be entered in natural philosophy, is, because matter being a thing that all our senses are constantly conversant with, it is so apt to possess the mind, and exclude all other beings, but matter, that prejudice, grounded on such principles, often leaves no room for the admittance of spirits, or the allowing of any such things as immaterial beings "in rerum naturâ;" when yet it is evident, that by mere matter and motion none of the great phenomena of nature can be resolved: to instance but in that common one of gravity, which I think impossible to be explained by any natural operation of matter, or any other law of motion but the positive will of a superior Being so ordering it. And, therefore, since the deluge can not be well explained without admitting something out of the ordinary course of nature, I propose it to be considered whether God's altering the center of gravity in the earth for a time, (a thing as intelligible as gravity itself, which perhaps a little variation of causes, unknown to us, would produce,) will not more easily account for Noah's flood, than any hypothesis yet made use of to solve it. I hear the great objection to this is, that it would produce but a partial deluge. But the alteration of the center of gravity once allowed, it is no hard matter to conceive, that the divine power might make the center of gravity placed at a due distance from the center of the earth, move round it in a convenient space of time; whereby the flood would become universal, and, as I think, answer all the phenomena of the deluge as delivered by Moses, at an easier rate than those many hard suppositions that are made use

of to explain it. But this is not a place for that argument, which is here only mentioned by the by, to show the necessity of having recourse to something beyond bare matter and its motion, in the explication of nature; to which the notions of spirits and their power, as delivered in the Bible, where so much is attributed to their operation, may be a fit preparative, reserving to a fitter opportunity, a fuller explication of this hypothesis, and the application of it to all the parts of the deluge, and any difficulties that can be supposed in the history of the flood, as recorded in the Scripture.

187. But to return to the study of natural philosophy, though the world be full of systems of it, yet I can not say, I know any one which can be taught a young man as a science, wherein he may be sure to find truth and certainty, which is, what all sciences give an expectation of. I do not hence conclude that none of them are to be read: it is necessary for a gentleman in this learned age to look into some of them, to fit himself for conversation. But whether that of Des Cartes be put into his hands, as that which is the most in fashion, or it be thought fit to give him a short view of that and several others also; I think the systems of natural philosophy, that have obtained in this part of the world, are to be read more to know the hypotheses, and to understand the terms and ways of talking of the several sects, than with hopes to gain thereby a comprehensive, scientifical, and satisfactory knowledge of the works of nature: only this may be said, that the modern corpuscularians talk, in most things more intelligibly than the peripatetics, who possessed the schools immediately before them. He that would look farther back, and acquaint himself with the several opinions of the ancients, may consult Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual System; wherein that very learned author hath with such accurateness and judgment collected and explained the opinions of the Greek philosophers, that what principles they built on, and what were the chief hypotheses that divided them, is better to be seen in him than any where else that I know. But I would not deter any one from the study of nature, because all the knowledge we have, or possibly can have of it, can not be brought into a science. There are very many things in it that are convenient and necessary to be known to a gentleman; and a great many other, that will abundantly reward the pains of the curious with delight and advantage. But these I think are rather to be found amongst such writers, as have employed themselves in making rational experiments and observations, than in starting barely speculative systems. Such writings, therefore, as many of Mr. Boyle's are, with others, that have writ of husbandry, planting, gardening, and the like, may be fit for a gentleman, when he has a little acquainted himself with some of the systems of natural philosophy in fashion.

188. Though the systems of physics, that I have met with, afford little encouragement to look for certainty or science in any treatise, which shall pretend to give us a body of natural philosophy from the first principles of bodies in general, yet the incomparable Mr. Newton, has shown how far mathematics, applied to some parts of nature, may, upon principles that matter of fact justify, carry us in the knowledge of some, as I may so call them, particular provinces of the incomprehensible universe. And if others could give us so good and clear an account of other parts of nature, as he has of this our planetary world, and the most considerable phenomena observable in it, in his admirable book, "Philosophiæ naturalis Principia mathematica," we might in time hope to be furnished with more true and certain knowledge in several parts of this stupen-

dious machine, than hitherto we could have expected. And though there are very few that have mathematics enough to understand his demonstrations, yet the most accurate mathematicians, who have examined them, allowing them to be such, his book will deserve to be read, and give no small light and pleasure to those, who, willing to understand the motions, properties, and operations of the great masses of matter, in this our solar system, will but carefully mind his conclusions, which may be depended on as propositions well proved.

GREEK.

189. This is, in short, what I have thought concerning a young gentleman's studies; wherein it will possibly be wondered, that I should omit Greek, since amongst the Grecians is to be found the original, as it were, and foundation of of all that learning, which we have in this part of the world. I grant it so; and will add, that no man can pass for a scholar, that is ignorant of the Greek tongue. But I am not here considering the education of a professed scholar, but of a gentleman, to whom Latin and French, as the world now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary. When he comes to be a man, if he has a mind to carry his studies farther, and look into the Greek learning, he will then easily get that tongue himself: and if he has not that inclination, his learning of it under a tutor, will be but lost labor, and much of his time and pains spent in that which will be neglected and thrown away, as soon as he is at liberty. For how many are there of an hundred, even amongst scholars themselves, who retain the Greek they carried from school; or ever improve it to a familiar reading, and perfect understanding of Greek authors?

To conclude this part, which concerns a young gentleman's studies, his tutor should remember, that his business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raise in him a love and esteem of knowledge; and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himself, when he has a mind to it.

The thoughts of a judicious author on the subject of languages, I shall here give the reader, as near as I can, in his own way of expressing them. He says * "One can scarce burden children too much with the knowledge of languages. They are useful to men of all conditions, and they equally open them the entrance, either to the most profound, or the more easy and entertaining parts of learning. If this irksome study be put off to a little more advanced age, young men either have not resolution enough to apply to it out of choice, or steadiness to carry it on. And if any one has the gift of perseverance, it is not without the inconvenience of spending that time upon languages, which is destined to other uses: and he confines to the study of words that age of his life that is above it, and requires things; at least, it is the losing the best and beautifulest season of one's life. This large foundation of languages can not be well laid, but when every thing makes an easy and deep impression on the mind; when the memory is fresh, ready and tenacious; when the head and heart are as yet free from cares, passions, and designs; and those, on whom the child depends, have authority enough to keep him close to a long-continued application. I am persuaded, that the small number of truly learned, and the multitude of superficial pretenders, is owing to the neglect of this."

I think every body will agree with this observing gentleman, that languages are the proper study of our first years. But this is to be considered by the

* La Bruyere Mœurs de ce Siecle, p. 577, 662.

parents and tutors, what tongue it is fit the child should learn. For it must be confessed, that it is fruitless pains, and loss of time, to learn a language, which, in the course of life that he is designed to, he is never like to make use of; or which one may guess by his temper, he will wholly neglect and lose again, as soon as an approach to manhood, setting him free from a governor, shall put him into the hands of his own inclination; which is not likely to allot any of his time to the cultivating the learned tongues; or dispose him to mind any other language, but what daily use, or some particular necessity, shall force upon him.

But yet, for the sake of those who are designed to be scholars, I will add what the same author subjoins, to make good his foregoing remark. It will deserve to be considered by all who desire to be truly learned, and, therefore, may be a fit rule for tutors to inculcate, and leave with their pupils, to guide their future studies:

"The study," says he, "of the original text can never be sufficiently recommended. It is the shortest, surest, and most agreeable way to all sorts of learning. Draw from the spring-head, and take not things at second-hand. Let the writings of the great masters be never laid aside; dwell upon them, settle them in your mind, and cite them upon occasion; make it your business thoroughly to understand them in their full extent, and all their circumstances: acquaint yourself fully with the principles of original authors; bring them to a consistency, and then do you yourself make your deductions. In this state were the first commentators, and do not you rest till you bring yourself to the same. Content not yourself with those borrowed lights, nor guide yourself by their views, but where your own fails you, and leaves you in the dark. Their explications are not yours, and will give you the slip. On the contrary, your own observations are the product of your own mind, where they will abide, and be ready at hand upon all occasions in converse, consultation, and dispute. Lose not the pleasure it is to see that you were not stopped in your reading, but by difficulties that are invincible; where the commentators and scholiasts themselves are at a stand, and have nothing to say; those copious expositors of other places, who, with a vain and pompous overflow of learning, poured out on passages plain and easy in themselves, are very free of their words and pains where there is no need. Convince yourself fully by thus ordering your studies, that it is nothing but men's laziness, which hath encouraged pedantry to cram rather than enrich libraries, and to bury good authors under heaps of notes and commentaries; and you will perceive, that sloth herein hath acted against itself, and its own interest, by multiplying reading and inquiries, and increasing the pains it endeavored to avoid."

This, though it may seem to concern none but direct scholars, is of so great moment for the right ordering of their education and studies, that I hope I shall not be blamed for inserting of it here, especially if it be considered, that it may be of use to gentlemen too, when at any time they have a mind to go deeper than the surface, and get to themselves a solid, satisfactory, and masterly insight in any part of learning.

METHOD.

Order and constancy are said to make the great difference between one man and another: This, I am sure, nothing so much clears a learner's way, helps him so much on in it, and makes him go so easy and so far in any inquiry, as a

good method. His governor should take pains to make him sensible of this, accustom him to order and teach him method in all the applications of his thoughts; show him wherein it lies, and the advantages of it; acquaint him with the several sorts of it, either from general to particulars, or from particulars to what is more general; exercise him in both of them; and make him see, in what case each different method is most proper, and to what ends it best serves.

In history the order of time should govern; in philosophical inquiries that of nature, which in all progression is to go from the place one is then in, to that which joins and lies next to it; and so it is in the mind, from the knowledge it stands possessed of already, to that which lies next, and is coherent to it, and so on to what it aims at, by the simplest and most uncompounded parts it can divide the matter into. To this purpose, it will be of great use to his pupil to accustom him to distinguish well, that is, to have distinct notions, where ever the mind can find any real difference, but as carefully to avoid distinction in terms, where he has not distinct and different clear ideas.

190. Besides what is to be had from study and books, there are other accomplishments necessary for a gentleman, to be got by exercise, and to which time is to be allowed, and for which masters must be had.

DANCING.

Dancing being that which gives graceful motions all the life, and above all things manliness, and a becoming confidence to young children, I think it can not be learned too early, after they are once of an age and strength capable of it. But you must be sure to have a good master, that knows, and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a freedom and easiness to all the motions of the body. One that teaches not this, is worse than none at all, natural unfashionableness being much better than apish, affected postures; and I think it much more passable to put off the hat, and make a leg, like an honest country-gentleman, than like an ill-fashioned dancing-master. For, as for the jigging part, and the figures of dances, I count that little, or nothing, farther than as it tends to perfect graceful carriage.

MUSIC.

191. Music is thought to have some affinity with dancing, and a good hand, upon some instruments, is by many people mightily valued. But it wastes so much of a young man's time, to gain but a moderate skill in it, and engages often in such odd company, that many think it much better spared: and I have amongst men of parts and business, so seldom heard any one commended, or esteemed, for having an excellency in music, that amongst all those things, that ever came into the list of accomplishments, I think I may give it the last place. Our short lives will not serve us for the attainment of all things; nor can our minds be always intent on something to be learned. The weakness of our constitutions, both of mind and body, requires, that we should be often unbent: and he that will make a good use of any part of his life, must allow a large portion of it to recreation. At least this must not be denied to young people unless whilst you, with too much haste, make them old, you have the displeasure to set them in their graves, or a second childhood, sooner than you could wish. And therefore I think, that the time and pains allotted to serious improvements, should be employed about things of most use and consequence, and that too in

the methods the most easy and short, that could be at any rate obtained: and, perhaps, as I have above said, it would be none of the least secrets of education, to make the exercises in the body and the mind, the recreation one to another. I doubt not but that something might be done in it, by a prudent man, that would well consider the temper and inclination of his pupil. For he that is wearied either with study or dancing, does not desire presently to go to sleep; but to do something else, which may divert and delight him. But this must be always remembered, that nothing can come into the account of recreation, that is not done with delight.

192. Fencing and riding the great horse, are looked upon as so necessary to parts of breeding, that it would be thought a great omission to neglect them: the latter of the two being for the most part to be learned only in great towns, is one of the best exercises for health, which is to be had in those places of ease and luxury: and upon that account, makes a fit part of a young gentleman's employment during his abode there. And as far as it conduces to give a man a firm and graceful seat on horseback, and to make him able to teach his horse to stop and turn quick, and to rest on his haunches, is of use to a gentleman both in peace and war. But whether it be of moment enough to be made a business of, and deserve to take up more of his time, than should barely for his health be employed at due intervals in some such vigorous exercise, I shall leave to the discretion of parents and tutors, who will do well to remember, in all the parts of education, that most time and application is to be bestowed on that which is like to be of greatest consequence, and frequentest use, in the ordinary course and occurrences of that life the young man is designed for.

FENCING.

193. As for fencing, it seems to me a good exercise for health, but dangerous to the life. The confidence of their skill being apt to engage in quarrels those that think they have learned to use their swords. This presumption makes them often more touchy than needs, on points of honor, and slight or no provocations. Young men in their warm blood are forward to think they have in vain learned to fence, if they never show their skill and courage in a duel: and they seem to have reason. But how many sad tragedies that reason has been the occasion of, the tears of many a mother can witness. A man that can not fence will be more careful to keep out of bullies' and gamesters' company, and will not be half so apt to stand upon punctilios, nor to give affronts, or fiercely justify them when given, which is that which usually makes the quarrel. And when a man is in the field, a moderate skill in fencing rather exposes him to the sword of his enemy, than secures him from it. And certainly a man of courage who can not fence at all, and therefore will put all upon one trust, and not stand parrying, has the odds against a moderate fencer, especially if he has skill in wrestling. And therefore, if any provision be to be made against such accidents, and a man be to prepare his son for duels, I had much rather mine should be a good wrestler than an ordinary fencer; which is the most a gentleman can attain to in it, unless he will be constantly in the fencing-school, and every day exercising. But since fencing and riding the great horse, are so generally looked upon as necessary qualifications in the breeding of a gentleman, it will be hard wholly to deny any one of that rank these marks of distinction. I shall leave it therefore to the father, to consider, how far the temper of his son and the station he is like to be in, will allow, or encourage him to comply with fashions,

which, having very little to do with civil life, were yet formerly unknown to the most warlike nations; and seem to have added little of force or courage to those who have received them, unless we will think martial skill or prowess have been improved by duelling, with which fencing came into, and with which, I presume, it will go out of the world.

194. These are my present thoughts concerning learning and accomplishments. The great business of all is virtue and wisdom.

"Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia."

Teach him to get a mastery over his inclinations, and submit his appetite to reason. This being obtained, and by constant practice settled into habit, the hardest part of the task is over. To bring a young man to this, I know nothing which so much contributes, as the love of praise and commendation, which should, therefore, be instilled into him by all arts imaginable. Make his mind as sensible of credit and shame as may be: and when you have done that, you have put a principle into him, which will influence his actions, when you are not by; to which the fear of a little smart of a rod is not comparable, and which will be the proper stock, whereon afterwards to graft the true principles of morality and religion.

MANUAL TRADE.

195. I have one thing more to add, which as soon as I mention, I shall run the danger of being suspected to have forgot what I am about, and what I have above written concerning education, all tending towards a gentleman's calling, with which a trade seems wholly to be inconsistent. And yet, I can not forbear to say, I would have him learn a trade, a manual trade; nay, two or three, but one more particularly.

196. The busy inclination of children being always to be directed to something that may be useful to them, the advantages proposed from what they are set about may be considered of two kinds; 1. Where the skill itself, that is got by exercise, is worth the having. Thus skill not only in languages, and learned sciences, but in painting, turning, gardening, tempering, and working in iron, and all other useful arts, is worth the having. 2. Where the exercise itself, without any consideration, is necessary, or useful for health. Knowledge in some things is so necessary to be got by children, whilst they are young, that some part of their time is to be allotted to their improvement in them, though those employments contribute nothing at all to their health: such are reading, and writing, and all other sedentary studies, for the cultivating of the mind, which unavoidably take up a great part of gentlemen's time, quite from their cradles. Other manual arts, which are both got and exercised by labor, do many of them, by that exercise, not only increase our dexterity and skill, but contribute to our health too especially; such as employ us in the open air. In these, then, health and improvement may be joined together, and of these should some fit ones be chosen, to be made the recreations of one, whose chief business is with books and study. In this choice, the age and inclination of the person is to be considered, and constraint always to be avoided in bringing him to it. For command and force may often create, but can never cure an aversion: and, whatever any one is brought to by compulsion, he will leave as soon as he can, and be little profited, and less recreated by, whilst he is at it.

PAINTING.

197. That which of all others would please me best, would be a painter, were there not an argument or two against it not easy to be answered. First, ill painting is one of the worst things in the world; and to attain a tolerable degree of skill in it, requires too much of a man's time. If he has a natural inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more useful studies, to give way to that; and if he have no inclination to it, all the time, pains, and money shall be employed in it, will be thrown away to no purpose. Another reason why I am not for painting in a gentleman, is, because it is a sedentary recreation, which more employs the mind than the body. A gentleman's more serious employment, I look on to be study; and when that demands relaxation and refreshment, it should be in some exercise of the body, which unbends the thought, and confirms the health and strength. For these two reasons I am not for painting.

GARDENING. JOINERY.

198. In the next place, for a country gentleman, I should propose one, or rather both these; viz. gardening or husbandry in general, and working in wood, as a carpenter, joiner, or turner; these being fit and healthy recreations for a man of study, or business. For since the mind endures not to be constantly employed in the same thing, or way; and sedentary or studious men should have some exercise, that at the same time might divert their minds, and employ their bodies; I know none that could do it better for a country-gentleman, than these two, the one of them affording him exercise, when the weather or season keeps him from the other. Besides that, by being skilled in the one of them, he will be able to govern and teach his gardener; by the other, contrive and make a great many things both of delight and use: though these I propose not as the chief end of his labor, but as temptations to it; diversion from his other more serious thoughts and employments, by useful and healthy manual exercise, being what I chiefly aim at in it.

199. The great men among the ancients understood very well how to reconcile manual labor with affairs of state, and thought it no lessening to their dignity to make the one the recreation to the other. That indeed which seems most generally to have employed and diverted their spare hours was agriculture. Gideon amongst the Jews was taken from threshing, as well as Cincinnatus amongst the Romans from the plow, to command the armies of their countries against their enemies; and it is plain their dexterous handling of the flail or the plow, and being good workmen with these tools, did not hinder their skill in arms nor make them less able in the arts of war or government. They were great captains and statesmen as well as husbandmen. Cato major, who had with great reputation borne all the great offices of the commonwealth, has left an evidence under his own hand how much he was versed in country affairs; and, as I remember, Cyrus thought gardening so little beneath the dignity and grandeur of a throne, that he showed Xenophon a large field of fruit-trees, all of his own planting. The records of antiquity, both amongst Jews and Gentiles, are full of instances of this kind, if it were necessary to recommend useful recreations by examples.

RECREATION.

200. Nor let it be thought that I mistake, when I call these or the like exercises of manual arts, diversions or recreations; for recreation is not being idle,

(as every one may observe,) but easing the wearied part by change of business: and he that thinks diversion may not lie in hard and painful labor, forgets the early rising, hard riding, heat, cold and hunger of huntsmen, which is yet known to be the constant recreation of men of the greatest condition. Delving, planting, inoculating, or any the like profitable employments, would be no less a diversion, than any of the idle sports in fashion, if men could but be brought to delight in them, which custom and skill in a trade will quickly bring any one to do. And I doubt not, but there are to be found those, who, being frequently called to cards, or any other play, by those they could not refuse, have been more tired with these recreations, than with any of the most serious employment of life; though the play has been such as they have naturally had no aversion to, and with which they could willingly sometimes divert themselves.

201. Play, wherein persons of condition, especially ladies, waste so much of their time, is a plain instance to me, that men can not be perfectly idle; they must be doing something. For how else could they sit so many hours toiling at that, which generally gives more vexation than delight to people, whilst they are actually engaged in it? It is certain, gaming leaves no satisfaction behind it to those who reflect when it is over, and it no way profits either body or mind: as to their estates, if it strike so deep as to concern them, it is a trade then, and not a recreation, wherein few, that have any thing else to live on, thrive: and at best, a thriving gamester has but a poor trade on it, who fills his pocket at the price of his reputation.

Recreation belongs not to people, who are strangers to business, and are not wasted and wearied with the employment of their calling. The skill should be, so to order their time of recreation, that it may relax and refresh the part that has been exercised, and is tired; and yet do something, which, besides the present delight and ease, may produce what will afterwards be profitable. It has been nothing but the vanity and pride of greatness and riches, that has brought unprofitable and dangerous pastimes (as they are called,) into fashion, and persuaded people into a belief, that the learning or putting their hands to any thing that was useful, could not be a diversion fit for a gentleman. This has been that, which has given cards, dice, and drinking, so much credit in the world: and a great many throw away their spare hours in them, through the prevalency of custom, and want of some better employment to fill up the vacancy of leisure, more than from any real delight is to be found in them. They can not bear the dead weight of unemployed time lying upon their hands, nor the uneasiness it is to do nothing at all: and having never learned any laudable manual art wherewith to divert themselves, they have recourse to those foolish, or ill ways in use, to help off their time, which a rational man, till corrupted by custom, could find very little pleasure in.

TRADE.

202. I say not this, that I would never have a young gentleman accommodate himself to the innocent diversions in fashion, amongst those of his age and condition. I am so far from having him austere and morose to that degree, that I would persuade him to more than ordinary complaisance for all the gaieties and diversions of those he converses with, and be averse or testy in nothing, they should desire of him, that might become a gentleman and an honest man; though as to cards and dice, I think the safest and best way is never to learn any play upon them, and so to be incapacitated for those dangerous temptations, and

encroaching wasters of useful time. But allowance being made for idle and jovial conversation, and all fashionable becoming recreations; I say, a young man will have time enough, from his serious and main business, to learn almost any trade. It is want of application, and not of leisure, that men are not skillful in more arts than one; and an hour in a day, constantly employed in such a way of diversion, will carry a man, in a short time, a great deal farther than he can imagine: which, if it were of no other use but to drive the common, vicious, useless, and dangerous pastimes out of fashion, and to show there was no need of them, would deserve to be encouraged. If men from their youth were weaned from that sauntering humor, wherein some, out of custom, let a good part of their lives run uselessly away, without either business or recreation, they would find time enough to acquire dexterity and skill in hundreds of things, which though remote from their proper callings, would not at all interfere with them. And therefore, I think, for this, as well as other reasons before-mentioned, a lazy, listless humor, that idly dreams away the days, is of all others the least to be indulged, or permitted in young people. It is the proper state of one sick, and out of order in his health, and is tolerable in nobody else, of what age or condition soever.

203. To the arts above-mentioned, may be added perfuming, varnishing, graving, and several sorts of working in iron, brass and silver: and if, as it happens to most young gentlemen, that a considerable part of his time be spent in a great town, he may learn to cut, polish and set precious stones, or employ himself in grinding and polishing optical glasses. Amongst the great variety there is of ingenious manual arts, it will be impossible that no one should be found to please and delight him, unless he be either idle or debauched, which is not to be supposed in a right way of education. And since it can not be always employed in study, reading, and conversation, there will be many an hour, besides what his exercises will take up, which, if not spent this way, will be spent worse. For, I conclude, a young man will seldom desire to sit perfectly still and idle; or if he does, it is a fault that ought to be mended.

204. But if his mistaken parents, frightened with the disgraceful names of mechanic and trade, shall have an aversion to any thing of this kind in their children; yet there is one thing relating to trade, which when they consider, they will think absolutely necessary for their sons to learn.

MERCHANTS' ACCOUNTS.

Merchants' accounts, though a science not likely to help a gentleman to get an estate, yet possibly there is not any thing of more use and efficacy to make him preserve the estate he has. It is seldom observed, that he who keeps an account of his income and expenses, and thereby has constantly under view the course of his domestic affairs, lets them run to ruin; and I doubt not but many a man gets behind-hand before he is aware, or runs further on, when he is once in, for want of this care, or the skill to do it. I would therefore advise all gentlemen to learn perfectly merchants' accounts, and not to think it is a skill that belongs not to them, because it has received its name from, and has been chiefly practiced by men of traffic.

205. When my young master has once got the skill of keeping accounts, (which is a business of reason more than arithmetic,) perhaps it will not be amiss, that his father from thenceforth require him to do it in all his concern-

ments. Not that I would have him set down every pint of wine, or play, that costs him money; the general name of expenses will serve for such things well enough: nor would I have his father look so narrowly into these accounts, as to take occasion from thence to criticise on his expenses. He must remember, that he himself was once a young man, and not forget the thoughts he had then, nor the right his son has to have the same, and to have allowance made for them. If, therefore, I would have the young gentleman obliged to keep an account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his expenses, (for what the father allows him, he ought to let him be fully master of,) but only, that he might be brought early into the custom of doing it, and that it might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes, which will be so useful and necessary to be constantly practiced through the whole course of his life. A noble Venetian, whose son wallowed in the plenty of his father's riches, finding his son's expenses grow very high and extravagant, ordered his cashier to let him have, for the future, no more money than what he should count when he received it. This one would think no great restraint to a young gentleman's expenses, who could freely have as much money as he would tell. But yet this, to one, who was used to nothing but the pursuit of his pleasures, proved a very great trouble, which at last ended in this sober and advantageous reflection: "If it be so much pains to me, barely to count the money I would spend, what labor and pains did it cost my ancestors, not only to count, but get it?" This rational thought, suggested by this little pains imposed upon him, wrought so effectually upon his mind, that it made him take up, and from that time forwards prove a good husband. This, at least, every body must allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a man within compass, than the having constantly before his eyes the state of his affairs, in a regular course of account.

TRAVEL.

206. The last part usually in education, is travel, which is commonly thought to finish the work, and complete the gentleman. I confess, travel into foreign countries has great advantages; but the time usually chosen to send young men abroad, is, I think, of all other, that which renders them least capable of reaping those advantages. Those which are proposed, as to the main of them, may be reduced to these two: first, language; secondly, an improvement in wisdom and prudence, by seeing men, and conversing with people of tempers, customs, and ways of living, different from one another, and especially from those of his parish and neighborhood. But from sixteen to one-and-twenty, which is the ordinary time of travel, men are, of all their lives, the least suited to these improvements. The first season to get foreign languages, and form the tongue to their true accents, I should think, should be from seven to fourteen or sixteen; and then, too, a tutor with them is useful and necessary, who may with those languages, teach them other things. But to put them out of their parents' view, at a great distance, under a governor, when they think themselves too much men to be governed by others, and yet have not prudence and experience enough to govern themselves; what is it but to expose them to all the greatest dangers of their whole life, when they have the least fence and guard against them? Till that boiling boisterous part of life comes on, it may be hoped the tutor may have some authority; neither the stubbornness of age, nor the temptation or examples of others can take him from his tutor's conduct, till fifteen or sixteen; but then, when he begins to consort himself with men, and thinks

himself one; when he comes to relish, and pride himself in, manly vices, and thinks it a shame to be any longer under the control and conduct of another; what can be hoped from even the most careful and discreet governor, when neither he has power to compel, nor his pupil a disposition to be persuaded; but, on the contrary, has the advice of warm blood, and prevailing fashion, to hearken to the temptations of his companions, just as wise as himself, rather than to the persuasions of his tutor, who is now looked on as the enemy of his freedom? And when is a man so like to miscarry, as when at the same time he is both raw and unruly? This is the season of all his life, that most requires the eye and authority of his parents and friends to govern it. The flexibleness of the former part of a man's age, not yet grown up to be headstrong, makes it more governable and safe; and, in the after-part, reason and foresight begin a little to take place, and mind a man of his safety and improvement. The time therefore I should think the fittest for a young gentleman to be sent abroad, would be, either when he is younger, under a tutor, whom he might be the better for; or when he is some years older, without a governor; when he is of age to govern himself, and make observations of what he finds in other countries worthy his notice, and that might be of use to him after his return: and when, too, being thoroughly acquainted with the laws and fashions, the natural and moral advantages and defects of his own country, he has something to exchange with those abroad, from whose conversation he hoped to reap any knowledge.

207. The ordering of travel otherwise, is that, I imagine, which makes so many young gentlemen come back so little improved by it. And if they do bring home with them any knowledge of the places and people they have seen, it is often an admiration of the worst and vainest practices they met with abroad; retaining a relish and memory of those things, wherein their liberty took its first swing, rather than of what should make them better and wiser after their return. And indeed, how can it be otherwise, going abroad at the age they do, under the care of another, who is to provide their necessaries, and make their observations for them? Thus, under the shelter and pretense of a governor, thinking themselves excused from standing upon their own legs, or being accountable for their own conduct, they very seldom trouble themselves with inquiries, or making useful observations of their own. Their thoughts run after play and pleasure, wherein they take it as a lessening to be controlled; but seldom trouble themselves to examine the designs, observe the address, and consider the arts, tempers and inclinations of men they meet with; that so that they may know how to comport themselves towards them. Here he that travels with them, is to screen them, get them out, when they have run themselves into the briars; and in all their miscarriages be answerable for them.

208. I confess, the knowledge of men is so great a skill, that it is not to be expected a young man should presently be perfect in it. But yet his going abroad is to little purpose, if travel does not sometimes open his eyes, make him cautious and wary, and accustom him to look beyond the outside, and, under the inoffensive guard of a civil and obliging carriage, keep himself free and safe in his conversation with strangers, and all sorts of people, without forfeiting their good opinion. He that is sent out to travel at the age, and with the thoughts of a man designing to improve himself, may get into the conversation and acquaintance of persons of condition where he comes; which, though a thing of most advantage to a gentleman that travels, yet I ask, among our young men that go abroad under tutors, what one is there of an hundred, that

ever visits any person of quality? much less makes an acquaintance with such, from whose conversation he may learn what is good breeding in that country, and what is worth observation in it; though from such persons it is, one may learn more in one day, than in a year's rambling from one inn to another. Nor indeed is it to be wondered; for men of worth and parts will not easily admit the familiarity of boys, who yet need the care of a tutor: though a young gentleman and stranger, appearing like a man, and showing a desire to inform himself in the customs, manners, laws, and government of the country he is in, will find welcome assistance and entertainment amongst the best and most knowing persons every where, who will be ready to receive, encourage, and countenance any ingenious and inquisitive foreigner.

209. This, how true soever it be, will not, I fear, alter the custom which has cast the time of travel upon the worst part of a man's life; but for reasons not taken from their improvement. The young lad must not be ventured abroad at eight or ten, for fear of what may happen to the tender child, though he then runs ten times less risk than at sixteen or eighteen. Nor must he stay at home till that dangerous heady age be over, because he must be back again by one-and-twenty, to marry and propagate. The father can not stay any longer for the portion, nor the mother for a new set of babies to play with; and so my young master, whatever comes on it, must have a wife looked out for him, by that time he is of age; though it would be no prejudice to his strength, his parts, or his issue, if it were respited for some time, and he had leave to get, in years and knowledge, the start a little of his children, who are often found to tread too near upon the heels of their fathers, to the no great satisfaction either of son or father. But the young gentleman being got within view of matrimony, it is time to leave him to his mistress.

CONCLUSION.

210. Though I have now come to a conclusion of what obvious remarks have suggested to me concerning education, I would not have it thought that I look on it as a just treatise on this subject. There are a thousand other things that may need consideration; especially if one should take in the various tempers, different inclinations, and particular defaults, that are to be found in children; and prescribe proper remedies. The variety is so great, that it would require a volume; nor would that reach it. Each man's mind has some peculiarity, as well as his face, that distinguishes him from all others; and there are possibly scarce two children, who can be conducted by exactly the same method. Besides that, I think a prince, a nobleman, and an ordinary gentleman's son, should have different ways of breeding. But having had here only some general views in reference to the main end and aims in education, and those designed for a gentleman's son, whom being then very little, I considered only as white paper, or wax, to be molded and fashioned as one pleases; I have touched little more than those heads, which I judged necessary for the breeding of a young gentleman of his condition in general; and have now published these my occasional thoughts, with this hope, that, though this be far from being a complete treatise on this subject, or such as that every one may find what will just fit his child in it; yet it may give some small light to those, whose concern for their dear little ones makes them so irregularly bold, that they dare venture to consult their own reason in the education of their children, rather than wholly to rely upon old custom.

THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION,

BY HERBERT SPENCER.

Selected.

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SELECTED FROM PUBLICATIONS BY HERBERT SPENCER.

I. PHYSICAL EDUCATION.*

IMPORTANCE OF PHYSICAL TRAINING.

1. To conform the regimen of the nursery and the school to the established truths of modern science—this is the desideratum. It is time that the benefits which our sheep and oxen have for years past derived from the investigations of the laboratory, should be participated in by our children. Without calling in question the great importance of horse-training and pig-feeding, we would suggest that, as the rearing of well-grown men and women is also of some moment, the conclusions indicated by theory, and indorsed by practice, ought to be acted on in the last case as in the first. Probably not a few will be startled—perhaps offended—by this collocation of ideas. But it is a fact not to be disputed, and to which we had best reconcile ourselves, that man is subject to the same organic laws as inferior creatures. No anatomist, no physiologist, no chemist, will for a moment hesitate to assert, that the general principles which rule over the vital processes in animals equally rule over the vital processes in man. And a candid admission of this fact is not without its reward: namely, that the truths established by observation and experiment on brutes, become more or less available for human guidance. Rudimentary as is the Science of Life, it has already attained to certain fundamental principles underlying the development of all organisms, the human included. That which has now to be done, and that which we shall endeavor in some measure to do, is to show the bearing of these fundamental principles upon the physical training of childhood and youth.

FOOD.

2. That over-feeding and under-feeding are both bad, is a truism. Of the two, however, the last is the worst. As writes a high authority, "the effects of casual repletion are less prejudicial, and more easily corrected, than those of inanition."† Add to which, that where there has been no injudicious interference, repletion will seldom occur. "Excess is the vice rather of adults than of the young, who are rarely either gourmands or epicures, unless through the fault of those who rear them."‡ This system of restriction which many parents think so necessary, is based upon very inadequate observation, and very erroneous reasoning. There is an over-legislation in the nursery, as well as an over-legislation in the state; and one of the most injurious forms of it is this limitation in the quantity of food.

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* From an article in the British Quarterly Review—republished as Chapter IV., in "*Education—Intellectual, Moral and Physical.*" Appleton. 1861.

† "*Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine.*" ‡ Ib.

"But are children to be allowed to surfeit themselves? Shall they be suffered to take their fill of dainties and make themselves ill, as they certainly will do?" As thus put, the question admits of but one reply. But as thus put, it assumes the point at issue. We contend that, as appetite is a good guide to all the lower creation—as it is a good guide to the infant—as it is a good guide to the invalid—as it is a good guide to the differently-placed races of men, and as it is a good guide for every adult who leads a healthful life; it may safely be inferred that it is a good guide for childhood. It would be strange indeed were it here alone untrustworthy.

SUGAR AND FRUIT IN CHILDREN'S DIET.

3. Consider the ordinary tastes and the ordinary treatment of children. The love of sweets is conspicuous and almost universal among them. Probably ninety-nine people in a hundred, presume that there is nothing more in this than gratification of the palate; and that, in common with other sensual desires, it should be discouraged. The physiologist, however, whose discoveries lead him to an ever-increasing reverence for the arrangements of things, will suspect that there is something more in this love of sweets than the current hypothesis supposes; and a little inquiry confirms the suspicion. Any work on organic chemistry shows that sugar plays an important part in the vital processes. Both saccharine and fatty matters are eventually oxidized in the body; and there is an accompanying evolution of heat. Sugar is the form to which sundry other compounds have to be reduced before they are available as heat-making food; and this *formation* of sugar is carried on in the body. Not only is starch changed into sugar in the course of digestion, but it has been proved by M. Claude Bernard that the liver is a factory in which other constituents of food are transformed into sugar. Now, when to the fact that children have a marked desire for this valuable heat-food, we join the fact that they have usually a marked dislike to that food which gives out the greatest amount of heat during its oxidation (namely, fat,) we shall see strong reason for thinking that excess of the one compensates for defect of the other—that the organism demands more sugar because it can not deal with much fat. Again, children are usually very fond of vegetable acids. Fruits of all kinds are their delight; and, in the absence of anything better, they will devour unripe gooseberries and the sourest of crabs. Now, not only are vegetable acids, in common with mineral ones, very good tonics, and beneficial as such when taken in moderation; but they have, when administered in their natural forms, other advantages. "Ripe fruit," says Dr. Andrew Combe, "is more freely given on the Continent than in this country; and, particularly when the bowels act imperfectly, it is often very useful." See, then, the discord between the instinctive wants of children and their habitual treatment. Here are two dominant desires, which there is good reason to believe express certain needs of the juvenile constitution; and not only are they ignored in the nursery regimen, but there is a general tendency to forbid the gratification of them. Bread-and-milk in the morning, tea and bread-and-butter at night, or some dietary equally insipid, is rigidly adhered to; and any ministration to the palate is thought not only needless but wrong. What is the necessary consequence? When, on fête-days there is an unlimited access to good things—when a gift of pocket-money brings the contents of the confectioner's window within reach, or when by some accident the free run of a fruit-

garden is obtained; then the long-denied, and therefore intense, desires lead to great excesses. There is an impromptu carnival, caused not only by the release from past restraints, but also by the consciousness that a long Lent will begin on the morrow. And then, when the evils of repletion display themselves, it is argued that children must not be left to the guidance of their appetites! These disastrous results of artificial restrictions, are themselves cited as proving the need for further restrictions! We contend, therefore, that the reasoning commonly used to justify this system of interference is vicious. We contend that, were children allowed daily to partake of these more sapid edibles, for which there is a physiological requirement, they would rarely exceed, as they now mostly do when they have the opportunity: were fruit, as Dr. Combe recommends, "to constitute a part of the regular food" (given, as he advises, not between meals, but along with them,) there would be none of that craving which prompts the devouring of such fruits as crabs and sloes. And similarly in other cases.

QUALITY OF FOOD FOR CHILDREN.

4. We have put the question to two of our leading physicians, and to several of the most distinguished physiologists, and they uniformly agree in the conclusion, that children should have a diet not *less* nutritive, but, if anything, *more* nutritive than that of adults.

The grounds for this conclusion are obvious, and the reasoning simple. It needs but to compare the vital processes of a man with those of a boy, to see at once that the demand for sustenance is relatively greater in the boy than in the man. What are the ends for which a man requires food? Each day his body undergoes more or less wear—wear through muscular exertion, wear of the nervous system through mental actions, wear of the viscera in carrying on the functions of life; and the tissue thus wasted has to be renewed. Each day, too, by perpetual radiation, his body loses a large amount of heat; and as, for the continuance of the vital actions, the temperature of the body must be maintained, this loss has to be compensated by a constant production of heat: to which end certain constituents of the food are unceasingly undergoing oxidation. To make up for the day's waste, and to supply fuel for the day's expenditure of heat, are, then, the sole purposes for which the adult requires food. Consider, now, the case of the boy. He, too, wastes the substance of his body by action; and it needs but to note his restless activity to see that, in proportion to his bulk, he probably wastes as much as a man. He, too, loses heat by radiation; and, as his body exposes a greater surface in proportion to its mass than does that of a man, and therefore loses heat more rapidly, the quantity of heat-food he requires is, bulk for bulk, greater than that required by a man. So that even had the boy no other vital processes to carry on than the man has, he would need, relatively to his size, a somewhat larger supply of nutriment. But, besides repairing his body and maintaining its heat, the boy has to make new tissue—to grow. After waste and thermal loss have been provided for, such surplus of nutriment as remains, goes to the further building up of the frame; and only in virtue of this surplus is normal growth possible—the growth that sometimes takes place in the absence of such surplus, causing a manifest prostration consequent upon defective repair. How peremptory is the demand of the unfolding organism for materials, is seen alike in that "school-boy hunger," which after-life rarely parallels in intensity, and in the comparatively quick re-

turn of appetite. And if there needs further evidence of this extra necessity for nutriment, we have it in the fact that during the famines following shipwrecks and other disasters, the children are the first to die.

This relatively greater need for nutriment being admitted, as it must perforce be, the question that remains is—shall we meet it by giving an excessive quantity of what may be called dilute food, or a more moderate quantity of concentrated food?

If we compare different classes of animals, or different races of men, or the same animals or men when differently fed, we find still more distinct proof that *the degree of energy essentially depends on the nutritiveness of the food.*

VARIETY OF FOOD.

5. It is a fact, established by numerous experiments, that there is scarcely any one food, however good, which supplies in due proportions or right forms all the elements required for carrying on the vital processes in a normal manner: from whence it is to be inferred that frequent change of food is desirable to balance the supply of all the elements. It is a further fact, well known to physiologists, that the enjoyment given by a much-liked food is a nervous stimulus, which, by increasing the action of the heart and so propelling the blood with increased vigor, aids in the subsequent digestion. And these truths are in harmony with the maxims of modern cattle-feeding, which dictate a rotation of diet.

Not only, however, is periodic change of food very desirable; but, for the same reasons, it is very desirable that a mixture of food should be taken at each meal. The better balance of ingredients, and the greater nervous stimulation, are advantages which hold here as before. If facts are asked for, we may name as one, the comparative ease with which the stomach disposes of a French dinner, enormous in quantity but extremely varied in material. Few will contend that an equal weight of one kind of food, however well cooked, could be digested with as much facility. If any desire further facts, they may find them in every modern book on the management of animals. Animals thrive best when each meal is made up of several things. And indeed, among men of science the truth has been long ago established. The experiments of Goss and Stark "afford the most decisive proof of the advantage, or rather the necessity, of a mixture of substances, in order to produce the compound which is the best adapted for the action of the stomach."*

CLOTHING.

6. There is a current theory, vaguely entertained, if not put into a definite formula, that the sensations are to be disregarded. They do not exist for our guidance, but to mislead us, seems to be the prevalent belief reduced to its naked form. It is a grave error: we are much more beneficently constituted. It is not obedience to the sensations, but disobedience to them, which is the habitual cause of bodily evils.

Among the sensations serving for our guidance are those of heat and cold; and a clothing for children which does not carefully consult these sensations is to be condemned. The common notion about "hardening" is a grievous delusion. Children are not unfrequently "hardened" out of the world; and those

* "*Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology.*"

who survive, permanently suffer either in growth or constitution. "Their delicate appearance furnishes ample indication of the mischief thus produced, and their frequent attacks of illness might prove a warning even to unreflecting parents," says Dr. Combe. The reasoning on which this hardening theory rests is extremely superficial. Wealthy parents, seeing little peasant boys and girls playing about in the open air only half-clothed, and joining with this fact the general healthiness of laboring people, draw the unwarrantable conclusion that the healthiness is the result of the exposure, and resolve to keep their own offspring scantily covered! It is forgotten that these urchins who gambol upon village-greens are in many respects favorably circumstanced—that their days are spent in almost perpetual play; that they are always breathing fresh air; and that their systems are not disturbed by over-taxed brains. For aught that appears to the contrary, their good health may be maintained, not in consequence of, but in spite of, their deficient clothing. This alternative conclusion we believe to be the true one; and that an inevitable detriment results from the needless loss of animal heat to which they are subject.

For when, the constitution being sound enough to bear it, exposure does produce hardness, it does so at the expense of growth. This truth is displayed alike in animals and in man. The Shetland pony bears greater inclemencies than the horses of the south, but is dwarfed. Highland sheep and cattle, living in a colder climate, are stunted in comparison with English breeds. In both the arctic and antarctic regions the human race falls much below its ordinary height.

Excessive expenditure for fuel entails diminished means for other purposes: wherefore there necessarily results a body small in size, or inferior in texture, or both.

As Liebig says:—"Our clothing is, in reference to the temperature of the body, merely an equivalent for a certain amount of food." By diminishing the loss of heat, it diminishes the amount of fuel needful for maintaining the heat; and when the stomach has less to do in preparing fuel, it can do more in preparing other materials. This deduction is entirely confirmed by the experience of those who manage animals. Cold can be borne by animals only at an expense of fat, or muscle, or growth, as the case may be. "If fattening cattle are exposed to a low temperature, either their progress must be retarded, or a great additional expenditure of food incurred."* Mr. Apperley insists strongly that, to bring hunters into good condition, it is necessary that the stable should be kept warm. And among those who rear racers, it is an established doctrine that exposure is to be avoided.

"The rule is, therefore, not to dress in an invariable way in all cases, but to put on clothing in kind and quantity *sufficient in the individual case to protect the body effectually from an abiding sensation of cold, however slight.*" This rule, the importance of which Dr. Combe indicates by the italics, is one in which men of science and practitioners agree. We have met with none competent to form a judgment on the matter, who do not strongly condemn the exposure of children's limbs. If there is one point above others in which "pestilent custom" should be ignored, it is this.

Our conclusions are, then—that, while the clothing of children should never be in such excess as to create oppressive warmth, it should always be sufficient

* Morton's "*Cyclopædia of Agriculture.*"

to prevent any general feeling of cold; that instead of the flimsy cotton, linen, or mixed fabrics commonly used, it should be made of some good non-conductor, such as coarse woollen cloth; that it should be so strong as to receive little damage from the hard wear and tear which childish sports will give it; and that its color should be such as will not soon suffer from use and exposure.

EXERCISE.

7. Perhaps less needs saying on this requisite of physical education than on most others: at any rate, in so far as boys are concerned. Public schools and private schools alike furnish tolerably adequate playgrounds; and there is usually a fair share of time for out-of-door games, and a recognition of them as needful. In this, if in no other direction, it seems admitted that the natural promptings of boyish instinct may advantageously be followed; and, indeed, in the modern practice of breaking the prolonged morning and afternoon's lessons by a few minutes' open-air recreation, we see an increasing tendency to conform school regulations to the bodily sensations of the pupils. Here, then, little needs to be said in the way of expostulation or suggestion.

But we have been obliged to qualify this admission by inserting the clause "in so far as boys are concerned." Unfortunately, the fact is quite otherwise in the case of girls.

Why this astonishing difference? Is it that the constitution of a girl differs so entirely from that of a boy as not to need these active exercises? Is it that a girl has none of the promptings to vociferous play by which boys are impelled? Or is it that, while in boys these promptings are to be regarded as securing that bodily activity without which there can not be adequate development, to their sisters nature has given them for no purpose whatever—unless it be for the vexation of schoolmistresses?

"Then girls should be allowed to run wild—to become as rude as boys, and grow up into romps and hoydens!" exclaims some defender of the proprieties. This, we presume, is the ever-present dread of schoolmistresses. It appears, on inquiry, that at "Establishments for Young Ladies" noisy play like that daily indulged in by boys, is a punishable offense; and it is to be inferred that this noisy play is forbidden, lest unlady-like habits should be formed. The fear is quite goundless, however. For if the sportive activity allowed to boys does not prevent them from growing up into gentlemen; why should a like sportive activity allowed to girls prevent them from growing up into ladies? Rough as may have been their accustomed playground frolics, youths who have left school do not indulge in leapfrog in the street, or marbles in the drawing-room. Abandoning their jackets, they abandon at the same time boyish games; and display an anxiety—often a ludicrous anxiety—to avoid whatever is not manly. If now, on arriving at the due age, this feeling of masculine dignity puts so efficient a restraint on the romping sports of boyhood, will not the feeling of feminine modesty, gradually strengthening as maturity is approached, put an efficient restraint on the like sports of girlhood? Have not women even a greater regard for appearances than men? and will there not consequently arise in them even a stronger check to whatever is rough or boisterous? How absurd is the supposition that the womanly instincts would not assert themselves but for the rigorous discipline of schoolmistresses!

The natural spontaneous exercise having been forbidden, and the bad consequences of no exercise having become conspicuous, there has been adopted a

system of factitious exercise—gymnastics. That this is better than nothing we admit; but that it is an adequate substitute for play we deny. The defects are both positive and negative. In the first place, these formal, muscular motions, necessarily much less varied than those accompanying juvenile sports, do not secure so equable a distribution of action to all parts of the body; whence it results that the exertion, falling on special parts, produces fatigue sooner than it would else have done: add to which, that, if constantly repeated, this exertion of special parts leads to a disproportionate development. Again, the quantity of exercise thus taken will be deficient, not only in consequence of uneven distribution, but it will be further deficient in consequence of lack of interest. Even when not made repulsive, as they sometimes are, by assuming the shape of appointed lessons, these monotonous movements are sure to become wearisome, from the absence of amusement. Competition it is true, serves as a stimulus; but it is not a lasting stimulus, like that enjoyment which accompanies varied play. Not only, however, are gymnastics inferior in respect of the *quantity* of muscular exertion which they secure; they are still more inferior in respect of the *quality*. This comparative want of enjoyment to which we have just referred as a cause of early desistance from artificial exercises, is also a cause of inferiority in the effects they produce on the system. The common assumption that so long as the amount of bodily action is the same, it matters not whether it be pleasurable or otherwise, is a grave mistake. An agreeable mental excitement has a highly invigorating influence. See the effect produced upon an invalid by good news, or by the visit of an old friend. Mark how careful medical men are to recommend lively society to debilitated patients. Remember how beneficial to the health is the gratification produced by change of scene. The truth is that happiness is the most powerful of tonics. By accelerating the circulation of the blood, it facilitates the performance of every function; and so tends alike to increase health when it exists, and to restore it when it has been lost. Hence the essential superiority of play to gymnastics. The extreme interest felt by children in their games, and the riotous glee with which they carry on their rougher frolics, are of as much importance as the accompanying exertion. And as not supplying these mental stimuli, gymnastics must be fundamentally defective.

Granting then, as we do, that formal exercises of the limbs are better than nothing—granting, further, that they may be used with advantage as supplementary aids; we yet contend that such formal exercises can never supply the place of the exercises prompted by nature. For girls, as well as boys, the sportive activities to which the instincts impel, are essential to bodily welfare. Whoever forbids them, forbids the divinely-appointed means to physical development.

EXCESS OF MENTAL ACTIVITY.

8. On old and young, the pressure of modern life puts a still-increasing strain. In all businesses and professions, intenser competition taxes the energies and abilities of every adult; and, with the view of better fitting the young to hold their place under this intenser competition, they are subject to a more severe discipline than heretofore. The damage is thus doubled. Fathers, who find not only that they are run hard by their multiplying competitors, but that, while laboring under this disadvantage, they have to maintain a more expensive style of living, are all the year round obliged to work early and late, taking little exercise and get-

ting but short holidays. The constitutions, shaken by this long continued over-application, they bequeath to their children. And then these comparatively feeble children, predisposed as they are to break down even under an ordinary strain upon their energies, are required to go through a *curriculum* much more extended than that prescribed for the unenfeebled children of past generations.

That disastrous consequences must result from this cumulative transgression might be predicted with certainty; and that they do result, every observant person knows. Go where you will, and before long there come under your notice cases of children, or youths, of either sex, more or less injured by undue study. Here, to recover from a state of debility thus produced, a year's rustication has been found necessary. There you find a chronic congestion of the brain, that has already lasted many months, and threatens to last much longer. Now you hear of a fever that resulted from the over-excitement in some way brought on at school. And, again, the instance is that of a youth who has already had once to desist from his studies, and who, since he has returned to them, is frequently taken out of his class in a fainting fit. We state facts—facts that have not been sought for, but have been thrust upon our observation during the last two years: and that, too, within a very limited range.

If injuries so conspicuous are thus frequent, how very general must be the smaller and inconspicuous injuries. To one case where positive illness is directly traceable to over-application, there are probably at least half-a-dozen cases where the evil is unobtrusive and slowly accumulating—cases where there is frequent derangement of the functions, attributed to this or that special cause, or to constitutional delicacy; cases where there is retardation and premature arrest of bodily growth; cases where a latent tendency to consumption is brought out and established; cases where a predisposition is given to that now common cerebral disorder brought on by the hard work of adult life. How commonly constitutions are thus undermined, will be clear to all who, after noting the frequent ailments of hard-worked professional and mercantile men, will reflect on the disastrous effects which undue application must produce upon the undeveloped systems of the young. The young are competent to bear neither as much hardship, nor as much physical exertion, nor as much mental exertion, as the full grown. Judge, then, if the full grown so manifestly suffer from the excessive mental exertion required of them, how great must be the damage which a mental exertion, often equally excessive, inflicts upon the young!

Most parents are more or less aware of the evil consequences that follow infant precocity. In every society may be heard reprobation of those who too early stimulate the minds of their little ones. And the dread of this early stimulation is great in proportion as there is adequate knowledge of the effects: witness the implied opinion of one of our most distinguished professors of physiology, who told us that he did not intend his little boy to learn any lessons until he was eight years old. But while to all it is a familiar truth that a forced development of intelligence in childhood entails disastrous results—either physical feebleness, or ultimate stupidity, or early death—it appears not to be perceived that throughout youth the same truth holds. Yet it is certain that it must do so. There is a given order in which, and a given rate at which, the faculties unfold. If the course of education conforms itself to that of order and rate, well. If not—if the higher faculties are early taxed by presenting an order of knowledge more complex and abstract than can be readily assimilated; or if, by excess of culture, the intellect in general is developed to a degree

beyond that which is natural to the age; the abnormal result so produced will inevitably be accompanied by some equivalent, or more than equivalent, evil.

For Nature is a strict accountant; and if you demand of her in one direction more than she is prepared to lay out, she balances the account by making a deduction elsewhere. If you will let her follow her own course, taking care to supply, in right quantities and kinds, the raw materials of bodily and mental growth required at each age, she will eventually produce an individual more or less evenly developed. If, however, you insist on premature or undue growth of any one part, she will, with more or less protest, concede the point; but that she may do your extra work, she must leave some of her more important work undone. Let it never be forgotten that the amount of vital energy which the body at any moment possesses is limited; and that, being limited, it is impossible to get from it more than a fixed quantity of results. In a child or youth the demands upon this vital energy are various and urgent. As before pointed out, the waste consequent on the day's bodily exercise has to be repaired; the wear of brain entailed by the day's study has to be made good; a certain additional growth of body has to be provided for; and also a certain additional growth of brain: add to which the amount of energy absorbed in the digestion of the large quantity of food required for meeting these many demands. Now, that to divert an excess of energy into any one of these channels is to abstract it from the others, is not only manifest *à priori*, but may be shown *à posteriori* from the experience of every one. Every one knows, for instance, that the digestion of a heavy meal makes such a demand on the system as to produce lassitude of mind and body, ending not unfrequently in sleep. Every one knows, too, that excess of bodily exercise diminishes the power of thought—that the temporary prostration following any sudden exertion, or the fatigue produced by a thirty miles' walk, is accompanied by a disinclination to mental effort; that, after a month's pedestrian tour, the mental inertia is such that some days are required to overcome it; and that in peasants who spend their lives in muscular labor the activity of mind is very small. Again, it is a truth familiar to all that during those fits of extreme rapid growth which sometimes occur in childhood, the great abstraction of energy is shown in the attendant prostration, bodily and mental. Once more, the facts that violent muscular exertion after eating will stop digestion, and that children who are early put to hard labor become stunted, similarly exhibit the antagonism—similarly imply that excess of activity in one direction involves deficiency of it in other directions. Now, the law which is thus manifest in extreme cases holds in all cases. These injurious abstractions of energy as certainly take place when the undue demands are slight and constant, as when they are great and sudden. Hence, if in youth, the expenditure in mental labor exceeds that which nature had provided for; the expenditure for other puposes falls below what it should have been: and evils of one kind or other are inevitably entailed.

It is a physiological law, first pointed out by M. Isidore St. Hilaire, and to which attention has been drawn by Mr. Lewes in his essay on *Dwarfs and Giants*, that there is an antagonism between *growth* and *development*. By growth, as used in this antithetical sense, is to be understood *increase of size;* by development, *increase of structure.* And the law is, that great activity in either of these processes involves retardation or arrest of the other.

This law is true not only of the organism as a whole, but of each separate

part. The abnormally rapid advance of any part in respect of structure involves premature arrest of its growth; and this happens with the organ of the mind as certainly as with any other organ. The brain, which during early years is relatively large in mass but imperfect in structure will, if required to perform its functions with undue activity, undergo a structural advance greater than is appropriate to the age; but the ultimate effect will be a falling short of the size and power that would else have been attained. And this is a part cause—probably the chief cause—why precocious children, and youths who up to a certain time were carrying all before them, so often stop short and disappoint the high hopes of their parents.

But these results of over-education, disastrous as they are, are perhaps less disastrous than the results produced upon the health—the undermined constitution, the enfeebled energies, the morbid feelings. Recent discoveries in physiology have shown how immense is the influence of the brain over the functions of the body. The digestion of the food, the circulation of the blood, and through these all other organic processes, are profoundly affected by cerebral excitement. Whoever has seen repeated, as we have, the experiment first performed by Weber, showing the consequence of irritating the *vagus* nerve which connects the brain with the viscera—whoever has seen the action of the heart suddenly arrested by the irritation of this nerve; slowly recommencing when the irritation is suspended; and again arrested the moment it is renowed; will have a vivid conception of the depressing influence which an over-wrought brain exercises on the body.

More or less of this constitutional disturbance will inevitably follow an exertion of brain beyond that which nature had provided for; and when not so excessive as to produce absolute illness, is sure to entail a slowly accumulating degeneracy of *physique*. With a small and fastidious appetite, an imperfect digestion, and an enfeebled circulation, how can the developing body flourish? The due performance of every vital process depends on the adequate supply of good blood. Without enough good blood, no gland can secrete properly, no viscus can fully discharge its office. Without enough of good blood, no nerve, muscle, membrane, or other tissue can be efficiently repaired. Without enough good blood, growth will neither be sound nor sufficient. Judge, then, how bad must be the consequences when to a growing body the weakened stomach supplies blood that is deficient in quantity and poor in quality; while the debilitated heart propels this poor and scanty blood with unnatural slowness.

We contend, then, that this over-education is vicious in every way—vicious, as giving knowledge that will soon be forgotten; vicious, as producing a disgust for knowledge; vicious, as neglecting that organization of knowledge which is more important than its acquisition; vicious, as weakening or destroying that energy, without which a trained intellect is useless: vicious, as entailing that ill-health for which even success would not compensate, and which makes failure doubly bitter.

On women the effects of this forcing system are, if possible, even more injurious than on men. Being in great measure debarred from those vigorous and enjoyable exercises of body by which boys mitigate the evils of excessive study, girls feel these evils in their full intensity. Hence, the much smaller proportion of them who grow up well made and healthy.

It needs but to remember that one of Nature's ends, or rather her supreme end, is the welfare of posterity—it needs but to remember that, in so far as

posterity are concerned, a cultivated intelligence based upon a bad *physique* is of little worth, seeing that its descendants will die out in a generation or two—it needs but to bear in mind that a good *physique*, however poor the accompanying mental endowments, is worth preserving, because, throughout future generations, the mental endowments may be indefinitely developed—it needs but to contemplate these truths, to see how important is the balance of instincts above described. But, purpose apart, the instincts being thus balanced, it is a fatal folly to persist in a system which undermines a girl's constitution that it may overload her memory. Educate as highly as possible—the higher the better—providing no bodily injury is entailed (and we may remark, in passing, that a high standard might be so reached were the parrot-faculty cultivated less, and the human faculty more, and were the discipline extended over that now wasted period between leaving school and being married.) But to educate in such a manner, or to such extent, as to produce physical degeneracy, is to defeat the chief end for which the toil and cost and anxiety are submitted to.

GENERAL RESULTS OF MODERN PHYSICAL TREATMENT.

9. Our general conclusion is, that the ordinary treatment of children in various ways, is seriously prejudicial. It errs in deficient feeding; in deficient clothing; in deficient exercise (among girls at least;) and in excessive mental application. Considering the *régime* as a whole, its tendency is too exacting: it asks too much and gives too little. In the extent to which it taxes the vital energies, it make the juvenile life much more like the adult life than it should be. It overlooks the truth that, as in the fœtus the entire vitality is expended in the direction of growth—as in the infant, the expenditure of vitality in growth is so great as to leave extremely little for either physical or mental action; so throughout childhood and youth growth is the dominant requirement to which all others must be subordinated: a requirement which dictates the giving much and the taking away of little—a requirement which, therefore, restricts the exertion of body and mind to a degree proportionate to the rapidity of growth—a requirement which permits the mental and physical activities to increase only as fast as the rate of growth diminishes.

Regarded from another point of view, this high-pressure education manifestly results from our passing phase of civilization. In primitive times, when aggression and defense were the leading social activities, bodily vigor with its accompanying courage were the desiderata; and then education was almost wholly physical: mental cultivation was little cared for, and indeed, as in our own feudal ages, was often treated with contempt. But now that our state is relatively peaceful—now that muscular power is of use for little else than manual labor, while social success of nearly every kind depends very much on mental power; our education has become almost exclusively mental. Instead of respecting the body and ignoring the mind, we now respect the mind and ignore the body. Both these attitudes are wrong. We do not yet sufficiently realize the truth that as, in this life of ours, the physical underlies the mental, the mental must not be developed at the expense of the physical. The ancient and modern conceptions must be combined.

PRESERVATION OF HEALTH A DUTY.

10. Few seem conscious that there is such a thing as physical morality. Men's habitual words and acts imply the idea that they are at liberty to treat their

bodies as they please. Disorders entailed by disobedience to Nature's dictates, they regard simply as grievances: not as the effects of a conduct more or less flagitious. Though the evil consequences inflicted on their dependents, and on future generations, are often as great as those caused by crime; yet they do not think themselves in any degree criminal. It is true, that, in the case of drunkenness, the viciousness of a purely bodily transgression is recognized; but none appear to infer that, if this bodily transgression is vicious, so too is every bodily transgression. The fact is, that all breaches of the laws of health are *physical sins.* When this is generally seen, then, and perhaps not till then, will the physical training of the young receive all the attention it deserves.

II. MORAL EDUCATION.

SPECIAL PREPARATION NECESSARY FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF CHILDREN.

1. To prepare the young for the duties of life is tacitly admitted by all to be the end which parents and schoolmasters should have in view; and happily the value of the things taught, and the goodness of the method followed in teaching them, are now ostensibly judged by their fitness to this end. The propriety of substituting for an exclusively classical training a training in which the modern languages shall have a share, is argued on this ground. The necessity of increasing the amount of science is urged for like reasons. But though some care is taken to fit youth of both sexes for society and citizenship, no care whatever is taken to fit them for the still more important position they will ultimately have to fill—the position of parents. While it is seen that for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, an elaborate preparation is needed, it appears to be thought that for the bringing up of children, no preparation whatever is needed. While many years are spent by a boy in gaining knowledge, of which the chief value is that it constitutes "the education of a gentleman;" and while many years are spent by a girl in those decorative acquirements which fit her for evening parties; not an hour is spent by either of them in preparation for that gravest of all responsibilities—the management of a family. Is it that this responsibility is but a remote contingency? On the contrary, it is certain to devolve on nine out of ten. Is it that the discharge of it is easy? Certainly not: of all functions which the adult has to fulfill this is the most difficult. Is it that each may be trusted by self-instruction to fit himself, or herself, for the office of parent? No: not only is the need for such self-instruction unrecognized, but the complexity of the subject renders it the one of all others in which self-instruction is least likely to succeed. No rational plea can be put forward for leaving the Art of Education out of our *curriculum.* Whether as bearing upon the happiness of parents themselves, or whether as affecting the characters and lives of their children and remote descendants, we must admit that a knowledge of the right methods of juvenile culture, physical, intellectual, and moral, is a knowledge second to none in importance. This topic should occupy the highest and last place in the course of instruction passed through by each man and woman. As physical maturity is marked by the ability to produce offspring, so mental maturity is marked by the ability to train those offspring. *The subject which involves all other subjects, and therefore the subject in which the education of every one should culminate, is the Theory and Practice of Education.*

In the absence of this preparation, the management of children, and more

especially the moral management, is lamentably bad. Parents either never think about the matter at all, or else their conclusions are crude and inconsistent. In most cases, and especially on the part of mothers, the treatment adopted on every occasion is that which the impulse of the moment prompts: it springs not from any reasoned-out conviction as to what will most conduce to the child's welfare, but merely expresses the passing parental feelings, whether good or ill; and varies from hour to hour as these feelings vary. Or if these blind dictates of passion are supplemented by any definite doctrines and methods, they are those that have been handed down from the past, or those suggested by the remembrances of childhood, or those adopted from nurses and servants—methods devised not by the enlightenment, but by the ignorance of the time.

The great error made by those who discuss questions of juvenile discipline, is in ascribing all the faults and difficulties to the children, and none to the parents. The current assumption respecting family government, as respecting national government, is. that the virtues are with the rulers and the vices with the ruled. Judging by educational theories, men and women are entirely transfigured in the domestic relation. The citizens we do business with, the people we meet in the world, we all know to be very imperfect creatures. In the daily scandals, in the quarrels of friends, in bankruptcy disclosures, in lawsuits, in police reports, we have constantly thrust before us the pervading selfishness, dishonesty, brutality. Yet when we criticise nursery management, and canvass the misbehavior of juveniles, we habitually take for granted that these culpable men and women are free from moral delinquency in the treatment of their offspring! So far is this from the truth, that we do not hesitate to say that to parental misconduct is traceable a great part of the domestic disorder commonly ascribed to the perversity of children. We do not assert this of the more sympathetic and self-restrained, among whom we hope most of our readers may be classed, but we assert it of the mass. What kind of moral discipline is to be expected from a mother who, time after time, angrily shakes her infant because it will not suckle her, which we once saw a mother do? How much love of justice and generosity is likely to be instilled by a father who, on having his attention drawn by his child's scream to the fact that its finger is jammed between the window sash and the sill, forthwith begins to beat the child instead of releasing it? Yet that there are such fathers is testified to us by an eye-witness. Or, to take a still stronger case, also vouched for by direct testimony—what are the educational prospects of the boy who, on being taken home with a dislocated thigh, is saluted with a castigation? It is true that these are extreme instances—instances exhibiting in human beings that blind instinct which impels brutes to destroy the weakly and injured of their own race. But extreme though they are, they typify feelings and conduct daily observable in many families. Who has not repeatedly seen a child slapped by nurse or parent for a fretfulness probably resulting from bodily derangement? Who, when watching a mother snatch up a fallen little one, has not often traced, both in the rough manner and in the sharply-uttered exclamation—"You stupid little thing!"—an irascibility foretelling endless future squabbles? Is there not in the harsh tones in which a father bids his children be quiet, evidence of a deficient fellow-feeling with them? Are not the constant, and often quite needless, thwartings that the young experience—the injunctions to sit still, which an active child can not obey without suffering great nervous irritation, the commands not to look out

of the window when traveling by railway, which on a child of any intelligence entails serious deprivation—are not these thwartings, we ask, signs of a terrible lack of sympathy? The truth is, that the difficulties of moral education are necessarily of dual origin—necessarily result from the combined faults of parents and children. If hereditary transmission is a law of nature, as every naturalist knows it to be, and as our daily remarks and current proverbs admit it to be; then on the average of cases, the defects of children mirror the defects of their parents;—on the average of cases, we say, because, complicated as the results are by the transmitted traits of remoter ancestors, the correspondence is not special but only general. And if, on the average of cases, this inheritance of defects exists, then the evil passions which parents have to check in their children imply like evil passions in themselves: hidden, it may be, from the public eye; or perhaps obscured by other feelings; but still there.

NATURE'S LAW OF DISCIPLINE.

2. When a child falls, or runs its head against the table, it suffers a pain, the remembrance of which tends to make it more careful for the future; and by an occasional repetition of like experiences, it is eventually disciplined into a proper guidance of its movements. If it lays hold of the fire-bars, thrusts its finger into the candle-flame, or spills boiling water on any part of its skin, the resulting burn or scald is a lesson not easily forgotten. So deep an impression is produced by one or two such events, that afterwards no persuasion will induce it again to disregard the laws of its constitution in these ways.

Now in these and like cases, Nature illustrates to us in the simplest way, the true theory and practice of moral discipline—a theory and practice which, however much they may seem to the superficial like those commonly received, we shall find on examination to differ from them very widely.

Observe, in the first place, that in bodily injuries and their penalties we have misconduct and its consequences reduced to their simplest forms. Though, according to their popular acceptations *right* and *wrong* are words scarcely applicable to actions that have none but direct bodily effects; yet whoever considers the matter will see that such actions must be as much classifiable under these heads as any other actions. From whatever basis they start, all theories of morality agree in considering that conduct whose total results, immediate and remote, are beneficial, is good conduct; while conduct whose total results, immediate and remote, are injurious, is bad conduct. The happiness or misery caused by it are the *ultimate* standards by which all men judge of behavior. We consider drunkenness wrong because of the physical degeneracy and accompanying moral evils entailed on the transgressor and his dependents. Did theft uniformly give pleasure both to taker and loser, we should not find it in our catalogue of sins. Were it conceivable that benevolent actions multiplied human pains, we should condemn them—should not consider them benevolent. It needs but to read the first newspaper leader, or listen to any conversation touching social affairs, to see that acts of parliament, political movements, philanthropic agitations, in common with the doings of individuals, are judged by their anticipated results in multiplying the pleasures or pains of men. And if on looking on all secondary superinduced ideas, we find these to be our ultimate tests of right and wrong, we can not refuse to class purely physical actions as right or wrong according to the beneficial or detrimental results they produce.

Note, in the second place, the character of the punishments by which these physical transgressions are prevented. Punishments, we call them, in the absence of a better word; for they are not punishments in the literal sense. They are not artificial and unnecessary inflictions of pain; but are simply the beneficent checks to actions that are essentially at variance with bodily welfare—checks in the absence of which life would quickly be destroyed by bodily injuries. It is the peculiarity of these penalties, if we must so call them, that they are nothing more than the *unavoidable consequences* of the deeds which they follow: they are nothing more than the *inevitable reactions* entailed by the child's actions.

Let it be further borne in mind that these painful reactions are proportionate to the degree in which the organic laws have been transgressed. A slight accident brings a slight pain, a more serious one, a greater pain. When a child tumbles over the door-step, it is not ordained that it shall suffer in excess of the amount necessary, with the view of making it still more cautious than the necessary suffering will make it. But from its daily experience it is left to learn the greater or less penalties of greater or less errors; and to behave accordingly.

And then mark, lastly, that these natural reactions which follow the child's wrong actions, are constant, direct, unhesitating, and not to be escaped. No threats: but a silent, rigorous performance. If a child runs a pin into its finger, pain follows. If it does it again, there is again the same result: and so on perpetually. In all its dealings with surrounding inorganic nature it finds this unswerving persistence, which listens to no excuse, and from which there is no appeal; and very soon recognizing this stern though beneficent discipline, it becomes extremely careful not to transgress.

Still more significant will these general truths appear, when we remember that they hold throughout adult life as well as throughout infantine life. It is by an experimentally-gained knowledge of the natural consequences, that men and women are checked when they go wrong. After home education has ceased, and when there are no longer parents and teachers to forbid this or that kind of conduct, there comes into play a discipline like that by which the young child is taught its first lessons in self-guidance. If the youth entering upon the business of life idles away his time and fulfills slowly or unskillfully the duties intrusted to him, there by-and-by follows the natural penalty: he is discharged, and left to suffer for awhile the evils of relative poverty. On the unpunctual man, failing alike his appointments of business and pleasure, there continually fall the consequent inconveniences, losses, and deprivations. The avaricious tradesman who charges too high a rate of profit, loses his customers, and so is checked in his greediness. Diminishing practice teaches the inattentive doctor to bestow more trouble on his patients. The too credulous creditor and the over-sanguine speculator alike learn by the difficulties which rashness entails on them, the necessity of being more cautious in their engagements. And so throughout the life of every citizen. In the quotation so often made *àpropos* of these cases—"The burnt child dreads the fire"—we see not only that the analogy between this social discipline and Nature's early discipline of infants is universally recognized; but we also see an implied conviction that this discipline is of the most efficient kind. Nay more, this conviction is not only implied, but distinctly stated. Every one has heard others confess that only by "dearly bought experience" had they been induced to give up some bad or

foolish course of conduct formerly pursued. Every one has heard, in the criticisms passed on the doings of this spendthrift or the other speculator, the remark that advice was useless, and that nothing but "bitter experience" would produce any effect: nothing, that is, but suffering the unavoidable consequences.

Must we not infer that the system so beneficent in its effects, alike during infancy and maturity, will be equally beneficent throughout youth? Can any one believe that the method which answers so well in the first and the last divisions of life will not answer in the intermediate division? Is it not manifest that as "ministers and interpreters of Nature" it is the function of parents to see that their children habitually experience the true consequences of their conduct—the natural reactions: neither warding them off, nor intensifying them, nor putting artificial consequences in place of them? No unprejudiced reader will hesitate in his assent.

Probably, however, not a few will contend that already most parents do this—that the punishments they inflict are, in the majority of cases, the true consequences of ill-conduct—that parental anger, venting itself in harsh words and deeds, is the result of a child's transgression—and that, in the suffering, physical or moral, which the child is subject to, it experiences the natural reaction of its misbehavior. Along with much error this assertion, doubtless, contains some truth. It is unquestionable that the displeasure of fathers and mothers is a true consequence of juvenile delinquency; and that the manifestation of it is a normal check upon such delinquency. It is unquestionable that the scoldings, and threats, and blows, which a passionate parent visits on offending little ones, are effects actually produced in such a parent by their offenses; and so are, in some sort, to be considered as among the natural reactions of their wrong actions. And we are by no means prepared to say that these modes of treatment are not relatively right—right, that is, in relation to the uncontrollable children of ill-controlled adults; and right in relation to a state of society in which such ill-controlled adults make up the mass of the people. As already suggested, educational systems, like political and other institutions, are generally as good as the state of human nature permits. The barbarous children of barbarous parents are probably only to be restrained by the barbarous methods which such parents spontaneously employ; while submission to these barbarous methods is perhaps the best preparation such children can have for the barbarous society in which they are presently to play a part. Conversely, the civilized members of a civilized society will spontaneously manifest their displeasure in less violent ways—will spontaneously use milder measures: measures strong enough for their better-natured children. Thus it is doubtless true that, in so far as the expression of parental feeling is concerned, the principle of the natural reaction is always more or less followed. The system of domestic government ever gravitates towards its right form.

But now observe two important facts. In the first place, observe that, in states of rapid transition like ours, which witness a long-drawn battle between old and new theories and old and new practices, the educational methods in use are apt to be considerably out of harmony with the times. In deference to dogmas fit only for the ages that uttered them, many parents inflict punishments that do violence to their own feelings, and so visit on their children *un*natural reactions; while other parents, enthusiastic in their hopes of immediate perfection, rush to the opposite extreme. And then observe, in the second

place, that the discipline on which we are insisting is not so much the experience of parental approbation or disapprobation, which, in most cases, is only a secondary consequence of a child's conduct; but it is the experience of those results which would naturally flow from the conduct in the absence of parental opinion or interference. The truly instructive and salutary consequences are not those inflicted by parents when they take upon themselves to be Nature's proxies; but they are those inflicted by Nature herself. We will endeavor to make this distinction clear by a few illustrations, which, while they show what we mean by natural reactions as contrasted with artificial ones, will afford some directly practical suggestions.

EXAMPLES OF THE RULE OF NATURAL REACTION.

3. In every family where there are young children there almost daily occur cases of what mothers and servants call "making a litter." A child has had out its box of toys, and leaves them scattered about the floor. Or a handful of flowers, brought in from a morning walk, is presently seen dispersed over tables and chairs. Or a little girl, making doll's-clothes, disfigures the room with shreds. In most cases the trouble of rectifying this disorder falls anywhere but in the right place: if in the nursery, the nurse herself, with many grumblings about "tiresome little things," &c., undertakes the task; if below stairs, the task usually devolves either on one of the elder children or on the housemaid; the transgressor being visited with nothing more than a scolding. In this very simple case, however, there are many parents wise enough to follow out, more or less consistently, the normal course—that of making the child itself collect the toys or shreds. The labor of putting things in order is the true consequence of having put them in disorder. Every trader in his office, every wife in her household, has daily experience of this fact. And if education be a preparation for the business of life, then every child should also, from the beginning, have daily experience of this fact. If the natural penalty be met by any refractory behavior (which it may perhaps be where the general system of moral discipline previously pursued has been bad,) then the proper course is to let the child feel the ulterior reaction consequent on its disobedience. Having refused or neglected to pick up and put away the things it has scattered about, and having thereby entailed the trouble of doing this on some one else, the child should, on subsequent occasions, be denied the means of giving this trouble. When next it petitions for its toy-box, the reply of its mamma should be—"The last time you had your toys you left them lying on the floor, and Jane had to pick them up. Jane is too busy to pick up every day the things you leave about; and I can not do it myself. So that, as you will not put away your toys when you have done with them, I can not let you have them." This is obviously a natural consequence, neither increased nor lessened; and must be so recognized by a child. The penalty comes, too, at the moment when it is most keenly felt. A new-born desire is balked at the moment of anticipated gratification; and the strong impression so produced can scarcely fail to have an effect on the future conduct: an effect which, by consistent repetition, will do whatever can be done in curing the fault. Add to which, that, by this method, a child is early taught the lesson which can not be learnt too soon, that in this world of ours pleasures are rightly to be obtained only by labor.

Not long since we had frequently to listen to the reprimands visited on a

little girl who was scarcely ever ready in time for the daily walk. Of eager disposition, and apt to become thoroughly absorbed in the occupation of the moment, Constance never thought of putting on her things until the rest were ready. The governess and the other children had almost invariably to wait; and from the mamma there almost invariably came the same scolding. Utterly as this system failed it never occurred to the mamma to let Constance experience the natural penalty. Nor, indeed, would she try it when it was suggested to her. In the world the penalty of being behind time is the loss of some advantage that would else have been gained: the train is gone; or the steamboat is just leaving its moorings; or the best things in the market are sold; or all the good seats in the concert-room are filled. And every one, in cases perpetually occurring, may see that it is the prospective deprivations entailed by being too late which prevent people from being too late. Is not the inference obvious? Should not these prospective deprivations control the child's conduct also? If Constance is not ready at the appointed time, the natural result is that of being left behind, and losing her walk. And no one can, we think, doubt that after having once or twice remained at home while the rest were enjoying themselves in the fields, and after having felt that this loss of a much-prized gratification was solely due to want of promptitude, some amendment would take place. At any rate, the measure would be more effective than that perpetual scolding which ends only in producing callousness.

Again, when children, with more than usual carelessness, break or lose the things given to them, the natural penalty—the penalty which makes grown-up persons more careful—is the consequent inconvenience. The want of the lost or damaged article, and the cost of supplying its place, are the experiences by which men and women are disciplined in these matters; and the experience of children should be as much as possible assimilated to theirs. We do not refer to that early period at which toys are pulled to pieces in the process of learning their physical properties, and at which the results of carelessness can not be understood; but to a later period, when the meaning and advantages of property are perceived. When a boy, old enough to possess a penknife, uses it so roughly as to snap the blade, or leaves it in the grass by some hedge-side, where he was cutting a stick, a thoughtless parent, or some indulgent relative, will commonly forthwith buy him another; not seeing that, by doing this, a valuable lesson is lost. In such a case, a father may properly explain that penknives cost money, and that to get money requires labor; that he can not afford to purchase new penknives for one who loses or breaks them; and that until he sees evidence of greater carefulness he must decline to make good the loss. A parallel discipline may be used as a means of checking extravagance.

CONSEQUENCES OF OBSERVING NATURE'S RULES OF REACTIONS.

4. In the first place, right conceptions of cause and effect are early formed; and by frequent and consistent experience are eventually rendered definite and complete. Proper conduct in life is much better guaranteed when the good and evil consequences of actions are rationally understood, than when they are merely believed on authority. A child who finds that disorderliness entails the subsequent trouble of putting things in order, or who misses a gratification from dilatoriness, or whose want of care is followed by the loss or breakage of some much-prized possession, not only experiences a keenly-felt consequence, but gains a knowledge of causation: both the one and the other being just like

those which adult life will bring. Whereas a child who in such cases receives some reprimand or some factitious penalty, not only experiences a consequence for which it often cares very little, but lacks that instruction respecting the essential natures of good and evil conduct, which it would else have gathered. It is a vice of the common system of artificial rewards and punishments, long since noticed by the clear-sighted, that by substituting for the natural results of misbehavior certain threatened tasks or castigations, it produces a radically wrong standard of moral guidance. Having throughout infancy and boyhood always regarded parental or tutorial displeasure as the result of a forbidden action, the youth has gained an established association of ideas between such action and such displeasure, as cause and effect; and consequently when parents and tutors have abdicated, and their displeasure is not to be feared, the restraint on a forbidden action is in great measure removed: the true restraints, the natural reactions, having yet to be learnt by said experience. As writes one who has had personal knowledge of this short-sighted system:—"Young men let loose from school, particularly those whose parents have neglected to exert their influence, plunge into every description of extravagance; they know no rule of action—they are ignorant of the reasons for moral conduct—they have no foundation to rest upon—and until they have been severely disciplined by the world are extremely dangerous members of society."

Another great advantage of this natural system of discipline is, that it is a system of pure justice; and will be recognized by every child as such. Whoso suffers nothing more than the evil which obviously follows naturally from his own misbehavior, is much less likely to think himself wrongly treated than if he suffers an evil artificially inflicted on him; and this will be true of children as of men. Take the case of a boy who is habitually reckless of his clothes—scrambles through hedges without caution, or is utterly regardless of mud. If he is beaten, or sent to bed, he is apt to regard himself as ill-used; and his mind is more likely to be occupied by thinking over his injuries than repenting of his transgressions. But suppose he is required to rectify as far as he can the harm he has done—to clean off the mud with which he has covered himself, or to mend the tear as well as he can. Will he not feel that the evil is one of his own producing? Will he not while paying this penalty be continuously conscious of the connection between it and its cause? And will he not, spite his irritation, recognize more or less clearly the justice of the arrangement? If several lessons of this kind fail to produce amendment—if suits of clothes are prematurely spoiled—if pursuing this same system of discipline a father declines to spend money for new ones until the ordinary time has elapsed—and if meanwhile, there occur occasions on which, having no decent clothes to go in, the boy is debarred from joining the rest of the family on holiday excursions and *fête* days, it is manifest that while he will keenly feel the punishment, he can scarcely fail to trace the chain of causation, and to perceive that his own carelessness is the origin of it; and seeing this, he will not have that same sense of injustice as when there is no obvious connection between the transgression and its penalty.

Again, the tempers both of parents and children are much less liable to be ruffled under this system than under the ordinary system. Instead of letting children experience the painful results which naturally follow from wrong conduct, the usual course pursued by parents is to inflict themselves certain other painful results. A double mischief arises from this. Making, as they do,

multiplied family laws; and identifying their own supremacy and dignity with the maintenance of these laws; it happens that every transgression comes to be regarded as an offense against themselves, and a cause of anger on their part. Add to which the further irritations which result from taking upon themselves, in the shape of extra labor or cost, those evil consequences which should have been allowed to fall on the wrong-doers. Similarly with the children. Penalties which the necessary reaction of things brings round upon them—penalties which are inflicted by impersonal agency, produce an irritation that is comparatively slight and transient; whereas, penalties which are voluntarily inflicted by a parent, and are afterwards remembered as caused by him or her, produce an irritation both greater and more continued. Just consider how disastrous would be the result if this empirical method were pursued from the beginning. Suppose it were possible for parents to take upon themselves the physical sufferings entailed on their children by ignorance and awkwardness; and that while bearing these evil consequences they visited on their children certain other evil consequences, with the view of teaching them the impropriety of their conduct. Suppose that when a child, who had been forbidden to meddle with the kettle, spilt some boiling water on its foot, the mother vicariously assumed the scald and gave a blow in place of it; and similarly in all other cases. Would not the daily mishaps be sources of far more anger than now? Would there not be chronic ill-temper on both sides? Yet an exactly parallel policy is pursued in after years. A father who punishes his boy for carelessly or willfully breaking a sister's toy, and then himself pays for a new toy, does substantially this same thing—inflicts an artificial penalty on the trangressor, and takes the natural penalty on himself: his own feelings and those of the transgressor being alike needlessly irritated. If he simply required restitution to be made, he would produce far less heartburning. If he told the boy that a new toy must be bought at his, the boy's cost, and that his supply of pocket-money must be withheld to the needful extent, there would be much less cause for ebullition of temper on either side; while in the deprivation afterwards felt, the boy would experience the equitable and salutary consequence. In brief, the system of discipline by natural reactions is less injurious to temper, alike because it is perceived on both sides to be nothing more than pure justice, and because it more or less substitutes the impersonal agency of nature for the personal agency of parents.

Whence also follows the manifest corollary, that under this system the parental and filial relation will be a more friendly, and therefore a more influential one. Whether in parent or child, anger, however caused, and to whomsoever directed, is more or less detrimental. But anger in a parent towards a child, and in a child towards a parent, is especially detrimental; because it weakens that bond of sympathy which is essential to a beneficent control. In virtue of the general law of association of ideas, it inevitably results, both in young and old, that dislike is contracted towards things which in our experience are habitually connected with disagreeable feelings. Or where attachment originally existed, it is weakened, or destroyed, or turned into repugnance, according to the quantity of painful impressions received. Parental wrath, with its accompanying reprimands and castigations, can not fail, if often repeated, to produce filial alienation; while the resentment and sulkiness of children can not fail to weaken the affection felt for them, and may even end in destroying it. Hence the numerous cases in which parents (and especially fathers, who are commonly

deputed to express the anger and inflict the punishment) are regarded with indifference, if not with aversion; and hence the equally numerous cases in which children are looked upon as inflictions. Seeing, then, as all must do, that estrangement of this kind is fatal to a salutary moral culture, it follows that parents can not be too solicitous in avoiding occasions of direct antagonism with their children—occasions of personal resentment. And therefore they can not too anxiously avail themselves of this discipline of natural consequences—this system of letting the penalty be inflicted by the laws of things; which, by saving the parent from the function of a penal agent, prevents these mutual exasperations and estrangements.

ADVANTAGES OF THE METHOD OF NORMAL REACTIONS.

5. Among the advantages of the divinely ordained method of moral culture by the experience of normal reactions are, First, that it gives that rational comprehension of right and wrong conduct which results from actual experience of the good and bad consequences caused by them. Second, that the child, suffering nothing more than the painful effects brought upon it by its own wrong actions, must recognize more or less clearly the justice of the penalties. Third, that recognizing the justice of the penalties, and receiving those penalties through the working of things, rather than at the hands of an individual, its temper will be less disturbed; while the parent occupying the comparatively passive position of taking care that the natural penalties are felt, will preserve a comparative equanimity. And fourth, that mutual exasperation being thus in great measure prevented, a much happier, and a more influential state of feeling, will exist between parent and child.

THE TRUE RELATION OF PARENT AND CHILD.

6. At present, mothers and fathers are mostly considered by their offspring as friend-enemies. Determined as their impressions inevitably are by the treatment they receive; and oscillating as that treatment does between bribery and thwarting, between petting and scolding, between gentleness and castigation; children necessarily acquire conflicting beliefs respecting the parental character. A mother commonly thinks it quite sufficient to tell her little boy that she is his best friend; and assuming that he is in duty bound to believe her, concludes that he will forthwith do so. "It is all for your good;" "I know what is proper for you better than you do yourself;" "You are not old enough to understand it now, but when you grow up you will thank me for doing what I do;"—these, and like assertions, are daily reiterated. Meanwhile the boy is daily suffering positive penalties; and is hourly forbidden to do this, that, and the other, which he was anxious to do. By words he hears that his happiness is the end in view; but from the accompanying deeds he habitually receives more or less pain. Utterly incompetent as he is to understand that future which his mother has in view, or how this treatment conduces to the happiness of that future, he judges by such results as he feels; and finding these results any thing but pleasurable, he becomes skeptical respecting these professions of friendship, And is it not folly to expect any other issue? Must not the child judge by such evidence as he has got? and does not this evidence seem to warrant his conclusion? The mother would reason in just the same way if similarly placed. If, in the circle of her acquaintance, she found some one who was constantly thwarting her wishes, uttering sharp reprimands, and occasionally inflict-

ing actual penalties on her, she would pay but little attention to any professions of anxiety for her welfare which accompained these acts. Why, then, does she suppose that her boy will conclude otherwise?

But now observe how different will be the results if the system we contend for be consistently pursued—if the mother not only avoids becoming the instrument of punishment, but plays the part of a friend, by warning her boy of the punishments which Nature will inflict. Take a case; and that it may illustrate the mode in which this policy is to be early initiated, let it be one of the simplest cases. Suppose that, prompted by the experimental spirit so conspicuous in children, whose proceedings instinctively conform to the inductive method of inquiry—suppose that so prompted the child is amusing himself by lighting pieces of paper in the candle and watching them burn. If his mother is of the ordinary unreflective stamp, she will either, on the plea of keeping the child "out of mischief," or from fear that he will burn himself, command him to desist; and in case of non-compliance will snatch the paper from him. On the other hand, should he be so fortunate as to have a mother of sufficient rationality, who knows that this interest with which the child is watching the paper burn results from a healthy inquisitiveness, without which he would never have emerged out of infantine stupidity, and who is also wise enough to consider the moral results of interference, she will reason thus:—"If I put a stop to this I shall prevent the acquirement of a certain amount of knowledge. It is true that I may save the child from a burn; but what then? He is sure to burn himself sometime; and it is quite essential to his safety in life that he should learn by experience the properties of flame. Moreover, if I forbid him from running this present risk, he is sure hereafter to run the same or a greater risk when no one is present to prevent him; whereas, if he should have any accident now that I am by, I can save him from any great injury; add to which the advantage that he will have in future some dread of fire, and will be less likely to burn himself to death, or set the house in a flame when others are absent. Furthermore, were I to make him desist, I should thwart him in the pursuit of what is in itself a purely harmless, and indeed, instructive gratification; and he would be sure to regard me with more or less ill-feeling. Ignorant as he is of the pain from which I would save him, and feeling only the pain of a balked desire, he could not fail to look upon me as the cause of that pain. To save him from a hurt which he can not conceive, and which has therefore no existence for him, I inflict upon him a hurt which he feels keenly enough; and so become, from his point of view, a minister of evil. My best course then, is simply to warn him of the danger, and to be ready to prevent any serious damage." And following out this conclusion, she says to the child—"I fear you will hurt yourself if you do that." Suppose, now, that the child perseveres, as he will very probably do; and suppose that he ends by burning himself. What are the results? In the first place he has gained an experience which he must gain eventually, and which, for his own safety he can not gain too soon. And in the second place, he has found that his mother's disapproval or warning was meant for his welfare: he has a further positive experience of her benevolence—a further reason for placing confidence in her judgment and her kindness—a further reason for loving her.

Of course, in those occasional hazards where there is a risk of broken limbs or other serious bodily injury, forcible prevention is called for. But leaving out these extreme cases, the system pursued should be not that of guarding a child

against the small dangers into which it daily runs, but that of advising and warning it against them. And by consistently pursuing this course, a much stronger filial affection will be generated than commonly exists. If here, as elsewhere, the discipline of the natural reactions is allowed to come into play—if in all those out-of-door scramblings and in-door experiments, by which children are liable to hurt themselves, they are allowed to persevere, subject only to dissuasion more or less earnest according to the risk, there can not fail to arise an ever-increasing faith in the parental friendship and guidance. Not only, as before shown, does the adoption of this principle enable fathers and mothers to avoid the chief part of that odium which attaches to the infliction of positive punishment; but, as we here see, it enables them further to avoid the odium that attaches to constant thwartings; and even to turn each of those incidents which commonly cause squabbles, into a means of strengthening the mutual good feeling. Instead of being told in words, which deeds seem to contradict, that their parents are their best friends, children will learn this truth by a consistent daily experience; and so learning it, will acquire a degree of trust and attachment which nothing else can give.

HOW TO DEAL WITH GRAVE OFFENSES.

7. The perpetual ill-behavior of many children is itself the consequence of that chronic irritation in which they are kept by bad management. The state of isolation and antagonism produced by frequent punishment, necessarily deadens the sympathies; necessarily, therefore, opens the way to those transgressions which the sympathies should check. That harsh treatment which children of the same family inflict on each other is often, in great measure, a reflex of the harsh treatment they receive from adults—partly suggested by direct example, and partly generated by the ill-temper and the tendency to vicarious retaliation, which follow chastisements and scoldings. It can not be questioned that the greater activity of the affections and happier state of feeling, maintained in children by the discipline we have described, must prevent their sins against each other from being either so great or so frequent. Moreover, the still more reprehensible offenses, as lies and petty thefts, will, by the same causes, be diminished. Domestic estrangement is a fruitful source of such transgressions. It is a law of human nature, visible enough to all who observe, that those who are debarred the higher gratifications fall back upon the lower; those who have no sympathetic pleasures seek selfish ones; and hence, conversely, the maintenance of happier relations between parents and children is calculated to diminish the number of those offenses of which selfishness is the origin.

When, however, such offenses are committed, as they will occasionally be even under the best system, the discipline of consequences may still be resorted to; and if there exist that bond of confidence and affection which we have described, this discipline will be found efficient. For what are the natural consequences, say, of a theft? They are of two kinds—direct and indirect. The direct consequence, as dictated by pure equity, is that of making restitution. An absolutely just ruler (and every parent should aim to be one) will demand that, wherever it is possible, a wrong act shall be undone by a right one; and in the case of theft this implies either the restoration of the thing stolen, or, if it is consumed, then the giving of an equivalent: which, in the case of a child, may be effected out of its pocket-money. The indirect and more serious con-

sequence is the grave displeasure of parents—a consequence which inevitably follows among all peoples sufficiently civilized to regard theft as a crime; and the manifestation of this displeasure is, in this instance, the most severe of the natural reactions produced by the wrong action. "But," it will be said, "the manifestation of parental displeasure, either in words or blows, is the ordinary course in these cases: the method leads here to nothing new." Very true. Already we have admitted that, in some directions, this method is spontaneously pursued. Already we have shown that there is a more or less manifest tendency for educational systems to gravitate towards the true system. And here we may remark, as before, that the intensity of this natural reaction will, in the beneficent order of things, adjust itself to the requirements—that this parental displeasure will vent itself in violent measures during comparatively barbarous times, when the children are also comparatively barbarous; and will express itself less cruelly in those more advanced social states in which, by implication, the children are amenable to milder treatment. But what it chiefly concerns us here to observe is, that the manifestation of strong parental displeasure, produced by one of these graver offenses, will be potent for good just in proportion to the warmth of the attachment existing between parent and child. Just in proportion as the discipline of the natural consequences has been consistently pursued in other cases, will it be efficient in this case.

DO NOT SET UP TOO HIGH A STANDARD OF JUVENILE GOOD CONDUCT.

8. Do not expect from a child any great amount of moral goodness. During early years every civilized man passes through that phase of character exhibited by the barbarous race from which he is descended. As the child's features—flat nose, forward-opening nostrils, large lips, wide-apart eyes, absent frontal sinus, &c.—resemble for a time those of the savage, so, too, do his instincts. Hence the tendencies to cruelty, to thieving, to lying, so general among children—tendencies which, even without the aid of discipline, will become more or less modified just as the features do. The popular idea that children are "innocent," while it may be true in so far as it refers to evil *knowledge*, is totally false in so far as it refers to evil *impulses*, as half an hour's observation in the nursery will prove to any one. Boys when left to themselves, as at a public school, treat each other far more brutally than men do; and were they left to themselves at an earlier age their brutality would be still more conspicuous.

Not only is it unwise to set up a high standard for juvenile good conduct, but it is even unwise to use very urgent incitements to such good conduct, Already most people recognize the detrimental results of intellectual precocity; but there remains to be recognized the truth that there is a *moral precocity* which is also detrimental. Our higher moral faculties, like our higher intellectual ones, are comparatively complex. By consequence they are both comparatively late in their evolution. And with the one as with the other, a very early activity produced by stimulation will be at the expense of the future character. Hence the not uncommon fact that those who during childhood were instanced as models of juvenile goodness, by-and-by undergo some disastrous and seemingly inexplicable change, and end by being not above but below par; while relatively exemplary men are often the issue of a childhood by no means so promising.

Be content, therefore, with moderate measures and moderate results Constantly bear in mind the fact that a higher morality, like a higher intelligence,

must be reached by a slow growth; and you will then have more patience with those imperfections of nature which your child hourly displays. You will be less prone to that constant scolding, and threatening, and forbidding, by which many parents induce a chronic domestic irritation, in the foolish hope that they will thus make their children what they should be.

INFLUENCE OF THE LAW OF NATURAL REACTION ON PARENTS.

9. By aiming in all cases to administer the natural reactions to your child's actions, you will put an advantageous check upon your own temper. The method of moral education pursued by many, we fear by most, parents, is little else than that of venting their anger in the way that first suggests itself. The slaps, and rough shakings, and sharp words, with which a mother commonly visits her offspring's small offenses (many of them not offenses considered intrinsically,) are very generally but the manifestations of her own ill-controlled feelings—result much more from the promptings of those feelings than from a wish to benefit the offenders. While they are injurious to her own character, these ebullitions tend, by alienating her children and by decreasing their respect for her, to diminish her influence over them. But by pausing in each case of transgression to consider what is the natural consequence, and how that natural consequence may best be brought home to the transgressor, some little time is necessarily obtained for the mastery of yourself; the mere blind anger first aroused in you settles down into a less vehement feeling, and one not so likely to mislead you.

BE SPARING OF COMMANDS.

10. Be sparing of commands. Command only in those cases in which other means are inapplicable, or have failed. "In frequent orders the parents' advantage is more considered than the child's," says Richter. As in primitive societies a breach of law is punished, not so much because it is intrinsically wrong as because it is a disregard of the king's authority—a rebellion against him; so in many families, the penalty visited on a transgressor proceeds less from reprobation of the offense than from anger at the disobedience. Listen to the ordinary speeches—"How *dare* you disobey me?" "I tell you I'll *make* you do it, sir." "I'll soon teach you who is *master*"—and then consider what the words, the tone, and the manner imply. A determination to subjugate is much more conspicuous in them than an anxiety for the child's welfare. For the time being the attitude of mind differs but little from that of the despot bent on punishing a recalcitrant subject. The right-feeling parent, however, like the philanthropic legislator, will not rejoice in coercion, but will rejoice in dispensing with coercion. He will do without law in all cases where other modes of regulating conduct can be successfully employed; and he will regret the having recourse to law when it is necessary. As Richter remarks—"The best rule in politics is said to be '*pas trop gouverner*:' it is also true in education." And in spontaneous conformity with this maxim, parents whose lust of dominion is restrained by a true sense of duty, will aim to make their children control themselves wherever it is possible, and will fall back upon absolutism only as a last resort.

COMMAND WITH DECISION AND CONSISTENCY.

11. Whenever you *do* command, command with decision and consistency. If the case is one which really can not be otherwise dealt with, then issue your fiat, and having issued it, never afterwards swerve from it. Consider well

beforehand what you are going to do; weigh all the consequences; think whether your firmness of purpose will be sufficient; and then, if you finally make the law, enforce it uniformly at whatever cost. Let your penalties be like the penalties inflicted by inanimate nature—inevitable. The hot cinder burns a child the first time he seizes it; it burns him the second time; it burns him the third time; it burns him every time; and he very soon learns not to touch the hot cinder. If you are equally consistent—if the consequences which you tell your child will follow certain acts, follow with like uniformity, he will soon come to respect your laws as he does those of Nature. And this respect once established will prevent endless domestic evils. Of errors in education one of the worst is that of inconsistency. As in a community, crimes multiply when there is no certain administration of justice; so in a family, an immense increase of transgressions results from a hesitating or irregular infliction of penalties. A weak mother, who perpetually threatens and rarely performs—who makes rules in haste and repents of them at leisure—who treats the same offense now with severity and now with leniency, according as the passing humor dictates, is laying up miseries both for herself and her children. She is making herself contemptible in their eyes; she is setting them an example of uncontrolled feelings; she is encouraging them to transgress by the prospect of probable impunity; she is entailing endless squabbles and accompanying damage to her own temper and the tempers of her little ones; she is reducing their minds to a moral chaos, which after-years of bitter experience will with difficulty bring into order. Better even a barbarous form of domestic government carried out consistently, than a humane one inconsistently carried out. Again we say, avoid coercive measures whenever it is possible to do so; but when you find despotism really necessary, be despotic in good earnest.

THE AIM OF DISCIPLINE SHOULD BE SELF-GOVERNMENT.

12. Bear constantly in mind the truth that the aim of your discipline should be to produce a *self-governing* being; not to produce a being to be *governed by others*. Were your children fated to pass their lives as slaves, you could not too much accustom them to slavery during their childhood; but as they are by-and-by to be free men, with no one to control their daily conduct, you can not too much accustom them to self-control while they are still under your eye. This it is which makes the system of discipline by natural consequences, so especially appropriate to the social state which we in England have now reached. Under early, tyrannical forms of society, when one of the chief evils the citizen had to fear was the anger of his superiors, it was well that during childhood parental vengeance should be a predominant means of government. But now that the citizen has little to fear from any one—now that the good or evil which he experiences throughout life is mainly that which in the nature of things results from his own conduct, it is desirable that from his first years he should begin to learn, experimentally, the good or evil consequences which naturally follow this or that conduct. Aim, therefore, to diminish the amount of parental government as fast as you can substitute for it in your child's mind that self-government arising from a foresight of results. In infancy a considerable amount of absolutism is necessary. A three-year old urchin playing with an open razor, can not be allowed to learn by this discipline of consequences; for the consequences may, in such a case, be too serious. But as intelligence increases, the number of instances calling for peremptory interference may be, and should be,

diminished; with the view of gradually ending them as maturity is approached. All periods of transition are dangerous; and the most dangerous is the transition from the restraint of the family circle to the non-restraint of the world. Hence the importance of pursuing the policy we advocate; which, alike by cultivating a child's faculty of self-restraint, by continually increasing the degree in which it is left to its self-constraint, and by so bringing it, step by step, to a state of unaided self-restraint, obliterates the ordinary sudden and hazardous change from externally-governed youth to internally governed maturity.

RIGHT GOVERNMENT COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT.

13. Remember that to educate rightly is not a simple and easy thing, but a complex and extremely difficult thing: the hardest task which devolves upon adult life. The rough and ready style of domestic government is indeed practicable by the meanest and most uncultivated intellects. Slaps and sharp words are penalties that suggest themselves alike to the least reclaimed barbarian and the most stolid peasant. Even brutes can use this method of discipline; as you may see in the growl and half-bite with which a bitch will check a too-exigent puppy. But if you would carry out with success a rational and civilized system, you must be prepared for considerable mental exertion—for some study, some ingenuity, some patience, some self-control. You will have habitually to trace the consequences of conduct—to consider what are the results which in adult life follow certain kind of acts; and then you will have to devise methods by which parallel results shall be entailed on the parallel acts of your children. You will daily be called upon to analyze the motives of juvenile conduct: you must distinguish between acts that are really good and those which, though externally simulating them, proceed from inferior impulses; while you must be ever on your guard against the cruel mistake not unfrequently made, of translating neutral acts into transgressions, or ascribing worse feelings than were entertained. You must more or less modify your method to suit the disposition of each child; and must be prepared to make further modifications as each child's disposition enters on a new phase. Your faith will often be taxed to maintain the requisite perseverance in a course which seems to produce little or no effect. Especially if you are dealing with children who have been wrongly treated, you must be prepared for a lengthened trial of patience before succeeding with better methods; seeing that that which is not easy even where a right state of feeling has been established from the beginning, becomes doubly difficult when a wrong state of feeling has to be set right. Not only will you have constantly to analyze the motives of your children, but you will have to analyze your own motives—to discriminate between those internal suggestions springing from a true parental solicitude, and those which spring from your own selfishness, from your love of ease, from your lust of dominion. And then, more trying still, you will have not only to detect, but to curb these baser impulses. In brief, you will have to carry on your higher education at the same time that you are educating your children. Intellectually you must cultivate to good purpose that most complex of subjects—human nature and its laws, as exhibited in your children, in yourself, and in the world. Morally, you must keep in constant exercise your higher feelings, and restrain your lower. It is a truth yet remaining to be recognized, that the last stage in the mental development of each man and woman is to be reached only through the proper discharge of the parental duties. And when this truth is recognized, it will be

seen how admirable is the ordination in virtue of which human beings are led by their strongest affections to subject themselves to a discipline which they would else elude.

While some will probably regard this conception of education as it should be, with doubt and discouragement, others will, we think, perceive in the exalted ideal which it involves, evidence of its truth. That it can not be realized by the impulsive, the unsympathetic, and the short-sighted, but demands the higher attributes of human nature, they will see to be evidence of its fitness for the more advanced states of humanity. Though it calls for much labor and self-sacrifice, they will see that it promises an abundant return of happiness, immediate and remote. They will see that while in its injurious effects on both parent and child a bad system is twice cursed, a good system is twice blessed—it blesses him that trains and him that's trained.

III. INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION AND STUDIES.

DESIRE OF OLD METHODS.

1. The suppression of every error is commonly followed by a temporary ascendency of the contrary one; and it so happened, that after the ages when physical development alone was aimed at, there came an age when culture of the mind was the sole solicitude—when children had lesson-books put before them at between two and three years old—when school-hours were protracted, and the getting of knowledge was thought the one thing needful. As, further, it usually happens, that after one of these reactions the next advance is achieved by co-ordinating the antagonist errors, and perceiving that they are opposite sides of one truth; so we are now coming to the conviction that body and mind must both be cared for, and the whole being unfolded. The forcing system has been in great measure given up, and precocity is discouraged. People are beginning to see that the first requisite to success in life, is to be a good animal. The best brain is found of little service, if there be not enough vital energy to work it; and hence to obtain the one by sacrificing the source of the other, is now considered a folly—a folly which the eventual failure of juvenile prodigies constantly illustrates. Thus we are discovering the wisdom of the saying, that one secret in education is "to know how wisely to lose time."

The once universal practice of learning by rote, is daily falling more into discredit. All modern authorities condemn the old mechanical way of teaching the alphabet. The multiplication table is now frequently taught experimentally. In the acquirement of languages, the grammar-school plan is being superseded by plans based on the spontaneous process followed by the child in gaining its mother tongue.

Along with rote-teaching, is declining also the nearly allied teaching by rules. The particulars first, and then the generalization, is the new method—a method, as the Battersea School Reports remark, which, though "the reverse of the method usually followed which consists in giving the pupil the rule first," is yet proved by experience to be the right one. Rule-teaching is now condemned as imparting a merely empirical knowledge—as producing an appearance of understanding without the reality. To give the net product of inquiry, without the inquiry that leads to it, is found to be both enervating and inefficient. General truths to be of due and permanent use, must be earned. "Easy come easy go," is a saying as applicable to knowledge as to wealth. While rules, lying isolated

in the mind—not joined to its other contents as outgrowths from them—are continually forgotten, the principles which those rules express piecemeal, become, when once reached by the understanding, enduring possessions. While the rule-taught youth is at sea when beyond his rules, the youth instructed in principles solves a new case as readily as an old one. Between a mind of rules and a mind of principles, there exists a difference such as that between a confused heap of materials, and the same materials organized into a complete whole, with all its parts bound together. Of which types this last has not only the advantage that its constituent parts are better retained, but the much greater advantage, that it forms an efficient agent for inquiry, for independent thought, for discovery—ends for which the first is useless. Nor let it be supposed that this is a simile only: it is the literal truth. The union of facts into generalizations *is* the organization of knowledge, whether considered as an objective phenomenon, or a subjective one: and the mental grasp may be measured by the extent to which this organization is carried.

From the substitution of principles for rules, and the necessarily co-ordinate practice of leaving abstractions untaught until the mind has been familiarized with the facts from which they are abstracted, has resulted the postponement of some once early studies to a late period. This is exemplified in the abandonment of that intensely stupid custom, the teaching of grammar to children. As M. Marcel says:—"It may without hesitation be affirmed that grammar is not the stepping-stone, but the finishing instrument." As Mr. Wyse argues:—"Grammar and Syntax are a collection of laws and rules. Rules are gathered from practice; they are the results of induction to which we come by long observation and comparison of facts.

INTRODUCTION OF NEW METHOD.

2. After long ages of blindness men are at last seeing that the spontaneous activity of the observing faculties in children has a meaning and a use. What was once thought mere purposeless action, or play, or mischief, as the case might be, is now recognized as the process of acquiring a knowledge on which all after-knowledge is based. Hence the well-conceived but ill-conducted system of *object-lessons*. The saying of Bacon, that physics is the mother of sciences, has come to have a meaning in education. Without an accurate acquaintance with the visible and tangible properties of things, our conceptions must be erroneous, our inferences fallacious, and our operations unsuccessful. "The education of the senses neglected, all after education partakes of a drowsiness, a haziness, an insufficiency which it is impossible to cure."

While the old method of presenting truths in the abstract has been falling out of use, there has been a corresponding adoption of the new method of presenting them in the concrete. The rudimentary facts of exact science are now being learnt by direct intuition, as textures, and tastes, and colors are learnt. Employing the ball-frame for first lessons in arithmetic exemplifies this. It is well illustrated, too, in Professor De Morgan's mode of explaining the decimal notation. M. Marcel, rightly repudiating the old system of tables, teaches weights and measures by referring to the actual yard and foot, pound and ounce, gallon and quart; and lets the discovery of their relationships be experimental. The use of geographical models and models of the regular bodies, &c., as introductory to geography and geometry respectively, are facts of the same class. Manifestly a common trait of these methods is, that they carry each child's

mind through a process like that which the mind of humanity at large has gone through. The truths of number, of form, of relationship in position, were all originally drawn from objects; and to present these truths to the child in the concrete is to let him learn them as the race learnt them. By-and-by, perhaps, it will be seen that he can not possibly learn them in any other way; for that if he is made to repeat them as abstractions, the abstractions can have no meaning for him, until he finds that they are simply statements of what he intuitively discerns.

But of all the changes taking place, the most significant is the growing desire to make the acquirement of knowledge pleasurable rather than painful—a desire based on the more or less distinct perception that at each age the intellectual action which a child likes is a healthful one for it; and conversely. There is a spreading opinion that the rise of an appetite for any kind of knowledge implies that the unfolding mind has become fit to assimilate it, and needs it for the purposes of growth; and that on the other hand, the disgust felt towards any kind of knowledge is a sign either that it is prematurely presented, or that it is presented in an indigestible form. Hence the efforts to make early education amusing, and all education interesting. Hence the lectures on the value of play. Hence the defense of nursery rhymes, and fairy tales. Daily we more and more conform our plans to juvenile opinion. Does the child like this or that kind of teaching? does he take to it? we constantly ask. "His natural desire of variety should be indulged," says M. Marcel; "and the gratification of his curiosity should be combined with his improvement." "Lessons," he again remarks, "should cease before the child evinces symptoms of weariness." And so with later education. Short breaks during school-hours, excursions into the country, amusing lectures, choral songs—in these and many like traits, the change may be discerned. Asceticism is disappearing out of education as out of life; and the usual test of political legislation—its tendency to promote happiness—is beginning to be, in a great degree, the test of legislation for the school and the nursery.

THE ORDER AND METHOD OF NATURE TO BE FOLLOWED.

3. There is a certain sequence in which the faculties spontaneously develop, and a certain kind of knowledge which each requires during its development; and that it is for us to ascertain this sequence, and supply this knowledge. A nebulous perception of it now prevails among teachers; and it is daily more insisted on in educational works. "The method of nature is the archetype of all methods," says M. Marcel. "The vital principle in the pursuit is to enable the pupil rightly to instruct himself," writes Mr. Wyse. The more science familiarizes us with the constitution of things the more do we see in them an inherent self-sufficingness. A higher knowledge tends continually to limit our interference with the processes of life. As in medicine the old "heroic treatment" has given place to mild treatment, and often no treatment save a normal regimen—as we have found that it is not needful to mould the bodies of babes by bandaging them in papoose fashion or otherwise—as in gaols it is being discovered that no cunningly devised discipline of ours is so efficient in producing reformation as the natural discipline, the making prisoners maintain themselves by productive labor; so in education we are finding that success is to be achieved only by rendering our measures subservient to that spontaneous unfolding which all minds go through in their progress to maturity.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION.

4. Though it is not possible for a scheme of culture to be perfected either in matter or form until a rational Psychology has been established, it is possible, with the aid of certain guiding principles, to make empirical approximations towards a perfect scheme. To prepare the way for further research we will now specify these principles:—

(1.) That in education we should proceed from the simple to the complex is a truth which has always been to some extent acted upon; not professedly, indeed, nor by any means consistently. The mind grows. Like all things that grow it progresses from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous; and a normal training system being an objective counterpart of this subjective process, must exhibit the like progression. Moreover, regarding it from this point of view, we may see that this formula has much wider applications than at first appears. For its *rationale* involves not only that we should proceed from the single to the combined in the teaching of each branch of knowledge; but that we should do the like with knowledge as a whole. As the mind, consisting at first of but few active faculties; has its later-completed faculties successively awakened, and ultimately comes to have all its faculties in simultaneous action; it follows that our teaching should begin with but few subjects at once, and successively adding to these, should finally carry on all subjects abreast—that not only in its details should education proceed from the simple to the complex, but in its *ensemble* also.

(2.) To say that our lessons ought to start from the concrete and end in the abstract, may be considered as in part a repetition of the foregoing. Nevetheless it is a maxim that needs to be stated: if with no other view, then with the view of showing in certain cases what are truly the simple and the complex. For unfortunately there has been much misunderstanding on this point. General formulas which men have devised to express groups of details, and which have severally simplified their conceptions by uniting many facts into one fact, they have supposed must simplify the conceptions of the child also: quite forgetting that a generalization is simple only in comparison with the whole mass of particular truths it comprehends—that it is more complex than any one of these truths taken singly—that only after many of these single truths have been acquired does the generalization ease the memory and help the reason—and that to the child not possessing these single truths it is necessarily a mystery. Thus confounding two kinds of simplification, teachers have constantly erred by setting out with "first principles:" a proceeding essentially, though not apparently, at variance with the primary rule; which implies that the mind should be introduced to principles through the medium of examples, and so should be led from the particular to the general—from the concrete to the abstract.

(3.) The education of the child must accord both in mode and arrangement with the education of mankind as considered historically; or in other words, the genesis of knowledge in the individual must follow the same course as the genesis of knowledge in the race.

It is alike provable that the historical sequence was, in its main outlines, a necessary one; and that the causes which determined it apply to the child as to the race. Not to specify these causes in detail, it will suffice here to point out that as the mind of humanity placed in the midst of phenomena and striving to

comprehend them, has, after endless comparisons, speculations, experiments, and theories, reached its present knowledge of each subject by a specific route; it may rationally be inferred that the relationship between mind and phenomena is such as to prevent this knowledge from being reached by any other route; and that as each child's mind stands in this same relationship to phenomena, they can be accessible to it only through the same route. Hence in deciding upon the right method of education, an inquiry into the method of civilization will help to guide us.

(4.) One of the conclusions to which such an inquiry leads is, that in each branch of instruction we should proceed from the empirical to the rational. A leading fact in human progress is, that every science is evolved out of its corresponding art. It results from the necessity we are under, both individually and as a race, of reaching the abstract by way of the concrete, that there must be practice and an accruing experience with its empirical generalizations, before there can be science. Science is organized knowledge; and before knowledge can be organized, some of it must first be possessed. Every study, therefore, should have a purely experimental introduction; and only after an ample fund of observations has been accumulated, should reasoning begin. As illustrative applications of this rule, we may instance the modern course of placing grammar, not before language, but after it; or the ordinary custom of prefacing perspective by practical drawing. By-and-by further applications of it will be indicated.

(5.) A second corollary from the foregoing general principle, and one which can not be too strenuously insisted upon, is, that in education the process of self-development should be encouraged to the fullest extent. Children should be led to make their own investigations, and to draw their own inferences. They should be *told* as little as possible, and induced to *discover* as much as possible. Humanity has progressed solely by self-instruction; and that to achieve the best results, each mind must progress somewhat after the same fashion, is continually proved by the marked success of self-made men. Those who have been brought up under the ordinary school-drill, and have carried away with them the idea that education is practicable only in that style, will think it hopeless to make children their own teachers. If, however, they will call to mind that the all-important knowledge of surrounding objects which a child gets in its early years is got without help—if they will remember that the child is self-taught in the use of its mother tongue—if they will estimate the amount of that experience of life, that out-of-school wisdom, which every boy gathers for himself—if they will mark the unusual intelligence of the uncared-for London *gamin*, as shown in all the directions in which his faculties have been tasked—if further, they will think how many minds have struggled up unaided, not only through the mysteries of our irrationally-planned *curriculum*, but through hosts of other obstacles besides; they will find it a not unreasonable conclusion, that if the subjects be put before him in right order and right form, any pupil of ordinary capacity will surmount his successive difficulties with but little assistance. Who indeed can watch the ceaseless observation, and inquiry, and inference going on in a child's mind, or listen to its acute remarks on matters within the range of its faculties, without perceiving that these powers which it manifests, if brought to bear systematically upon any studies *within the same range*, would readily master them without help?

(6.) As a final test by which to judge any plan of culture, should come the

question,—Does it create a pleasurable excitement in the pupils? When in doubt whether a particular mode or arrangement is or is not more in harmony with the foregoing principles than some other, we may safely abide by this criterion. Even when, as considered theoretically, the proposed course seems the best, yet if it produce no interest, or less interest than another course, we should relinquish it; for a child's intellectual instincts are more trustworthy than our reasonings. In respect to the knowing faculties, we may confidently trust in the general law, that under normal conditions, healthful action is pleasurable, while action which gives pain is not healthful. Though at present very incompletely conformed to by the emotional nature, yet by the intellectual nature, or at least by those parts of it which the child exhibits, this law is almost wholly conformed to. The repugnances to this and that study which vex the ordinary teacher, are not innate, but result from his unwise system. Fellenberg says, "Experience has taught me that *indolence* in young persons is so directly opposite to their natural disposition to activity, that unless it is the consequence of bad education, it is almost invariably connected with some constitutional defect." And the spontaneous activity to which children are thus prone, is simply the pursuit of those pleasures which the healthful exercise of the faculties gives.

APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLE TO PRACTICE.

5. It was the opinion of Pestalozzi—an opinion which has ever since his day been gaining ground—that education of some kind should begin from the cradle. Whoever has watched with any discernment, the wide-eyed gaze of the infant at surrounding objects, knows very well that education *does* begin thus early, whether we intend it or not; and that these fingerings and suckings of every thing it can lay hold of, these open-mouthed listenings to every sound, are the first steps in the series which ends in the discovery of unseen planets, the invention of calculating engines, the production of great paintings, or the composition of symphonies and operas. This activity of the faculties from the very first being spontaneous and inevitable, the question is whether we shall supply in due variety the materials on which they may exercise themselves; and to the question so put, none but an affirmative answer can be given.

INTUITIONAL EXERCISE OF THE PERCEPTIONS.

6. The earliest impressions which the mind can assimilate, are those given to it by the undecomposable sensations—resistance, light, sound, &c. Manifestly decomposable states of consciousness can not exist before the states of consciousness out of which they are composed. There can be no idea of form until some familiarity with light in its gradations and qualities, or resistance in its different intensities, has been acquired; for, as has been long known, we recognize visible form by means of varieties of light, and tangible form by means of varieties of resistance. Similarly, no articulate sound is cognizable until the inarticulate sounds which go to make it up have been learned. And thus must it be in every other case. Following, therefore, the necessary law of progression from the simple to the complex, we should provide for the infant a sufficiency of objects presenting different degrees and kinds of resistance, a sufficiency of objects reflecting different amounts and qualities of light, and a sufficiency of sounds contrasted in their loudness, their pitch and their *timbre*. How fully this *à priori* conclusion is confirmed by infantile instincts all will see on being

reminded of the delight which every young child has in biting its toys, in feeling its brother's bright jacket-buttons, and pulling papa's whiskers—how absorbed it becomes in gazing at any gaudily painted object, to which it applies the word "pretty," when it can pronounce it, wholly in virtue of the bright colors—and how its face broadens into a laugh at the tattlings of its nurse, the snapping of a visitor's fingers, or any sound which it has not before heard. Fortunately, the ordinary practices of the nursery fulfill these early requirements of education to a considerable degree. Much, however, remains to be done; and it is of more importance that it should be done than at first appears. Every faculty during the period of its greatest activity—the period in which it is spontaneously evolving itself—is capable of receiving more vivid impressions than at any other period. Moreover, as these simplest elements must eventually be mastered, and as the mastery of them whenever achieved must take time, it becomes an economy of time to occupy this first stage of childhood, during which no other intellectual action is possible, in gaining a complete familiarity with them in all their modifications. Add to which, that both temper and health will be improved by the continual gratification resulting from a due supply of these impressions which every child so greedily assimilates. Space, could it be spared, might here be well filled by some suggestions towards a more systematic ministration to these simplest of the perceptions. But it must suffice to point out that any such ministration ought to be based upon the general truth that in the development of every faculty, markedly contrasted impressions are the first to be distinguished: that hence sounds greatly differing in loudness and pitch, colors very remote from each other, and substances widely unlike in hardness or texture, should be the first supplied; and that in each case the progression must be by slow degrees to impressions more nearly allied.

OBJECT-LESSONS.

7. It needs but a glance at the daily life of the infant to see that all the knowledge of things which is gained before the acquirement of speech, is self-gained—that the qualities of hardness and weight associated with certain visual appearances, the possession of particular forms and colors by particular persons, the production of special sounds by animals of special aspects, are phenomena which it observes for itself. In manhood too, when there are no longer teachers at hand, the observations and inferences required for daily guidance, must be made unhelped; and success in life depends upon the accuracy and completeness with which they are made. Is it probable then, that while the process displayed in the evolution of humanity at large, is repeated alike by the infant and the man, a reverse process must be followed during the period between infancy and manhood? and that too, even in so simple a thing as learning the properties of objects? Is it not obvious, on the contrary, that one method must be pursued throughout? And is not nature perpetually thrusting this method upon us, if we had but the wit to see it, and the humility to adopt it? What can be more manifest than the desire of children for intellectual sympathy? Mark how the infant sitting on your knee thrusts into your face the toy it holds, that you too may look at it. See when it makes a creak with its wet finger on the table, how it turns and looks at you; does it again, and again looks at you; thus saying as clearly as it can—"Hear this new sound." Watch how the elder children come into the room exclaiming—"Mamma, see what a curious thing," "Mamma, look at this," "Mamma, look at that;" and

would continue the habit, did not the silly mamma tell them not to tease her. Observe how, when out with the nurse-maid, each little one runs up to her with the new flower it has gathered, to show her how pretty it is, and to get her also, to say it is pretty. Listen to the eager volubility with which every urchin describes any novelty he has been to see, if only he can find some one who will attend with any interest. Does not the induction lie on the surface? Is it not clear that we must conform our course to these intellectual instincts—that we must just systematize the natural process—that we must listen to all the child has to tell us about each object, must induce it to say every thing it can think of about such object, must occasionally draw its attention to facts it has not yet observed, with the view of leading it to notice them itself whenever they recur, and must go on by-and-by to indicate or supply new series of things for a like exhaustive examination?

EXAMPLE OF A MASTER'S UNCONSCIOUS TUITION ON OBJECTS.

8. Step by step the mother familiarizes her little boy with the names of the simpler attributes, hardness, softness, color, taste, size, &c., in doing which she finds him eagerly help by bringing this to show her that it is red, and the other to make her feel that it is hard, as fast as she gives him words for these properties. Each additional property, as she draws his attention to it in some fresh thing which he brings her, she takes care to mention in connection with those he already knows; so that by the natural tendency to imitate, he may get into the habit of repeating them one after another. Gradually as there occur cases in which he omits to name one or more of the properties he has become acquainted with, she introduces the practice of asking him whether there is not something more that he can tell her about the thing he has got. Probably he does not understand. After letting him puzzle awhile she tells him; perhaps laughing at him a little for his failure. A few recurrences of this and he perceives what is to be done. When next she says she knows something more about the object than he has told her, his pride is roused; he looks at it intently; he thinks over all that he has heard; and the problem being easy, presently finds it out. He is full of glee at his success, and she sympathizes with him. In common with every child, he delights in the discovery of his powers. He wishes for more victories, and goes in quest of more things about which to tell her. As his faculties unfold she adds quality after quality to his list: progressing from hardness and softness to roughness and smoothness, from color to polish, from simple bodies to composite ones—thus constantly complicating the problem as he gains competence, constantly taxing his attention and memory to a greater extent, constantly maintaining his interest by supplying him with new impressions such as his mind can assimilate, and constantly gratifying him by conquests over such small difficulties as he can master. In doing this she is manifestly but following out that spontaneous process that was going on during a still earlier period—simply aiding self-evolution; and is aiding it in the mode suggested by the boy's instinctive behavior to her. Manifestly, too, the course she is pursuing is the one best calculated to establish a habit of exhaustive observation; which is the professed aim of these lessons. To *tell* a child this and to *show* it the other, is not to teach it how to observe, but to make it a mere recipient of another's observations: a proceeding which weakens rather than strengthens it powers of self-instruction—which deprives it of the pleasures resulting from successful activity—which presents this all-attractive knowledge

under the aspect of formal tuition—and which thus generates that indifference and even disgust with which these object-lessons are not unfrequently regarded. On the other hand, to pursue the course above described is simply to guide the intellect to its appropriate food; to join with the intellectual appetites their natural adjuncts—*amour propre* and the desire for sympathy; to induce by the union of all these an intensity of attention which insures perceptions alike vivid and complete; and to habituate the mind from the beginning to that practice of self-help which it must ultimately follow.

EXTENSION OF THE FIELD OF OBJECT-TEACHING.

9. Object-lessons should not only be carried on after quite a different fashion from that commonly pursued, but should be extended to a range of things far wider, and continue to a period far later, than now. They should not be limited to the contents of the house; but should include those of the fields and the hedges, the quarry and the sea-shore. They should not cease with early childhood; but should be so kept up during youth as insensibly to merge into the investigations of the naturalist and the man of science. Here again we have but to follow nature's leadings. Where can be seen an intenser delight than that of children picking up new flowers and watching new insects, or hoarding pebbles and shells? And who is there but perceives that by sympathizing with them they may be led on to any extent of inquiry into the qualities and structures of these things? Every botanist who has had children with him in the woods and the lanes must have noticed how eagerly they joined in his pursuits, how keenly they searched out plants for him, how intently they watched whilst he examined them, how they overwhelmed him with questions. The consistent follower of Bacon—the "servant and interpreter of nature," will see that we ought modestly to adopt the course of culture thus indicated. Having gained due familiarity with the simpler properties of inorganic objects, the child should by the same process be led on to a like exhaustive examination of the things it picks up in its daily walks—the less complex facts they present being alone noticed at first: in plants, the color, number, and forms of the petals and shapes of the stalks and leaves: in insects, the numbers of the wings, legs, and antennæ, and their colors. As these become fully appreciated and invariably observed, further facts may be successively introduced: in the one case, the numbers of stamens and pistils, the forms of the flowers, whether radial or bilateral in symmetry, the arrangement and character of the leaves, whether opposite or alternate, stalked or sessile, smooth or hairy, serrated, toothed, or crenate; in the other, the divisions of the body, the segments of the abdomen, the markings of the wings, the number of joints in the legs, and the forms of the smaller organs—the system pursued throughout being that of making it the child's ambition to say respecting every thing it finds, all that can be said. Then when a fit age has been reached, the means of preserving these plants which have become so interesting in virtue of the knowledge obtained of them, may as a great favor be supplied; and eventually, as a still greater favor, may also be supplied the apparatus needful for keeping the larvæ of our common butterflies and moths through their transformations—a practice which, as we can personally testify, yields the highest gratification; is continued with ardor for years; when joined with the formation of an entomological collection, adds immense interest to Saturday-afternoon rambles; and forms an admirable introduction to the study of physiology.

VALUE OF A LOVE AND A KNOWLEDGE OF NATURE.

10. If there is a more worthy aim for us than to be drudges—if there are other uses in the things around us than their power to bring money—if there are higher faculties to be exercised than acquisitive and sensual ones—if the pleasures which poetry and art and science and philosophy can bring are of any moment—then is it desirable that the instinctive inclination which every child shows to observe natural beauties and investigate natural phenomena should be encouraged. But this gross utilitarianism which is content to come into the world and quit it again without knowing what kind of a world it is or what it contains, may be met on its own ground. It will by and by be found that a knowledge of the laws of life is more important than any other knowledge whatever—that the laws of life include not only all bodily and mental processes, but by implication all the transactions of the house and the street, all commerce, all politics, all morals—and that therefore without a due acquaintance with them neither personal nor social conduct can be rightly regulated. It will eventually be seen too, that the laws of life are essentially the same throughout the whole organic creation; and further, that they can not be properly understood in their complex manifestations until they have been studied in their simpler ones. And when this is seen, it will be also seen that in aiding the child to acquire the out-of-door information for which it shows so great an avidity, and in encouraging the acquisition of such information throughout youth, we are simply inducing it to store up the raw material for future organization—the facts that will one day bring home to it with due force those great generalizations of science by which actions may be rightly guided.

DRAWING—INCLUDING FORM AND COLOR.

11. The spreading recognition of drawing as an element of education, is one amongst many signs of the more rational views on mental culture now beginning to prevail. Once more it may be remarked that teachers are at length adopting the course which nature has for ages been pressing upon their notice. The spontaneous efforts made by children to represent the men, houses, trees, and animals around them—on a slate if they can get nothing better, or with lead-pencil on paper, if they can beg them—are familiar to all. To be shown through a picture-book is one of their highest gratifications; and as usual, their strong imitative tendency presently generates in them the ambition to make pictures themselves also. This attempt to depict the striking things they see is a further instinctive exercise of the perceptions—a means whereby still greater accuracy and completeness of observation is induced. And alike by seeking to interest us in their discoveries of the sensible properties of things, and by their endeavors to draw, they solicit from us just that kind of culture which they most need.

Had teachers been guided by nature's hints not only in the making of drawing a part of education, but in the choice of their modes of teaching it, they would have done still better than they have done. What is it that the child first tries to represent? Things that are large, things that are attractive in color, things round which its pleasurable associations most cluster—human beings from whom it has received so many emotions, cows and dogs which interest by the many phenomena they present, houses that are hourly visible and strike by their size and contrast of parts. And which of all the processes of

representation gives it most delight? Coloring. Paper and pencil are good in default of something better; but a box of paints and a brush—these are the treasures. The drawing of outlines immediately becomes secondary to coloring—is gone through mainly with a view to the coloring; and if leave can be got to color a book of prints, how great is the favor! Now, ridiculous as such a position will seem to drawing-masters, who postpone coloring and who teach form by a dreary discipline of copying lines, we believe that the course of culture thus indicated is the right one. That priority of color to form, which, as already pointed out, has a psychological basis, and in virtue of which psychological basis arises this strong preference in the child, should be recognized from the very beginning; and from the very beginning also the things imitated should be real. That greater delight in color which is not only conspicuous in children but persists in most persons throughout life, should be continuously employed as the natural stimulus to the mastery of the comparatively difficult and unattractive form—should be the prospective reward for the achievement of form. And these instinctive attempts to represent interesting actualities should be all along encouraged; in the conviction that as, by a widening experience, smaller and more practicable objects become interesting, they too will be attempted; and that so a gradual approximation will be made towards imitations having some resemblance to the realities. No matter how grotesque the shapes produced: no matter how daubed and glaring the colors. The question is not whether the child is producing good drawings: the question is, whether it is developing its faculties. It has first to gain some command over its fingers, some crude notions of likeness; and this practice is better than any other for these ends; seeing that it is the spontaneous and the interesting one. During these early years, be it remembered, no formal drawing-lessons are possible: shall we therefore repress, or neglect to aid, these efforts at self-culture? or shall we encourage and guide them as normal exercises of the perceptions and the powers of manipulation? If by the supply of cheap wood-cuts to be colored, and simple contour-maps to have their boundary lines tinted, we can not only pleasurably draw out the faculty of color, but can incidentally produce some familiarity with the outlines of things and countries, and some ability to move the brush steadily; and if by the supply of temptingly-painted objects we can keep up the instinctive practice of making representations, however rough, it must happen that by the time drawing is commonly commenced there will exist a facility that would else have been absent. Time will have been gained; and trouble both to teacher and pupil, saved.

DIMENSIONS IN PERSPECTIVE.

12. If any dependence is to be placed upon the general principles of education that have been laid down, the process of learning to draw should be throughout continuous with those efforts of early childhood described above, as so worthy of encouragement. By the time that the voluntary practice thus initiated has given some steadiness of hand, and some tolerable ideas of proportion, there will have arisen a vague notion of body as presenting its three dimensions in perspective. And when, after sundry abortive, Chinese-like attempts to render this appearance on paper, there has grown up a pretty clear perception of the thing to be achieved, and a desire to achieve it, a first lesson in empirical perspective may be given by means of the apparatus occasionally used in explaining perspective as a science. This sounds formidable; but the

experiment is both comprehensive and interesting to any boy or girl of ordinary intelligence. A plate of glass so framed as to stand vertically on the table, being placed before the pupil, and a book, or like simple object laid on the other side of it, he is requested, whilst keeping the eye in one position, to make ink dots upon the glass, so that they may coincide with, or hide the corners of this object. He is then told to join these dots by lines; on doing which he perceives that the lines he makes hide, or coincide with the outlines of the object. And then on being asked to put a sheet of paper on the other side of the glass, he discovers that the lines he has thus drawn represent the object as he saw it. They not only look like it, but he perceives that they must be like it, because he made them agree with its outlines; and by removing the paper he can repeatedly convince himself that they do agree with its outlines. The fact is new and striking; and serves him as an experimental demonstration, that lines of certain lengths, placed in certain directions on a plane, can represent lines of other lengths, and having other directions in space. Subsequently, by gradually changing the position of the object, he may be led to observe how some lines shorten and disappear, whilst others come into sight and lengthen. The convergence of parallel lines, and, indeed, all the leading facts of perspective may, from time to time, be similarly illustrated to him. If he has been duly accustomed to self-help, he will gladly, when it is suggested, make the attempt to draw one of these outlines upon paper, by the eye only; and it may soon be made an exciting aim to produce, unassisted, a representation, as like as he can, to one subsequently sketched on the glass. Thus, without the unintelligent, mechanical practice of copying other drawings, but by a method at once simple and attractive—rational, yet not abstract, a familiarity with the linear appearances of things, and a faculty of rendering them, may be, step by step, acquired. To which advantages add these:—that even thus early the pupil learns, almost unconsciously, the true theory of a picture—namely, that it is a delineation of objects as they appear when projected on a plane placed between them and the eye; and that when he reaches a fit age for commencing scientific perspective he is already thoroughly acquainted with the facts which form its logical basis.

GEOMETRY—PRIMARY.

13. As exhibiting a rational mode of communicating primary conceptions in geometry, we can not do better than quote the following passage from Mr. Wyse:—*

"A child has been in the habit of using cubes for arithmetic; let him use them also for the elements of geometry. I would begin with solids, the reverse of the usual plan. It saves all the difficulty of absurd definitions, and bad explanations on points, lines, and surfaces, which are nothing but abstractions. . . . A cube presents many of the principal elements of geometry; it at once exhibits points, straight lines, parallel lines, angles, parallelograms, &c., &c. These cubes are divisible into various parts. The pupil has already been familiarized with such divisions in numeration, and he now proceeds to a comparison of their several parts, and of the relation of these parts to each other. . . . From thence he advances to globes, which furnish him with elementary notions of the circle, of curves generally, &c., &c.

"Being tolerably familiar with solids, he may now substitute planes. The

* "*Education Reform.*" By Thomas Wyse.

transition may be made very easy. Let the cube, for instance, be cut into thin divisions, and placed on paper; he will then see as many plane rectangles as he has divisions; so with all the others. Globes may be treated in the same manner; he will thus see how surfaces really are generated, and be enabled to abstract them with facility in every solid.

"He has thus acquired the alphabet and reading of geometry. He now proceeds to write it.

"The simplest operation, and therefore the first, is merely to place these planes on a piece of paper, and pass the pencil round them. When this has been frequently done, the plane may be put at a little distance, and the child required to copy it, and so on."

A stock of geometrical conceptions having been obtained, in some such manner as this recommended by Mr. Wyse, a further step may, in course of time, be taken, by introducing the practice of testing the correctness of all figures drawn by the eye; thus alike exciting an ambition to make them exact, and continually illustrating the difficulty of fulfilling that ambition. In the cutting out of pieces for his card-houses, in the drawing of ornamental diagrams for coloring, and in those various instructive occupations which an inventive teacher will lead him into, he may be for a length of time advantageously left, like the primitive builder, to tentative processes; and will so gain an abundant experience of the difficulty of achieving his aims by the unaided senses. When, having meanwhile undergone a valuable discipline of the perceptions, he has reached a fit age for using a pair of compasses, he will, whilst duly appreciating these as enabling him to verify his ocular guesses, be still hindered by the difficulties of the approximative method. In this stage he may be left for a further period: partly as being yet too young for any thing higher; partly because it is desirable that he should be made to feel still more strongly the want of systematic contrivances. If the acquisition of knowledge is to be made continuously interesting; and if, in the early civilization of the child, as in the early civilization of the race, science becomes attractive only as ministering to art; it is manifest that the proper preliminary to geometry is a long practice in those constructive processes which geometry will facilitate. Observe that here, too, nature points the way. Almost invariably, children, show a strong propensity to cut out things in paper, to make, to build—a propensity which, if duly encouraged and directed, will not only prepare the way for scientific conceptions, but will develop those powers of manipulation in which most people are so deficient.

GEOMETRY—EMPIRICAL.

14. When the observing and inventive faculties have attained the requisite power, the pupil may be introduced to empirical geometry; that is—geometry dealing with methodical solutions, but not with the demonstrations of them. Like all other transitions in education, this should be made not formally but incidentally; and the relationship to constructive art should still be maintained. To make a tetrahedron in cardboard, like one given to him, is a problem which will alike interest the pupil, and serve as a convenient starting-point. In attempting this, he finds it needful to draw four equilateral triangles arranged in special positions. Being unable in the absence of an exact method to do this accurately he discovers on putting the triangles into their respective positions, that he can not make their sides fit, and that their angles do not properly meet

at the apex. He may now be shown how by describing a couple of circles, each of these triangles may be drawn with perfect correctness and without guessing; and after his failure he will duly value the information. Having thus helped him to the solution of his first problem, with the view of illustrating the nature of geometrical methods, he is in future to be left altogether to his own ingenuity in solving the questions put to him. To bisect a line, to erect a perpendicular, to describe a square, to bisect an angle, to draw a line parallel to a given line, to describe a hexagon, are problems which a little patience will enable him to find out. And from these he may be led on step by step to questions of a more complex kind; all of which, under judicious management, he will puzzle through unhelped. Doubtless, many of those brought up under the old regime, will look upon this assertion skeptically. We speak from facts, however, and those neither few nor special. We have seen a class of boys become so interested in making out solutions to these problems, as to look forward to their geometry-lesson as a chief event of the week. Within the last month, we have been told of one girls' school, in which some of the young ladies voluntarily occupy themselves with geometrical questions out of school-hours; and of another, in which they not only do this, but in which one of them is begging for problems to find out during the holidays—both which facts we state on the authority of the teacher. There could indeed be no stronger proofs than are thus afforded of the practicability and the immense advantage of self-development. A branch of knowledge which as commonly taught is dry and even repulsive, may, by following the method of nature, be made extremely interesting and profoundly beneficial. We say profoundly beneficial, because the effects are not confined to the gaining of geometrical facts, but often revolutionize the whole state of mind. It has repeatedly occurred, that those who have been stupefied by the ordinary school-drill—by its abstract formulas, by its wearisome tasks, by its cramming—have suddenly had their intellects roused, by thus ceasing to make them passive recipients, and inducing them to become active discoverers.

This empirical geometry which presents an endless series of problems, and should be continued along with other studies for years, may throughout be advantageously accompanied by those concrete applications of its principles which serve as its preliminary. After the cube, the octahedron, and the various forms of pyramid and prism have been mastered, may come the more complex regular bodies—the dodecahedron, and the icosahedron—to construct which out of single pieces of cardboard requires considerable ingenuity. From these, the transition may naturally be made to such modified forms of the regular bodies as are met with in crystals—the truncated cube, the cube with its dihedral as well as its solid angles truncated, the octahedron and the various prisms as similarly modified; in imitating which numerous forms assumed by different metals and salts, an acquaintance with the leading facts of mineralogy will be incidentally gained. After long continuance in exercises of this kind, rational geometry, as may be supposed, presents no obstacles. Constantly habituated to contemplate relationships of form and quantity, and vaguely perceiving from time to time the necessity of certain results as reached by certain means, the pupil comes to regard the demonstrations of Euclid as the missing supplements to his familiar problems. His well-disciplined faculties enable him easily to master its successive propositions, and to appreciate their value; and he has the occasional gratification of finding some of his own methods proved to be true.

Thus he enjoys what is to the unprepared a dreary task. It only remains to add, that his mind will presently arrive at a fit condition for that most valuable of all exercises for the reflective faculties—the making of original demonstrations.

THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE SHOULD BE A PROCESS OF SELF-INSTRUCTION AND CONTINUOUS PLEASURE.

15. If progression from simple to complex, and from concrete to abstract, be considered the essential requirements as dictated by abstract psychology, then do these requirements that knowledge shall be self-mastered, and pleasurably mastered, become the tests by which we may judge whether the dictates of abstract psychology are being fulfilled. If the first embody the leading generalizations of the *science* of mental growth, the last are the chief canons of the *art* of fostering mental growth. For manifestly if the steps in our *curriculum* are so arranged that they can be successively ascended by the pupil himself with little or no help, they must correspond with the stages of evolution, in his faculties; and manifestly if the successive achievements of these steps are intrinsically gratifying to him, it follows that they require no more than a normal exercise of his powers.

But the making education a process of self-evolution has other advantages than this of keeping our lessons in the right order. In the first place, it guarantees a vividness and permanency of impression which the usual methods can never produce. Any piece of knowledge which the pupil has himself acquired, any problem which he has himself solved, becomes by virtue of the conquest much more thoroughly his than it could else be. The preliminary activity of mind which his success implies, the concentration of thought necessary to it, and the excitement consequent on his triumph, conspire to register all the facts in his memory in a way that no mere information heard from a teacher, or read in a school-book, can be registered. Even if he fails, the tension to which his faculties have been wound up insures his remembrance of the solution when given to him, better than half a dozen repetitions would. Observe again, that this discipline necessitates a continuous organization of the knowledge he acquires. It is in the very nature of facts and inferences, assimilated in this normal manner, that they successively become the premises of further conclusions. The solution of yesterday's problem helps the pupil in mastering today's. Thus the knowledge is turned into faculty as soon as it is taken in, and forthwith aids in the general function of thinking—does not lie merely written in the pages of an internal library, as when rote-learnt. Mark further, the importance of the moral culture which this constant self-help involves. Courage in attacking difficulties, patient concentration of the attention, perseverance through failures—these are characteristics which after-life specially requires; and these are characteristics which this system of making the mind work for its food specially produces. That it is thoroughly practicable to carry out instruction after this fashion we can ourselves testify; having been in youth thus led to successively solve the comparatively complex problems of Perspective. And that leading teachers have been gradually tending in this direction is indicated alike in the saying of Fellenberg, that "the individual, independent activity of the pupil is of much greater importance than the ordinary busy officiousness of many who assume the office of educators;" in the opinion of Horace Mann, that "unfortunately education amongst us at present consists too much in *telling*, not

in *training;*" and in the remark of M. Marcel, that "what the learner discovers by mental exertion is better known than what is told to him."

A pleasurable state of feeling is far more favorable to intellectual action than one of indifference or disgust. Every one knows that things read, heard, or seen with interest, are better remembered than those read, heard, or seen with apathy. In the one case the faculties appealed to are actively occupied with the subject presented; in the other they are inactively occupied with it; and the attention is continually drawn away after more attractive thoughts. Hence the impressions are respectively strong and weak.

No one can compare the faces and manners of two boys—the one made happy by mastering interesting subjects, and the other made miserable by disgust with his studies, by consequent failure, by cold looks, by threats, by punishment—without seeing that the disposition of the one is being benefited, and that of the other greatly injured. Whoever has marked the effect of intellectual success upon the mind, and the power of the mind over the body, will see that in the one case both temper and health are favorably affected; whilst in the other there is danger of permanent moroseness, of permanent timidity, and even of permanent constitutional depression. To all which considerations we must add the further one, that the relationship between teachers and their pupils is, other things equal, rendered friendly and influential, or antagonistic and powerless, according as the system of culture produces happiness or misery. Human beings are at the mercy of their associated ideas. A daily minister of pain can not fail to be regarded with a secret dislike, and if he causes no emotions but painful ones, will inevitably be hated. Conversely, he who constantly aids children to their ends, hourly provides them with the satisfactions of conquest, hourly encourages them through their difficulties and sympathizes in their successes, can not fail to be liked; nay, if his behavior is consistent throughout, must be loved. And when we remember how efficient and benign is the control of a master who is felt to be a friend, when compared with the control of one who is looked upon with aversion, or at best indifference, we may infer that the indirect advantages of conducting education on the happiness principle do not fall far short of the direct ones. To all who question the possibility of acting out the system here advocated, we reply as before, that not only does theory point to it, but experience commends it. To the many verdicts of distinguished teachers who since Pestalozzi's time have testified this, may be here added that of Professor Pillans, who asserts that "where young people are taught as they ought to be, they are quite as happy in school as at play, seldom less delighted, nay, often more, with the well-directed exercise of their mental energies, than with that of their muscular powers."

As suggesting a final reason for making education a process of self-instruction, and by consequence a process of pleasurable instruction, we may advert to the fact that, in proportion as it is made so, is there a probability that education will not cease when school-days end. As long as the acquisition of knowledge is rendered habitually repugnant, so long will there be a prevailing tendency to discontinue it when free from the coercion of parents and masters. And when the acquisition of knowledge has been rendered habitually gratifying, then will there be as prevailing a tendency to continue, without superintendence, that same self-culture previously carried on under superintendence. These results are inevitable. While the laws of mental association remain true—while men dislike the things and places that suggest painful recollections, and delight in

those which call to mind by-gone pleasures—painful lessons will make knowledge repulsive, and pleasurable lessons will make it attractive. The men to whom in boyhood information came in dreary tasks along with threats of punishment, and who were never led into habits of independent inquiry, are unlikely to be students in after years; while those to whom it came in the natural forms, at the proper times, and who remember its facts as not only interesting in themselves, but as the occasions of a long series of gratifying successes, are likely to continue through life that self-instruction commenced in youth.

IV. WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS MOST WORTH.

THE RELATIVE VALUES OF KNOWLEDGE.

1. Before there can be a rational *curriculum*, we must settle which things it most concerns us to know; or, to use a word of Bacon's, now unfortunately obsolete—we must determine the relative values of knowledges.

Had we time to master all subjects we need not be particular. To quote the old song:—

> Could a man be secure
> That his days would endure
> As of old, for a thousand long years,
> What things might he know!
> What deeds might he do!
> And all without hurry or care.

"But we that have but span-long lives" must ever bear in mind our limited time for acquisition. And remembering how narrowly this time is limited, not only by the shortness of life, but also still more by the business of life, we ought to be especially solicitous to employ what time we have to the greatest advantage. Before devoting years to some subject which fashion or fancy suggests, it is surely wise to weigh with great care the worth of the results, as compared with the worth of various alternative results which the same years might bring if otherwise applied.

How to live?—that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense. The general problem which comprehends every special problem is—the right ruling of conduct in all directions under all circumstances. In what way to treat the body; in what way to treat the mind; in what way to manage our affairs; in what way to bring up a family; in what way to behave as a citizen; in what way to utilize all those sources of happiness which nature supplies—how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others—how to live completely? And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is, to judge in what degree it discharges such function.

Our first step must obviously be to classify, in the order of their importance, the leading kinds of activity which constitute human life. They may be naturally arranged into:—1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation; 2. Those activities which, by securing the necessaries of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation; 3. Those activities which have for their

end the rearing and discipline of offspring; 4. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations; 5. Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings.

KNOWLEDGE REQUISITE TO SELF-PRESERVATION.

2. Happily, that all-important part of education which goes to secure direct self-preservation, is in great part already provided for. Too momentous to be left to our blundering, Nature takes it into her own hands. While yet in its nurse's arms, the infant, by hiding its face and crying at the sight of a stranger, shows the dawning instinct to attain safety by flying from that which is unknown and may be dangerous; and when it can walk, the terror it manifests if an unfamiliar dog comes near, or the screams with which it runs to its mother after any startling sight or sound, shows this instinct further developed. Moreover, knowledge subserving direct self-preservation is that which it is chiefly busied in acquiring from hour to hour. How to balance its body; how to control its movements so as to avoid collisions; what objects are hard, and will hurt if struck; what objects are heavy, and injure if they fall on the limbs; which things will bear the weight of the body, and which not; the pains inflicted by fire, by missiles, by sharp instruments—these, and various other pieces of information needful for the avoidance of death or accident, it is ever learning. And when, a few years later, the energies go out in running, climbing, and jumping, in games of strength and games of skill, we see in all these actions by which the muscles are developed, the perceptions sharpened, and the judgment quickened, a preparation for the safe conduct of the body among surrounding objects and movements; and for meeting those greater dangers that occasionally occur in the lives of all. Being thus, as we say, so well cared for by Nature, this fundamental education needs comparatively little care from us. What we are chiefly called upon to see, is, that there shall be free scope for gaining this experience, and receiving this discipline,—that there shall be no such thwarting of Nature as that by which stupid schoolmistresses commonly prevent the girls in their charge from the spontaneous physical activities they would indulge in; and so render them comparatively incapable of taking care of themselves in circumstances of peril.

KNOWLEDGE REQUISITE TO INDUSTRIAL SUCCESS.

3. While every one is ready to indorse the abstract proposition that instruction fitting youths for the business of life is of high importance, or even to consider it of supreme importance; yet scarcely any inquire what instruction will so fit them. It is true that reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught with an intelligent appreciation of their uses; but when we have said this we have said nearly all. While the great bulk of what else is acquired has no bearing on the industrial activities, an immensity of information that has a direct bearing on the industrial activities is entirely passed over.

For, leaving out only some very small classes, what are all men employed in? They are employed in the production, preparation, and distribution of commodities. And on what does efficiency in the production, preparation, and distribution of commodities depend? It depends on the use of methods fitted to the respective natures of these commodities; it depends on an adequate knowledge of their physical, chemical, or vital properties, as the case may be: that is,

it depends on Science. This order of knowledge, which is in great part ignored in our school courses, is the order of knowledge underlying the right performance of all those processes by which civilized life is made possible.

Mathematics.

For all the higher arts of construction, some acquaintance with Mathematics is indispensable. The village carpenter, who, lacking rational instruction, lays out his work by empirical rules learnt in his apprenticeship, equally with the builder of a Britannia Bridge, makes hourly reference to the laws of quantitative relations. The surveyor on whose survey the land is purchased; the architect in designing a mansion to be built on it; the builder in preparing his estimates; his foreman in laying out the foundations; the masons in cutting the stones; and the various artisans who put up the fittings; are all guided by geometrical truths. Railway-making is regulated from beginning to end by mathematics: alike in the preparation of plans and sections; in staking out the line; in the mensuration of cuttings and embankments; in the designing, estimating, and building of bridges, culverts, viaducts, tunnels, stations. And similarly with the harbors, docks, piers, and various engineering and architectural works that fringe the coasts and overspread the face of the country; as well as the mines that run underneath it. Out of geometry, too, as applied to astronomy, the art of navigation has grown; and so, by this science, has been made possible that enormous foreign commerce which supports a large part of our population, and supplies us with many necessaries and most of our luxuries. And now-a-days even the farmer, for the correct laying out of his drains, has recourse to the level—that is, to geometrical principles. When from those divisions of mathematics which deal with *space*, and *number*, some small smattering of which is given in schools, we turn to that other division which deals with *force*, of which even a smattering is scarcely ever given, we meet with another large class of activities which this science presides over. On the application of rational mechanics depends the success of nearly all modern manufacture. The properties of the lever, the wheel and axle, &c., are involved in every machine—every machine is a solidified mechanical theorem; and to machinery in these times we owe nearly all production. Trace the history of the breakfast-roll. The soil out of which it came was drained with machine-made tiles; the surface was turned over by a machine; the seed was put in by a machine; the wheat was reaped, thrashed, and winnowed by machines; by machinery it was ground and bolted; and had the flour been sent to Gosport, it might have been made into biscuits by a machine. Look round the room in which you sit. If modern, probably the bricks in its walls were machine-made; by machinery the flooring was sawn and planed, the mantel-shelf sawn and polished, the paper-hangings made and printed; the veneer on the table, the turned legs of the chairs, the carpet, the curtains, are all products of machinery. And your clothing—plain, figured, or printed—is it not wholly woven, nay, perhaps even sewed, by machinery? And the volume you are reading—are not its leaves fabricated by one machine and covered with these words by another? Add to which that for the means of distribution over both land and sea, we are similarly indebted. And then let it be remembered that according as the principles of mechanics are well or ill used to these ends, comes success or failure—individual and national. The engineer who misapplies his formulæ for the strength of materials, builds a bridge that breaks down. The manufacturer whose apparatus

is badly devised, can not compete with another whose apparatus wastes less in friction and inertia. The ship-builder adhering to the old model, is outsailed by one who builds on the mechanically-justified wave-line principle. And as the ability of a nation to hold its own against other nations depends on the skilled activity of its units, we see that on such knowledge may turn the national fate. Judge then the worth of mathematics.

Physics.

Pass next to Physics. Joined with mathematics, it has given us the steam-engine, which does the work of millions of laborers. That section of physics which deals with the laws of heat, has taught us how to economize fuel in our various industries; how to increase the produce of our smelting furnaces by substituting the hot for the cold blast; how to ventilate our mines; how to prevent explosions by using the safety-lamp; and, through the thermometer, how to regulate innumerable processes. That division which has the phenomena of light for its subject, gives eyes to the old and the myopic; aids through the microscope in detecting diseases and adulterations; and by improved lighthouses prevents shipwrecks. Researches in electricity and magnetism have saved incalculable life and property by the compass; have subserved sundry arts by the electrotype; and now, in the telegraph, have supplied us with the agency by which for the future all mercantile transactions will be regulated, political intercourse carried on, and perhaps national quarrels often avoided. While in the details of in-door life, from the improved kitchen-range up to the stereoscope on the drawing-room table, the applications of advanced physics underlie our comforts and gratifications.

Chemistry.

Still more numerous are the bearings of Chemistry on those activities by which men obtain the means of living. The bleacher, the dyer, the calico-printer, are severally occupied in processes that are well or ill done according as they do or do not conform to chemical laws. The economical reduction from their ores of copper, tin, zinc, lead, silver, iron, are in a great measure questions of chemistry. Sugar-refining, gas-making, soap-boiling, gunpowder manufacture, are operations all partly chemical; as are also those by which are produced glass and porcelain. Whether the distiller's wort stops at the alcoholic fermentation or passes into the acetous, is a chemical question on which hangs his profit or loss; and the brewer, if his business is sufficiently large, finds it pay to keep a chemist on his premises. Glance through a work on technolgy, and it becomes at once apparent that there is now scarcely any process in the arts or manufactures over some part of which chemistry does not preside. And then, lastly, we come to the fact that in these times, agriculture, to be profitably carried on, must have like guidance. The analysis of manures and soils; their adaptations to each other; the use of gypsum or other substance for fixing ammonia; the utilization of coprolites; the production of artificial manures—all these are boons of chemistry which it behooves the farmer to acquaint himself with. Be it in the lucifer match, or in disinfected sewage, or in photograhps—in bread made without fermentation, or perfumes extracted from refuse, we may perceive that chemistry affects all our industries; and that, by consequence, knowledge of it concerns every one who is directly or indirectly connected with our industries.

Biology.

And then the science of life—Biology: does not this, too, bear fundamentally upon these processes of indirect self-preservation? With what we ordinarily call manufactures, it has, indeed, little connection; but with the all-essential manufacture—that of food—it is inseparably connected. As agriculture must conform its methods to the phenomena of vegetable and animal life, it follows necessarily that the science of these phenomena is the rational basis of agriculture. Various biological truths have indeed been empirically established and acted upon by farmers while yet there has been no conception of them as science: such as that particular manures are suited to particular plants; that crops of certain kinds unfit the soil for other crops; that horses can not do good work on poor food; that such and such diseases of cattle and sheep are caused by such and such conditions. These, and the everyday knowledge which the agriculturist gains by experience respecting the right management of plants and animals, constitute his stock of biological facts; on the largeness of which greatly depends his success. And as these biological facts, scanty, indefinite, rudimentary, though they are, aid him so essentially; judge what must be the value to him of such facts when they become positive, definite, and exhaustive. Indeed, even now we may see the benefits that rational biology is conferring on him. The truth that the production of animal heat implies waste of substance, and that, therefore, preventing loss of heat prevents the need for extra food—a purely theoretical conclusion—now guides the fattening of cattle: it is found that by keeping cattle warm, fodder is saved. Similarly with respect to variety of food. The experiments of physiologists have shown that not only is change of diet beneficial, but that digestion is facilitated by a mixture of ingredients in each meal: both which truths are now influencing cattle-feeding. The discovery that a disorder known as "the staggers," of which many thousands of sheep have died annually, is caused by an entozoon which presses on the brain; and that if the creature is extracted through the softened place in the skull which marks its position, the sheep usually recovers; is another debt which agriculture owes to biology. When we observe the marked contrast between our farming and farming on the Continent, and remember that this contrast is mainly due to the far greater influence science has had upon farming here than there; and when we see how, daily, competition is making the adoption of scientific methods more general and necessary; we shall rightly infer that very soon, agricultural success in England will be impossible without a competent knowledge of animal and vegetable physiology.

Science of Society.

Yet one more science have we to note as bearing directly on industrial success—the Science of Society. Without knowing it, men who daily look at the state of the money-market, glance over prices current, discuss the probable crops of corn, cotton, sugar, wool, silk, weigh the chances of war, and from all those data decide on their mercantile operations, are students of social science: empirical and blundering students it may be; but still, students who gain the prizes or are plucked of their profits, according as they do or do not reach the right conclusion. Not only the manufacturer and the merchant must guide their transactions by calculations of supply and demand, based on numerous facts, and tacitly recognizing sundry general principles of social action; but

even the retailer must do the like: his prosperity very greatly depending upon the correctness of his judgments respecting the future wholesale prices and the future rates of consumption. Manifestly, all who take part in the entangled commercial activities of a community, are vitally interested in understanding the laws according to which those activities vary.

Thus, to all such as are occupied in the production, exchange, or distribution of commodities, acquaintance with science in some of its departments, is of fundamental importance.

KNOWLEDGE REQUISITE TO THE REARING AND DISCIPLINE OF THE FAMILY OFFSPRING.

4. Is it not an astonishing fact, that though on the treatment of offspring depend their lives or deaths, and their moral welfare or ruin; yet not one word of instruction on the treatment of offspring is ever given to those who will hereafter be parents? Is it not monstrous that the fate of a new generation should be left to the chances of unreasoning custom, impulse, fancy—joined with the suggestions of ignorant nurses and the prejudiced counsel of grandmothers? If a mercha t commenced business without any knowledge of arithmetic and book-keeping, we should exclaim at his folly, and look for disastrous consequences. Or if, before studying anatomy, a man set up as a surgical operator, we should wonder at his audacity and pity his patients. But that parents should begin the difficult task of rearing children without ever having given a thought to the principles—physical, moral, or intellectual—which ought to guide them, excites neither surprise at the actors nor pity for their victims.

To tens of thousands that are killed, add hundreds of thousands that survive with feeble constitutions, and millions that grow up with constitutions not so strong as they should be; and you will have some idea of the curse inflicted on their offspring by parents ignorant of the laws of life. Do but consider for a moment that the regimen to which children are subject is hourly telling upon them to their life-long injury or benefit; and that there are twenty ways of going wrong to one way of going right; and you will get some idea of the enormous mischief that is almost everywhere inflicted by the thoughtless, haphazard system in common use. Is it decided that a boy shall be clothed in some flimsy short dress, and be allowed to go playing about with limbs reddened by cold? The decision will tell on his whole future existence—either in illnesses; or in stunted growth; or in deficient energy; or in a maturity less vigorous than it ought to have been, and consequent hindrances to success and happiness. Are children doomed to a monotonous dietary, or a dietary that is deficient in nutritiveness? Their ultimate physical power and their efficiency as men and women, will inevitably be more or less diminished by it. Are they forbidden vociferous play, or (being too ill-clothed to bear exposure,) are they kept in-doors in cold weather? They are certain to fall below that measure of health and strength to which they would else have attained. When sons and daughters grow up sickly and feeble, parents commonly regard the event as a misfortune—as a visitation of Providence. Thinking after the prevalent chaotic fashion, they assume that these evils come without causes; or that the causes are supernatural. Nothing of the kind. In some cases the causes are doubtless inherited; but in most cases foolish regulations are the causes. Very generally parents themselves are responsible for all this pain, this debility, this depression, this misery. They have undertaken to control the lives of their off-

spring from hour to hour; with cruel carelessness they have neglected to learn anything about these vital processes which they are unceasingly affecting by their commands and prohibitions; in utter ignorance of the simplest physiologic laws, they have been year by year undermining the constitutions of their children; and have so inflicted disease and premature death, not only on them but on their descendants.

Equally great are the ignorance and the consequent injury, when we turn from physical training to moral training. Consider the young mother and her nursery legislation. But a few years ago she was at school, where her memory was crammed with words, and names, and dates, and her reflective faculties scarcely in the slightest degree exercised—where not one idea was given her respecting the methods of dealing with the opening mind of childhood; and where her discipline did not in the least fit her for thinking out methods of her own. The intervening years have been passed in practicing music, in fancy-work, in novel-reading, and in party-going: no thought having yet been given to the grave responsibilities of maternity; and scarcely any of that solid intellectual culture obtained which would be some preparation for such responsibilities. And now see her with an unfolding human character committed to her charge—see her profoundly ignorant of the phenomena with which she has to deal, undertaking to do that which can be done but imperfectly even with the aid of the profoundest knowledge. She knows nothing about the nature of the emotions, their order of evolution, their functions, or where use ends and abuse begins. She is under the impression that some of the feelings are wholly bad, which is not true of any one of them; and that others are good, however far they may be carried, which is also not true of any one of them. And then, ignorant as she is of that with which she has to deal, she is equally ignorant of the effects that will be produced on it by this or that treatment. What can be more inevitable than the disastrous results we see hourly arising? Lacking knowledge of mental phenomena, with their causes and consequences, her interference is frequently more mischievous than absolute passivity would have been. This and that kind of action, which are quite normal and beneficial, she perpetually thwarts; and so diminishes the child's happiness and profit, injures its temper and her own, and produces estrangement. Deeds which she thinks it desirable to encourage, she gets performed by threats and bribes, or by exciting a desire for applause: considering little what the inward motive may be, so long as the outward conduct conforms; and thus cultivating hypocrisy, and fear, and selfishness, in place of good feeling. While insisting on truthfulness, she constantly sets an example of untruth, by threatening penalties which she does not inflict. While inculcating self-control, she hourly visits on her little ones angry scoldings for acts that do not call for them. She has not the remotest idea that in the nursery, as in the world, that alone is the truly salutary discipline which visits on all conduct, good and bad, the natural consequences, pleasurable or painful, which in the nature of things such conduct tends to bring. Being thus without theoretic guidance, and quite incapable of guiding herself by tracing the mental processes going on her children, her rule is impulsive, inconsistent, mischievous, often, in the highest degree; and would indeed be generally ruinous, were it not that the overwhelming tendency of the growing mind to assume the moral type of the race, usually subordinates all minor influences.

And then the culture of the intellect—is not this, too, mismanaged in a

similar manner? Grant that the phenomena of intelligence conform to laws; grant that the evolution of intelligence in a child also conforms to laws; and it follows inevitably that education can be rightly guided only by a knowledge of these laws. To suppose that you can properly regulate this process of forming and accumulating ideas, without understanding the nature of the process, is absurd. How widely, then, must teaching as it is, differ from teaching as it should be; when hardly any parents, and but few teachers, know anything about psychology. As might be expected, the system is grievously at fault, alike in matter and in manner. While the right class of facts is withheld, the wrong class is forcibly administered in the wrong way and in the wrong order. With that common limited idea of education which confines it to knowledge gained from books, parents thrust primers into the hands of their little ones years too soon, to their great injury. Not recognizing the truth that the function of books is supplementary—that they form an indirect means to knowledge when direct means fail—a means of seeing through other men what you can not see for yourself; they are eager to give second-hand facts in place of first-hand facts. Not perceiving the enormous value of that spontaneous education which goes on in early years—not perceiving that a child's restless observation, instead of being ignored or checked, should be diligently administered to, and made as accurate and complete as possible; they insist on occupying its eyes and thoughts with things that are, for the time being, incomprehensible and repugnant. Possessed by a superstition which worships the symbols of knowledge instead of the knowledge itself, they do not see that only when his acquaintance with the objects and processes of the household, the streets, and the fields, is becoming tolerably exhaustive—only then should a child be introduced to the new sources of information which books supply: and this, not only because immediate cognition is of far greater value than mediate cognition; but also, because the words contained in books can be rightly interpreted into ideas, only in proportion to the antecedent experience of things. Observe next, that this formal instruction, far too soon commenced, is carried on with but little reference to the laws of mental development. Intellectual progress is of necessity from the concrete to the abstract. But regardless of this, highly abstract subjects, such as grammar, which should come quite late, are begun quite early. Political geography, dead and uniteresting to a child, and which should be an appendage of sociological studies, is commenced betimes; while physical geography, comprehensible and comparatively attractive to a child, is in great part passed over. Nearly every subject dealt with is arranged in abnormal order: definitions, and rules, and principles being put first, instead of being disclosed, as they are in the order of nature, through the study of cases. And then, pervading the whole, is the vicious system of rote learning—a system of sacrificing the spirit to the letter. See the results. What with perceptions unnaturally dulled by early thwarting, and a coerced attention to books—what with the mental confusion produced by teaching subjects before they can be understood, and in each of them giving generalizations before the facts of which these are the generalizations—what with making the pupil a mere passive recipient of other's ideas, and not in the least leading him to be an active inquirer or self-instructor—and what with taxing the faculties to excess; there are very few minds that become as efficient as they might be. Examinations being once passed, books are laid aside; the greater part of what has been acquired, being unorganized, soon drops out of

recollection; what remains is mostly inert—the art of applying knowledge not having been cultivated; and there is but little power either of accurate observation or independent thinking. To all which add, that while much of the information gained is of relatively small value, an immense mass of information of transcendent value is entirely passed over.

Thus we find the facts to be such as might have been inferred *à priori*. The training of children—physical, moral, and intellectual—is dreadfully defective. And in great measure it is so, because parents are devoid of that knowledge by which this training can alone be rightly guided. What is to be expected when one of the most intricate of problems is undertaken by those who have given scarcely a thought to the principles on which its solution depends? For shoemaking or house-building, for the management of a ship or a locomotive-engine, a long apprenticeship is needful. Is it, then, that the unfolding of a human being in body and mind, is so comparatively simple a process, that any one may superintend and regulate it with no preparation whatever? If not—if the process is with one exception more complex than any in Nature, and the task of administering to it one of surpassing difficulty; is it not madness to make no provision for such a task? Better sacrifice accomplishments than omit this all-essential instruction. When a father, acting on false dogmas adopted without examination, has alienated his sons, driven them into rebellion by his harsh treatment, ruined them, and made himself miserable; he might reflect that the study of Ethology would have been worth pursuing, even at the cost of knowing nothing about Æschylus. When a mother is mourning over a first-born that has sunk under the sequelæ of scarlet-fever—when perhaps a candid medical man has confirmed her suspicion that her child would have recovered had not its system been enfeebled by over-study—when she is prostrate under the pangs of combined grief and remorse; it is but a small consolation that she can read Dante in the original.

Thus we see that for regulating the third great division of human activities, a knowledge of the laws of life is the one thing needful. Some acquaintance with the first principles of physiology and the elementary truths of psychology is indispensable for the right bringing up of children. We doubt not that this assertion will by many be read with a smile. That parents in general should be expected to acquire a knowledge of subjects so abstruse, will seem to them an absurdity. And if we proposed that an exhaustive knowledge of these subjects should be obtained by all fathers and mothers, the absurdity would indeed be glaring enough. But we do not. General principles only, accompanied by such detailed illustrations as may be needed to make them understood, would suffice. And these might be readily taught—if not rationally, then dogmatically. Be this as it may, however, here are the indisputable facts:—that the development of children in mind and body rigorously obeys certain laws; that unless these laws are in some degree conformed to by parents, death is inevitable; that unless they are in a great degree conformed to, there must result serious physical and mental defects; and that only when they are completely conformed to, can a perfect maturity be reached. Judge, then, whether all who may one day be parents, should not strive with some anxiety to learn what these laws are.

KNOWLEDGE REQUISITE FOR THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CITIZEN.

5. That which it really concerns us to know [to discharge well the functions

of the citizen,] is the natural history of society. We want all facts which help us to understand how a nation has grown and organized itself. Among these, let us of course have an account of its government; with as little as may be of gossip about the men who officered it, and as much as possible about the structure, principles, methods, prejudices, corruptions, &c., which it exhibited: and let this account not only include the nature and actions of the central government, but also those of local governments, down to their minutest ramifications. Let us of course also have a parallel description of the ecclesiastical government—its organization, its conduct, its power, its relations to the state: and accompanying this, the ceremonial, creed, and religious ideas—not only those nominally believed, but those really believed and acted upon. Let us at the same time be informed of the control exercised by class over class, as displayed in all social observances—in titles, salutations, and forms of address. Let us know, too, what were all the other customs which regulated the popular life out of doors and in-doors: including those which concern the relations of the sexes, and the relations of parents to children. The superstitions, also, from the more important myths down to the charms in common use, should be indicated. Next should come a delineation of the industrial system: showing to what extent the division of labor was carried; how trades were regulated, whether by caste, guilds, or otherwise; what was the connection between employers and employed; what were the agencies for distributing commodities, what were the means of communication; what was the circulating medium. Accompanying all which should come an account of the industrial arts technically considered: stating the processes in use, and the quality of the products. Further, the intellectual condition of the nation in its various grades should be depicted: not only with respect to the kind and amount of education, but with respect to the progress made in science, and the prevailing manner of thinking. The degree of æsthetic culture, as displayed in architecture, sculpture, painting, dress, music, poetry, and fiction, should be described. Nor should there be omitted a sketch of the daily lives of the people—their food, their homes, and their amusements. And lastly, to connect the whole, should be exhibted the morals, theoretical and practical, of all classes; as indicated in their laws, habits, proverbs, deeds. All these facts, given with as much brevity as consists with clearness and accuracy, should be so grouped and arranged that they may be comprehended in their *ensemble;* and thus may be contemplated as mutually dependent parts of one great whole. The aim should be so to present them that we may readily trace the *consensus* subsisting among them; with the view of learning what social phenomena co-exist with what others. And then the corresponding delineations of succeeding ages should be so managed as to show us, as clearly as may be, how each belief, institution, custom, and arrangement was modified; and how the *consensus* of preceding structures and functions was developed into the *consensus* of succeeding ones. Such alone is the kind of information respecting past times, which can be of service to the citizen for the regulation of his conduct.

ÆSTHETICS, OR EDUCATION FOR RELAXATIONS, AMUSEMENTS, ETC.

6. After considering what training best fits for self-preservation, for the obtainment of sustenance, for the discharge of parental duties, and for the regula-

tion of social and political conduct; we have now to consider what training best fits for the miscellaneous ends not included in these—for the enjoyments of Nature, of Literature, and of the Fine Arts, in all their forms. Postponing them as we do to things that bear more vitally upon human welfare: and bringing everything, as we have, to the test of actual value; it will perhaps be inferred that we are inclined to slight these less essential things. No greater mistake could be made, however. We yield to none in the value we attach to æsthetic culture and its pleasures. Without painting, sculpture, music, poetry, and the emotions produced by natural beauty of every kind, life would lose half its charm. So far from thinking that the training and gratification of the tastes are unimportant, we believe the time will come when they will occupy a much larger share of human life than now. When the forces of Nature have been fully conquered to man's use—when the means of production have been brought to perfection—when labor has been economized to the highest degree—when education has been so systematized that a preparation for the more essential activities may be made with comparative rapidity—and when, consequently, there is a great increase of spare time; then will the poetry, both of Art and Nature, rightly fill a large space in the minds of all.

But it is one thing to admit that æsthetic culture is in a high degree conducive to human happiness; and another thing to admit that it is a fundamental requisite to human happiness. However important it may be, it must yield precedence to those kinds of culture which bear more directly upon the duties of life. As before hinted, literature and the fine arts are made possible by those activities which make individual and social life possible; and manifestly, that which is made possible, must be postponed to that which makes it possible. A florist cultivates a plant for the sake of its flower; and regards the roots and leaves as of value, chiefly because they are instrumental in producing the flower. But while, as an ultimate product, the flower is the thing to which everything else is subordinate, the florist very well knows that the root and leaves are intrinsically of greater importance; because on them the evolution of the flower depends. He bestows every care in rearing a healthy plant; and knows it would be folly if, in his anxiety to obtain the flower, he were to neglect the plant. Similarly in the case before us. Architecture, sculpture, painting, music, poetry, &c., may be truly called the efflorescence of civilized life. But even supposing them to be of such transcendent worth as to subordinate the civilized life out of which they grow (which can hardly be asserted,) it will still be admitted that the production of a healthy civilized life must be the first consideration; and that the knowledege conducing to this must occupy the highest place.

However fully we may admit that extensive acquaintance with modern languages is a valuable accomplishment, which, through reading, conversation, and travel, aids in giving a certain finish; it by no means follows that this result is rightly purchased at the cost of that vitally important knowledge sacrificed to it. Supposing it true that classical education conduces to elegance and correctness of style; it can not be said that elegance and correctness of style are comparable in importance to a familiarity with the principles that should guide the rearing of children. Grant that the taste may be greatly improved by reading all the poetry written in extinct languages; yet it is not to be inferred that such improvement of taste is equivalent in value to an acquaintance

with the laws of health. Accomplishments, the fine arts, *belles-lettres*, and all those things which, as we say, constitute the efflorescence of civilization, should be wholly subordinate to that knowledge and discipline in which civilization rests. *As they occupy the leisure part of life, so should they occupy the leisure part of education.*

THE KNOWLEDGE REQUISITE FOR PURPOSES OF DISCIPLINE.

7. We may be quite sure that the acquirement of those classes of facts which are most useful for regulating conduct, involves a mental exercise best fitted for strengthening the faculties. It would be utterly contrary to the beautiful economy of Nature, if one kind of culture were needed for the gaining of information and another kind were needed as a mental gymnastic. Everywhere throughout creation we find faculties developed through the performance of those functions which it is their office to perform; not through the performance of artificial exercises devised to fit them for these functions. The Red Indian acquires the swiftness and agility which make him a successful hunter, by the actual pursuit of animals; and by the miscellaneous activities of his life, he gains a better balance of physical powers than gymnastics ever give. That skill in tracking enemies and prey which he has reached by long practice, implies a subtlety of perception far exceeding anything produced by artificial training. And similarly throughout. From the Bushman, whose eye, which being habitually employed in identifying distant objects that are to be pursued or fled from, has acquired a quite telescopic range, to the accountant whose daily practice enables him to add up several columns of figures simultaneously, we find that the highest power of a faculty results from the discharge of those duties which the conditions of life require it to discharge. And we may be certain, *à priori*, that the same law holds throughout education. The education of most value for guidance, must at the same time be the education of most value for discipline.

THE PROMINENT VALUE OF SCIENCE.

8. To the question—What knowledge is of most worth?—the uniform reply is—Science. This is the verdict on all the counts. For direct self-preservation, or the maintenance of life and health, the all-important knowledge is—Science. For that indirect self-preservation which we call gaining a livelihood, the knowledge of greatest value is—Science. For the due discharge of parental functions, the proper guidance is to be found only in—Science. For that interpretation of national life, past and present, without which the citizen can not rightly regulate his conduct, the indispensable key is—Science. Alike for the most perfect production and highest enjoyment of art in all its forms, the needful preparation is still—Science. And for purposes of discipline—intellectual, moral, religious—the most efficient study is, once more—Science.

And yet the knowledge which is of such transcendent value is that which, in our age of boasted education, receives the least attention. While this which we call civilization could never have arisen had it not been for science; science forms scarcely an appreciable element in what men consider civilized training. Though to the progress of science we owe it, that millions find support where once there was food only for thousands; yet of these millions but a few

thousands pay any respect to that which has made their existence possible. Though this increasing knowledge of the properties and relations of things has not only enabled wandering tribes to grow into populous nations, but has given to the countless members of those populous nations comforts and pleasures which their few naked ancestors never even conceived, or could have believed, yet is this kind of knowledge only now receiving a grudging recognition in our highest educational institutions.

PART III.

THE SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER.

THE POPULAR SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER.

IN ENGLISH LITERATURE.

THE character of the school and the teacher at any given period, is to some extent reflected in the popular writings of the day, and is to a still greater extent perpetuated by such representation. As part of the History of Popular Education, we shall republish from time to time in this Journal, not only the elaborate dissertations by the best writers and thinkers of different countries and ages, on the principles and methods of education, but we propose to reproduce the portraitures which have been drawn in prose and verse of the school, the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress, by writers of established reputation—especially in the English language. We shall add a few notes and annotations for the benefit of readers who may not be familiar with the authors quoted, or the names and customs referred to.

THOMAS FULLER, D. D. 1608—1661.

DR. THOMAS FULLER was the son of a clergyman in Aldwinkle in Northamptonshire, where he was born in 1608,—was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge,—preached in London,—published his *History of the Holy War* in 1640, his *Holy State* in 1642, his *Good Thoughts in Bad Times* in 1645, and his *Church History* in 1656,—and died in 1661. His *Worthies of England*, the labor of many years and a fund of biographical information, was not printed till after his death. His writings are full of learning, composed in a quaint and witty style, and abound in admirable maxims characterized by sagacity and good sense, and expressed in language always pithy, and frequently irresistibly humorous. His Holy and Profane States contain beautifully drawn characters, of which the following is an admirable specimen.

THE GOOD SCHOOLMASTER.

THERE is scarce any profession in the commonwealth more necessary, which is so slightly performed. The reasons whereof, I conceive to be these: first, young scholars make this calling their refuge, yea, perchance before they have taken any degree in the University, commence schoolmasters in the country, as if nothing else were required to set up this profession but only a rod and a ferula. Secondly, others, who are able, use it only as a passage to better preferment, to patch the rents in their present fortune, till they can provide a new one, and betake themselves to some more gainful calling. Thirdly, they are disheartened from doing their best with the miserable reward which in some places they receive, being masters to the children, and slaves to their parents. Fourthly, being grown rich, they grow negligent, and scorn to touch the school, but by the proxy of an usher. But see how well our schoolmaster behaves himself.

His genius inclines him with delight to his profession. Some men had as lief be schoolboys as schoolmasters, to be tied to the school, as Cooper's dictionary and Scapula's lexicon are chained* to the desk therein; and though great scholars, and skillful in other arts, are bunglers in this: but God of his goodness hath fitted several men for several callings, that the necessity of church and state in all conditions may be provided for. So that he who beholds the fabric thereof may say, "God hewed out this stone, and appointed it to lie in this very place, for it would fit none other so well, and here it doth most excellent." And thus God mouldeth some for a schoolmaster's life, undertaking it with desire and delight, and discharging it with dexterity and happy success.

He studieth his scholars' natures as carefully as they their books; and ranks their dispositions into several forms. And though it may seem difficult for him in a great school to descend to all particulars, yet experienced schoolmasters may quickly make a grammar of boys' natures, and reduce them all, saving some few exceptions, to these general rules.

1. Those that are ingenious and industrious. The conjunction of two such planets in a youth presage much good unto him. To such a lad a frown may be a whipping, and a whipping a death; yea, where their master whips them once, shame whips them all the week after. Such natures he useth with all gentleness.

2. Those that are ingenious and idle. These think, with the hare in the fable, that running with snails (so they count the rest of their schoolfellows) they shall come soon enough to the post, though sleeping a good while before their starting. Oh, a good rod would finely take them napping.

3. Those that are dull and diligent. Wines, the stronger they be, the more lees they have when they are new. Many boys are muddy-headed till they be clarified with age, and such afterward prove the best. Bristol diamonds† are both bright and square and pointed by nature, and yet are soft and worthless; whereas, Orient ones in India are rough and rugged naturally. Hard, rugged and dull natures of youth acquit themselves afterward the jewels of the country, and therefore their dullness at first is to be borne with, if they be diligent. That schoolmaster deserves to be beaten himself, who beats nature in a boy for a fault. And I question whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts, which are naturally sluggish, rise one minute before the hour nature hath appointed.

4. Those that are invincibly dull and negligent also. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former. All the whetting in the world can never set a razor's edge on that which hath no steel in it. Such boys he consigneth over to other professions. Shipwrights and boatmakers will choose those crooked pieces of timber, which other carpenters refuse. Those may make excellent merchants and mechanics which will not serve for scholars.

He is able, diligent, and methodical in his teaching; not leading them rather in a circle than forward. He minces his precepts for children to swallow, hanging clogs on the nimbleness of his own soul, that his scholars may go along with him.

He is, and will be known to be an absolute monarch in his school. If cockering mothers proffer him money to purchase their sons an exemption from his rod, (to live as it were in a peculiar, out of their master's jurisdiction,) with disdain he refuseth it, and scorns the late custom in some places of commuting whipping into money, and ransoming boys from the rod at a set price. If he hath a stubborn youth, correction-proof, he debaseth not his authority by contesting with him, but fairly, if he can, puts him away before his obstinacy hath infected others.

He is moderate in inflicting deserved correction. Many a schoolmaster better answereth the name παιδοτρίβης‡ than παιδαγωγὸς,‡ rather tearing his scholars' flesh with whipping, than giving them good education. No wonder

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* The practice of chaining the Dictionary to the master's desk, to be there consulted, existed in the early Grammar Schools of this country See *Parker's History of the Free School of Roxbury.*

† BRISTOL DIAMONDS are small and brilliant crystals of quartz found in the vicinity of Bristol, England, and occasionally used for ornamental purposes. *Brande.*

‡ παιδοτρίβης—*a teacher of wrestling or gymnastics.* παιδαγωγος—*strictly the slave who went with a boy from home to school and the gymnasium*—but used to designate one who teaches and trains boys.

if his scholars hate the muses, being presented unto them in the shape of fiends and furies. Junius* complains "de insolenti carnificina" of his schoolmaster, by whom "conscindebatur flagris septies aut octies in dies singulos." Yea, hear the lamentable verses of poor Tusser in his own life:

> "From Paul's I went, to Eton sent,
> To learn straightways the Latin phrase,
> Where fifty-three stripes given to me
> At once I had.
>
> For fault but small, or none at all,
> It came to pass thus beat I was;
> See, Udal,† see the mercy of thee
> To me poor lad."

Such an Orbilius‡ mars more scholars than he makes: their tyranny hath caused many tongues to stammer, which spake plain by nature, and whose stuttering at first was nothing else but fears quavering on their speech at their master's presence; and whose mauling them about their heads hath dulled those who in quickness exceeded their master.

He makes his school free to him, who sues to him "in forma pauperis." And surely learning is the greatest alms that can be given. But he is a beast, who, because the poor scholar can not pay him his wages, pays the scholar in his whipping. Rather are diligent lads to be encouraged with all excitements to learning. This minds me of what I have heard concerning Mr. Bust, that worthy late schoolmaster of Eton, who would never suffer any wandering begging scholar (such as justly the statute hath ranked in the forefront of rogues) to come into his school, but would thrust him out with earnestness, (however privately charitable unto him,) lest his schoolboys should be disheartened from their books, by seeing some scholars, after their studying in the University, preferred to beggary.

He spoils not a good school to make thereof a bad college, therein to teach his scholars logic. For besides that logic may have an action of trespass against grammar for encroaching on her liberties, syllogisms are solecisms taught in the school, and oftentimes they are forced afterward in the University to unlearn the fumbling skill they had before.

Out of his school he is no whit pedantical in carriage or discourse; contenting himself to be rich in Latin, though he doth not jingle with it in every company wherein he comes.

To conclude, let this amongst other motives make schoolmasters careful in their place, that the eminencies of their scholars have commended the memories of their schoolmasters to posterity, who otherwise in obscurity had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. Bond, in Lancashire, but for the breeding of learned Ascham, his scholar? or of Hartgrave, in Brundly school,

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* Francis Junius, who died in 1602, professor of divinity at Leyden, whose autobiography contains brief notices of his school and schoolmasters—is probably referred to. He was the author of *Commentaries, Hebrew Lexicon, Translations of the Scriptures, etc.*

† Nicholas Udal, Head Master of Eton College, from 1530 to 1555, and of Westminster from 1555 to 1564, through the Schoolmaster of Roger Ascham, and Thomas Tusser's Account of his own life, seems destined to an unenviable immortality for his flogging propensities. He was born in Hampshire in 1506, educated at Oxford, and died in 1564. He was the author of a "Moral play" entitled Ralph Royster Doyster.

‡ Orbilius Pupillus, was a native of Beneventum, where having received a good education, served as a soldier in Macedonia, taught for some time in his native place, until in the consulship of Cicero, B. C. 63, he removed to Rome and opened a school, which was attended by Horace, who seems to have carried away with him a stinging remembrance of his flogging propensities, and for which he has made him infamous to all time. In his Epistle to Augustus, [Ep. 11. 1, 70.] he calls him *plagosum*—fond of flogging. Suetonius in his *Liber de Illustribus Grammaticis* describes Orbilius in these words: *Fuit autem naturæ acerbæ non modo in anti sophistas, quos omni sermone laceravit, sed etiam in discipulos, ut Horatius significat, plagosum eum appellans, et Domitius Marsus scribens:*

Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidet.

The *ferula*, the general instrument of punishment in school, was the stalk of a reed or cane of that name, in which Prometheus conveyed the spark of fire from heaven. Many teachers act as though they thought some of the divine fire had impregnated the stalk for future use. *Scutica* was a lash, and a more flexible and severe instrument of punishment, like the *raw-hide*, made of untanned leather twisted.

Orbilius lived to be nearly one hundred years old, and must have had a more cheerful temper than Horace gave him credit for. His native city erected a statue to his memory. He is said to have written a book on school-keeping.

in the same county, but because he was the first did teach worthy Doctor Whitaker? nor do I honor the memory of Mulcaster* for anything so much, as for his scholar, that gulf of learning, Bishop Andrews. This made the Athenians, the day before the great feast of Theseus, their founder, to sacrifice a ram to the memory of Conidas, his schoolmaster that first instructed him.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH. 1728—1774.

We shall have occasion to notice some of the peculiarities in Goldsmith's own education, and of his experience as a teacher in the republication in a future number of his admirable *Essay on Education*, in which he claims to have anticipated some of the suggestions of Rousseau in his Emilius. The portraitures in the Deserted Village, whether drawn from Irish or English life, are among the classic characters of our language.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOLMASTER.

Beside yon straggling fence that skirts the way
With blossom furze unprofitably gay,
There, in his noisy mansion skill'd to rule,
The village master taught his little school
A man severe he was, and stern to view;
I knew him well, and every truant knew.
Well had the boding tremblers learned to trace
The day's disasters in his morning face;
Full well they laugh'd, with counterfeited glee,
At all his jokes, for many a joke had he;
Full well the busy whisper circling round,
Convey'd the dismal tidings when he frown'd.
Yet he was kind; or, if severe in aught,
The love he bore to learning was in fault.
The village all declared how much he knew:
'Twas certain he could write and cipher too;
Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage;
And e'en the story ran that he could guage.
In arguing too the parson own'd his skill,
For e'en tho' vanquished, he could argue still;
While words of learned length, and thund'ring sound
Amaz'd the gazing rustics rang'd around;
And still they gaz'd; and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew
But past is all his fame; the very spot
Where many a time he triumph'd, is forgot.

JAMES DELILLE, 1738—1813.

JAMES DELILLE, was born in Auvignon, in 1733, educated in Paris, and made Professor at Amiens, in 1760, and afterward in Paris,—

* RICHARD MULCASTER was born at Carlisle, educated at Eton under Udal, and at Kings' College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford,—commenced teaching in 1559, and appointed first master of Merchant Tailors' School in 1561, where he served till 1596, when he was made upper master of St. Paul's school,—died in 1611. He was a severe disciplinarian, but received many marks of grateful respect from his pupils, when they came of age and reflected on his fidelity and care. He was a good Latin, Greek, and Oriental scholar. His Latin verses spoken on the occasion of one of Queen Elizabeth's visits to Kenilworth Castle, are considered favorable specimens of his Latinity. He made a contribution to the literature of his profession, under the title of—"*Positions, wherein those primitive Circumstances be considered which are necessary for the training up of children, either for Skill in their books, or Health in their Bodies. London*, 1581."

translated Virgil's Georgics into French verse, and afterward composed an original work of the same character, entitled *Jardins*. Driven from France by the revolutionary outbreak, he afterward resided in Switzerland and Germany. In 1792, he published the Country Gentlemen, (*Homme des Champs*,) a poem in five cantos, in which he depicts country life in various characters and aspects—and among others, that of the school and the schoolmaster. We copy the last in an English translation by John Maunde. Some of the finest strokes are borrowed from Goldsmith's picture—unless both are copied from the same original. He died in 1813.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOLMASTER.

Descend, my muse, nor yet debate thy strain,
And paint the pedant of the village train.
Nor that suffice, but let thy prudent lay
Attach due honor to his useful sway.
He comes at length in consequential state,
And self-importance marks his solemn gait.
Read, write, and count, 'tis certain he can do;
Instruct at school, and sing at chapel too;
Foresee the changing moon and tempest dread,
And e'en in Latin once some progress made:
In learned disputes still firm and valiant found,
Though vanquished, still he scorns to quit the ground;
Whilst, wisely used to gather time and strength,
His crabbed words prolong their laggard length.
The rustic gaze around, and scarce suppose
That one poor brain could carry all he knows.
But in his school, to each neglect severe,
So much to him is learning's progress dear,
Comes he? Upon his smooth, or ruffled brow,
His infant tribe their destiny may know.
He nods, they part; again, and they assemble:
Smiles, if he laughs; and if he frowns, they tremble.
He soothes, or menaces, as best befits,
And now chastises, or he now acquits.
E'en when away, his wary subjects fear,
Lest the unseen bird should whisper in his ear
Who laughs, or talks, or slumbers o'er his book,
Or from what hand the ball his visage struck.

Nor distant far the birch is seen to rise—
The birch, that heeds not their imploring cries.
If chance the breeze its boughs should lightly shake
With pale affright the puny urchins quake.
Thus, gentle Chanonat, beside thy bed,
I've touched that tree, my childhood's friend and dread;—
That willow-tree, whose tributary spray
Amid my stern pedant with his sceptered sway.
Such is the master of the village-school:
Be it thy care to dignify his rule.
The wise man learns each rank to appreciate;
But fools alone despise the humbler state.

In spite of pride, in office, great or low,
Be modest one, and one importance know,
Be by himself his post an honor deemed;
He must esteem himself to be esteemed.

ROBERT LLOYD, 1733—1764.

ROBERT LLOYD was born in London in 1733. His father was under-master at Westminster School, and after completing his education at Cambridge, became usher under his father, without bringing to the work that moral fitness and love for teaching, without which it becomes intolerable drudgery. He soon left the occupation in disgust, and tried to earn a subsistence by his pen. He died poor in 1764.

A SCHOOL USHER.

Were I at once empowered to show
My utmost vengeance on my foe,
To punish with extremest vigor,
I should inflict no penance bigger,
Than, using him as learnings' tool,
To make him usher in a school.
For, not to dwell upon the toil
Of working on a barren soil,
And laboring with incessant pains
To cultivate a blockhead's brains,
The duties there but ill-befit,
The love of letters arts or wit.
For one, it hurts me to the soul,
To brook confinement or control;
Still to be pinioned down to teach
The syntax and the parts of speech;
Or perhaps what is drudgery worse,
The links and points, and rules of verse:
To deal out authors by retail,
Like penny pots of Oxford ale;
Oh' tis a service irksome more,
Then tugging at a slavish oar!
Yet such his task a dismal truth,
Who watches o'er the bent of youth,
And while a paltry stipend earning,
He sows the richest seeds of learning,
And tills their minds with proper care,
And sees them then due produce bear;
No joys, alas! his toil beguiles,
His own is fallow all the while.
"Yet still he's on the road, you say,
Of learning." Why, perhaps he may;
But turns like horses in a mill,
Nor getting on nor standing still;
For little way his learning reaches,
Who reads no more than what he teaches.

THE SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER IN LITERATURE.

WILLIAM SHENSTONE, 1714—1763.

WILLIAM SHENSTONE was born at Leasowes, in the parish of Hales-Owen, Shropshire, in 1714. He was taught to read at a "dame school," the house, and teacher of which, have been immortalized in his poem of the *Schoolmistress*—spent four years at Pembroke College, Oxford,—and then impoverished himself in embellishing a small paternal estate, which he made the envy of men of wealth, and the admiration of men of taste. His poems, essays, and lectures, were collected and published after his death, which occurred in 1763. His "Schoolmistress," a descriptive sketch in imitation of Spenser, ranks in poetry, with the paintings of Teniers and Wilkie, for its force and truthfulness to nature, as well as its quiet humor.

THE SCHOOLMISTRESS. (1.)

Ah, me! full sorely is my heart forlorn,
To think how modest worth neglected lies;
While partial fame doth with her blasts adorn
Such deeds alone as pride and pomp disguise;
Deeds of ill-sort and mischievous emprize;
Lend me thy clarion, goddess! let me try
To sound the praise of merit ere it dies;
Such as I oft have chanced to espy,
Lost in the dreary shades of dull obscurity.

In every village mark'd with little spire,
Embowered in trees, and hardly known to fame,
There dwells, in lowly shed and mean attire,
A matron old, whom we schoolmistress name,
Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame;
They grieven sore, in piteous durance pent,
Awed by the power of this relentless dame,
And oft-times, on vagaries idly bent,
For unkempt hair, or task unconn'd, are sorely shent.

And all in sight doth rise a birchin tree, (2.)
Which learning near her little dome did stowe,
Whilom a twig of small regard to see,
Though now so wide its waving branches flow,
And work the simple vassals mickle woe;
For not a wind might curl the leaves that blew,
But their limbs shudder'd, and their pulse beat low
And as they looked, they found their horror grew,
And shaped it into rods, and tingled at the view.

So have I seen (who has not, may conceive)
A lifeless phantom near a garden placed;
So doth it wanton birds of peace bereave,
Of sport, of song, of pleasure, of repast;
They start, they stare, they wheel, they look aghast;
Sad servitude! such comfortless annoy
May no bold Briton's riper age e'er taste!
Ne superstition clog his dance of joy,
Ne vision empty, vain, his native bliss destroy.

Near to this dome is found a patch so green,
On which the tribe their gambols do display;
And at the door imprisoning board is seen,
Lest weakly wights of smaller size should stray,
Eager, perdie, to bask in sunny day!
The noises intermixed, which thence resound,
Do learning's little tenement betray;
Where sits the dame, disguised in look profound,
And eyes her fairy throng, and turns her wheel around.

Her cap, far whiter than the driven snow,
Emblem right meet, of decency does yield;
Her apron, dyed in grain, as blue, I trowe,
As is the hare-bell that adorns the field;
And in her hand, for scepter, she does wield
Tway birchen sprays, with anxious fears entwined,
With dark distrust, and sad repentance filled,
And steadfast hate, and sharp affliction joined,
And fury uncontrolled, and chastisement unkind.

Few but have kenned, in semblance meet portrayed,
The childish faces of old Eol's train;
Libs, Notus, Auster; these in frowns arrayed,
How then would fare on earth, or sky, or main,
Were the stern god to give his slaves the rein?
And were not she rebellious breasts to quell,
And were not she her statutes to maintain,
The cot no more, I ween, were deemed the cell,
Where comely peace of mind, and decent order dwell.

A russet stole was o'er her shoulders thrown;
A russet kirtle fenced the nipping air;
'Twas simple russet, but it was her own;
'Twas her own country bred the flock so fair;
'Twas her own labor did the fleece prepare;
And, sooth to say her pupils, ranged around,
Through pious awe, did term it passing rare;
For they in gaping wonderment abound,
And think, no doubt, she been the greatest wight on ground!

Albeit ne flattery did corrupt the truth,
Ne pompous title did debauch her ear;
Goody, good-woman, n'aunt, forsooth,
Or dame, the sole additions she did hear;
Yet these she challenged, these she held right dear;
Ne would esteem him act as mought behove,

Who should not honored eld with these revere;
For never title yet so mean could prove,
But there was eke a mind that did that title love.

One ancient hen she took delight to feed,
The plodding pattern of the busy dame;
Which, ever and anon, impeled by need,
Into her school, begirt with chickens, came!
Such favor did her past deportment claim;
And if neglect had lavished on the ground
Fragment of bread, she would collect the same,
For well she knew, and quaintly could expound,
What sin it were to waste the smallest crumb she found.

Herbs, too, she knew, and well of each could speak,
That in her garden sipped the silvery dew;
Where no vain flower disclos'd a gawdy streak;
But herbs for use and physic not a few,
Of grey renown, within those borders grew;
The tufted basil, pun-provoking thyme,
Fresh balm, and mary-gold of cheerful hue;
The lowely gill, that never dares to climb;
And more I fain would sing, disdaining here to rhyme.

Yet euphrasy may not be left unsung,
That gives dim eyes to wander leagues around,
And pungent radish, biting infants tongue;
And plantain ribbed, that heals the reaper's wound;
And marjoram sweet, in shepherd's posie found;
And lavender, whose spikes of azure bloom
Shall be ere-while in arid bundles bound,
To lurk amidst the labors of her loom,
And crown her kerchiefs clean, with mickle rare perfume.

And here trim rosemarine, that whilom crowned
The daintiest garden of the proudest peer,
Ere, driven from its envied site, it found
A sacred shelter for its branches here;
Where edged with gold its glittering skirts appear.
O, wassel days! O, customs meet and well!
Ere this was banished from its lofty sphere;
Simplicity then sought this humble cell,
Nor ever would she more with thane and lordling dwell.

Here oft the dame, on sabbath's decent eve,
Hymn'd such psalms as Sternhold forth did mete;
If winter 'twere, she to her hearth did cleave,
But in her garden found a summer-seat;
Sweet melody! to hear her then repeat
How Israel's sons, beneath a foreign king,
While taunting foe-men did a song intreat,
All for the nonce, untuning every string,
Uphung their useless lyres—small heart had they to sing

For she was just, and friend to virtuous lore,
And passed much time in truly virtuous deed;
And in those elfin ears would oft deplore

The times when truth by popish rage did bleed,
And torturous death was true devotion's meed;
And simple faith in iron chains did mourn,
That nould on wooden image place her creed;
And lawny saints in smouldering flames did burn;
Ah, dearest lord, forefend, thilk days should e'er return!

In elbow-chair, like that of Scottish stem
By the sharp tooth of cankering eld defaced,
In which, when he receives his diadem,
Our sovereign prince and liefest liege is placed,
The matron sate, and some with rank she graced,
(The source of children's and of courtiers pride!)
Redressed affronts, for vile affronts there passed;
And warned them not the fretful to deride,
But love each other dear, whatever them betide.

Right well she knew each temper to descry;
To thwart the proud, and the submiss to raise,
Some with vile copper-prize exalt on high,
And some entice with pittance small of praise,
And other some with baleful sprig she frays;
Ee'n absent, she the reins of power doth hold,
While with quaint arts the giddy crowd she sways;
Forewarned if little bird their pranks behold,
'Twill whisper in her ear, and all the scene unfold.

Lo! now with state she utters the command;
Eftsoons the urchins to their tasks repair;
Their books of stature small they take in hand,
Which with pellucid horn secured are, (3.)
To save from fingers wet the letters fair;
The work so gay, that on their back is seen,
St. George's high achievments does declare;
On which thilk wight, that has y-gazing been
Kens the forth-coming rod—unpleasing sight, I ween!

Ah! luckless he, and born beneath the beam
Of evil star! it irks me whilst I write;
As erst the* bard by Mulla's silver stream,
Oft as he told of deadly, dolorous plight,
Sighed as he sung, and did in tears indite.
For, brandishing the rod, she doth begin
To loose the brogues, (4.) the stripling's late delight!
And down they drop; appears his dainty skin,
Fair as the furry-coat of whitest ermilin.

O, ruthful scene! when, from a nook obscure,
His little sister doth his peril see;
All playful as she sate, she grows demure;
She finds full soon her wonted spirits flee;
She meditates a prayer to set him free;
Nor gentle pardon could this dame deny
(If gentle pardon could with dames agree)
To her sad grief which swells in either eye,
And wrings her so that all for pity she could die.

* Spenser.

No longer can she now her shrieks command,
And hardly she forbears, through awful fear,
To rushen forth, and, with presumptuous hand,
To stay harsh justice in his mid career.
On thee she calls, on thee, her parent dear!
(Ah! too remote to ward the shameful blow!)
She sees no kind domestic visage near,
And soon a flood of tears begins to flow,
And gives a loose at last to unavailing woe.

But, ah! what pen his piteous plight may trace?
Or what device his loud laments explain?
The form uncouth of his disguised face?
The pallid hue that dyes his looks amain?
The plenteous shower that does his cheek distain?
When he, in abject wise, implores the dame,
Ne hopeth aught of sweet reprieve to gain;
Or when from high she levels well her aim,
And, through the thatch, his cries each falling stroke proclaim.

The other tribe, aghast, with sore dismay,
Attend, and conn their tasks with mickle care;
By turns, astonied every twig survey,
And from their fellow's hateful wounds beware,
Knowing, I wist, how each the same may share;
Till fear has taught them a performance meet,
And to the well-known chest the dame repair,
Whence oft with sugared cates she doth them greet,
And ginger-bread y-rare; now, certes, doubly sweet.

See to their seats they hie with merry glee,
And in beseemly order sitten there;
All but the wight of flesh y-galled; he,
Abhorreth bench, and stool, and form, and chair;
(This hand in mouth y-fixed, that rends his hair;)
And eke with snubs profound, and heaving breast,
Convulsions intermitting, does declare
His grievous wrong, his dame's unjust behest;
And scorns her offered love, and shuns to be caressed

His face besprent with liquid crystal shines,
His blooming face, that seems a purple flower,
Which low to earth its drooping head declines,
All smear'd and sullied by a vernal shower.
O, the hard bosoms of despotic power!
All, all but she, the author of his shame,
All, all but she, regret this mournful hour;
Yet hence the youth, and hence the flower, shall claim,
If so I deem aright, transcending worth and fame.

Behind some door, in melancholy thought,
Mindless of food, he, dreary caitiff! pines;
Ne for his fellows' joyaunce careth aught,
But to the wind all merriment resigns;
And deems it shame, if he to peace inclines;

And many a sullen look ascance is sent,
Which for his dame's annoyance he designs;
And still the more to pleasure him she's bent
The more doth he, perverse, her havior past resent.

Ah me! how much I fear lest pride it be!
But if that pride it be, which thus inspires,
Beware, ye dames, with nice discernment see,
Ye quench not too the sparks of nobler fires:
Ah! better far than all the muses' lyres,
All coward arts, its valor's generous heat;
The firm fixt breast which fit and right requires,
Like Vernon's patriot soul! more justly great
Than craft that pimps for ill, or flowery false deceit.

Yet, nursed with skill, what dazzling fruits appear
Ee'n now sagacious foresight points to show
A little bench of heedless bishops here,
And there a chancellor in embryo,
Or bard sublime, if bard may e'er be so,
As Milton, (5.) Shakspeare, names that ne'er shall die!
Though now he crawl along the ground so low,
Nor weeting how the muse should soar on high
Wisheth, poor starveling elf! his paper kite may fly.

And this perhaps, who, censuring the design,
Low lays the house which that of cards doth build,
Shall Dennis be! if rigid fate incline,
And many an epic to his rage shall yield;
And many a poet quit the Aonian field;
And, soured by age, profound he shall appear,
As he who now with disdainful fury thrill'd
Surveys mine work; and levels many a sneer,
And furls his wrinkly front, and cries, "What stuff is here?"

But now Dan Phœbus gains the middle sky,
And liberty unbars her prison-door;
And like a rushing torrent out they fly;
And now the grassy cirque had covered o'er
With boisterous revel-rout and wild uproar;
A thousand ways in wanton rings they run.
Heaven shield their short-lived pastimes, I implore
For well may freedom erst so dearly won,
Appear to British elf more gladsome than the sun.

Enjoy, poor imps! enjoy your sportive trade,
And chase gay flies, and cull the fairest flowers;
For when my bones in grass-green sods are laid,
O, never may ye taste more careless hours
In knightly castle or in ladies' bowers.
O, vain to seek delight in earthly thing!
But most in courts, where proud ambition towers;
Deluded wight! who weens fair peace can spring
Beneath the pompous dome of kesar or of king.

See in each sprite some various bent appear!
These rudely carol most incondite lay,
Those, sauntering on the green, with jocund leer
Salute the stranger passing on his way;
Some builden fragile tenements of clay;
Some to the standing lake their courses bend,
With pebbles smooth at duck and drake to play;
Thilk to the huxter's savory cottage tend,
In pastry kings and queens the allotted mite to spend.

Here as each season yields a different store,
Each season's stores in order ranged been;
Apples with cabbage-net y-covered o'er,
Galling full sore the unmoneyed wight, are seen;
And goose-b'rie clad in livery red or green,
And here, of lovely dye, the catharine pear,
Fine pear, as lovely for thy juice, I ween;
O, may no wight e'er pennyless come there,
Lest, smit with ardent love he pine with hopeless care!

See, cherries here, ere cherries yet abound,
With thread so white in tempting posies tied,
Scattering, like blooming maid, their glances round.
With pampered look draw little eyes aside,—
And must be bought, though penury betide.
The plum all azure, and the nut all brown,
And here each season do those cakes (.) abide,
Whose honored names * the inventive city own,
Rendering through Britain's isle Salopia's† praises known.

Admired Salopia! that in venial pride
Eyes her bright form in Severn's ambient wave,
Famed for her loyal cares in perils tried,
Her daughters lovely, and her striplings brave:
Ah! midst the rest, may flowers adorn his grave
Whose art did first these dulcet cates display!
A motive fair to learning's imps he gave,
Who cheerless o'er her darkling region stray;
Till reason's morn arise, and light them on their way.

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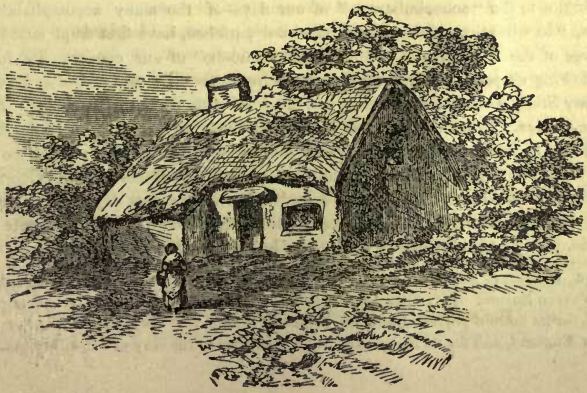
* Shrewsbury cakes. † Salopia, Shrewsbury.



ANNOTATIONS.

(1.) *The Schoolmistress.*

Of honest Sarah Lloyd, "the Schoolmistress" of Shenstone, whose faithful portraiture has given her school and her vocation, with all its interesting details, to undying fame, we have had in this country but few representatives. There are traditions among us, of such "dame schools," and such bent and wrinkled "school-marms," but the female teachers of our primary schools belong to a much younger, and much prettier class, of whom "Mary Smith" in Warren Burton's "*District Schools as it was,*" is a charming specimen. But the universal acceptance by successive generations, of this poem, by which Shenstone passes into the list of the living authors of the language, proves that the sketch was drawn from life, and that the race has not yet died out in England or Scotland. Gilfillan, in his edition of Shenstone, remarks:

"Almost all people have some aged crone who stands to them in the light through which Shenstone has contemplated honest Sarah Lloyd; and as soon as she appears on his page, every one hails her as an old acquaintance, and is ready to prove, by her gown, or her cap, her birch, her herbs, or her devout hatred for the Pope, that she answers to his ancient preceptress—just as every one who has read Goldsmith's Schoolmaster in the "Deserted Village" is ready to cry out "that is my old teacher."

"We, at least, never can read Goldsmith's lines without seeing a certain worthy old *domine*, long since dead, with his two wigs, the dun for ordinary, and the black for extra occasions; the one synonymous with frowns and flagellations, and the other with a certain snug smile which sometimes lay all day on his face and spoke of a projected jaunt, or a quiet evening jug of punch,—with his sage advice, his funny stories, at which we were compelled to laugh, his smuggled translations discovered by us sometimes with infinite glee in his neglected desk, the warm fatherly interest he displayed now and then in his famed scholars, and the severe inimical sarcasm, (a power this in which he peculiarly excelled,) which he drew at other times in a merciless mesh around the victim of his wrath till he writhed again. Nor can we take up Shenstone's poem without reviving the memory of an elderly dame, now many years at rest, with her spectacles on her nose, her cat at her feet, her well-worn *torse*, (twisted leather,) in her hand, and this universal apology for her continued flagellations upon her lips, the logic of which her pupils were never able exactly to comprehend, "If ye are no in a fault just now, ye're sure to be't!" And we are certain that if all who have had similar experience were piling each a stone on two cairns, (*heaps over the dead,*) erected to the two ingenious authors who have impressed and represented this common phase of human life. they would soon out tower the pyramids. Shenstone's "Schoolmistress" has not indeed the point and condensation of Goldsmith's "Schoolmaster," but its spirit is the same; and there is besides about it a certain, soft, warm slumberous charm, as if reflected from the good dame's kitchen fire. The very stanza seems murmuring in its sleep."

In justice to the "schoolmistress" of our day—of the many accomplished young women, "in whose own hearts love, hope and patience, have first kept school," now in charge of the "Primary" and "District Schools" of our country, we introduce the following sketch of "My First Teacher" from the "*District School as it was,*" *

"Mary Smith was my first teacher, and the dearest to my heart I ever had. She was a niece of Mrs. Carter, who lived in the nearest house on the way to school. She had visited her aunt the winter before; and her uncle being chosen committee for the school at the town meeting in the spring, sent immediately to her home in Connecticut, and engaged her to teach the summer school. During the few days she spent at his house, she had shown herself peculiarly qualified to interest, and to gain the love of children. Some of the neighbors, too, who had dropped in while she was there, were

* The District School as it was, Scenery-Showing, and other Writings, by Rev. Warren Burton. This little volume should belong to every teacher, and every popular library, for its faithful portraiture of the common school *as it was*, in the country districts of New England, and for its many excellent suggestions in the way of improvement.

much pleased with her appearance. She had taught one season in her native state; and that she succeeded well, Mr. Carter could not doubt. He preferred her, therefore, to hundreds near by; and for once the partiality of the relative proved profitable to the district.

Now Mary Smith was to board at her uncle's. This was deemed a fortunate circumstance on my account, as she would take care of me on the way, which was needful to my inexperienced childhood. My mother led me to Mr. Carter's, to commit me to my guardian and instructor for the summer. I entertained the most extravagant ideas of the dignity of the school-keeping vocation, and it was with trembling reluctance that I drew near the presence of so lovely a creature as they told me Mary Smith was. But she so gently took my quivering little hand, and so tenderly stooped and kissed my cheek, and said such soothing and winning words, that my timidity was gone at once.

She used to lead me to school by the hand, while John and Sarah Carter gamboled on, unless I chose to gambol with them; but the first day, at least, I kept by her side. All her demeanor toward me, and indeed toward us all, was of a piece with her first introduction. She called me to her to read, not with a look and voice as if she were doing a duty she disliked, and was determined I should do mine too, like it or not, as is often the manner of teachers; but with a cheerful smile and a softening eye, as if she were at a pastime, and wished me to partake of it.

My first business was to master the A B C, and no small achievement it was; for many a little learner waddles to school through the summer, and waddles to the same through the winter, before he accomplishes it, if he happens to be taught in the manner of former times. This might have been my lot, had it not been for Mary Smith. Few of the better methods of teaching, which now make the road to knowledge so much more easy and pleasant, had then found their way out of or into, the brain of the pedagogical vocation. Mary went on in the old way indeed; but the whole exercise was done with such sweetness on her part, that the dilatory and usually unpleasant task was to me a pleasure, and consumed not so much precious time as it generally does in the case of heads as stupid as mine. By the close of that summer, the alphabet was securely my own. That hard, and to me unmeaning, string of sights and sounds, were bound forever to my memory by the ties created by gentle tones and looks.

That hardest of all tasks, sitting becomingly still, was rendered easier by her goodness. When I grew restless, and turned from side to side, and changed from posture to posture, in search of relief from my uncomfortableness, she spoke words of sympathy rather than reproof. Thus I was won to be as quiet as I could. When I grew drowsy, and needed but a comfortable position to drop into sleep and forgetfulness of the weary hours, she would gently lay me at length on my seat, and leave me just falling to slumber, with her sweet smile the last thing beheld or remembered.

Thus wore away my first summer at the district school. As I look back on it, faintly traced on memory, it seems like a beautiful dream, the images of which are all softness and peace. I recollect that, when the last day came, it was not one of light-hearted joy—it was one of sadness, and it closed in tears. I was now obliged to stay at home in solitude, for the want of playmates, and in weariness of the passing time, for the want of something to do; as there was no particular pleasure in saying A B C all alone, with no Mary Smith's voice and looks for an accompaniment. * *

The next summer, Mary Smith was the mistress again. She gave such admirable satisfaction, that there was but one unanimous wish that she should be re-engaged.

Mary was the same sweet angel this season as the last. I did not, of course, need her soothing and smiling assiduity as before; but still she was a mother to me in tenderness. She was forced to caution us younglings pretty often; yet it was done with such sweetness, that a caution from her was as effectual as would be a frown, and indeed a blow, from many others. At least, so it was with me. She used to resort to various severities with the refractory and idle, and in one instance, she used the ferule; but we all knew, and the culprit knew, that it was well deserved.

At the close of the school, there was a deeper sadness in our hearts than on the last summer's closing day. She had told us that she should never be our teacher again,—should probably never meet many of us again in this world. She gave us much parting advice about loving and obeying God, and loving and doing good to everybody. She shed tears as she talked to us, and that made our own flow still more. When we were dismissed, the customary and giddy laugh was not heard. Many were sobbing with grief, and even the least sensitive were softened and subdued to an unusual quietness.

The last time I ever saw Mary was Sunday evening, on my way home from meeting. As we passed Mr. Carter's, she came out to the chaise where I sat between my parents, to bid us good by. Oh, that last kiss, that last smile, and those last tones! Never shall I forget them, so long as I have power to remember or capacity to love. The next morning she left for her native town; and before another summer she was married. As Mr. Carter soon moved from our neighborhood, the dear instructress never visited it again. * *

There was one circumstance connected with the history of summer schools of so great importance to little folks, that it must not be omitted. It was this. The mistress felt obliged to give little books to all her pupils on the closing day of her school. Otherwise she would be thought stingy and half the good she had done during the summer would be canceled by the omission of the expected donations. If she had the least generosity, or hoped to be remembered with any respect and affection, she must devote a week's wages, and perhaps more, to the purchase of these little toy-books. My first present, of course, was from Mary Smith. It was not a little book the first summer, but it was something that pleased me more.

The last day of the school had arrived. All, as I have somewhere said before, were sad that it was now to finish. My only solace was that I should now have a little book, for I was not unmoved in the general expectation that prevailed. After the reading and spelling, and all the usual exercises of the school, were over, Mary took from her desk a pile of the glittering little things we were looking for. What beautiful covers,—red, yellow, blue, green! Oh! not the first buds of spring, not the first rose of summer, not the rising moon, nor gorgeous rainbow, seemed so charming as that first pile of books now spread out on her lap, as she sat in her chair in front of the school. All eyes were now centered on the outspread treasures. Admiration and expectation were depicted on every face. Pleasure glowed in every heart; for the worst, as well as the best, calculated with certainty on a present. What a beautifier of the countenance agreeable emotions are! The most ugly visaged were beautiful now with the radiance of keen anticipation. The scholars were called out one by one to receive the dazzling gifts beginning at the oldest. I being an abecedarian, must wait till the last; but as I knew that my turn would surely come in due order, I was tolerably patient. But what was my disappointment, my exceeding bitterness of grief, when the last book on Mary's lap was given away, and my name not yet called! Every one present had received, except myself and two others of the A B C rank. I felt the tears starting to my eyes; my lips were drawn to their closest pucker to hold in my emotions from audible outcry. I heard my fellow-sufferer at my side draw long and heavy breaths, the usual preliminaries to the bursting out of grief. This feeling, however, was but momentary; for Mary immediately said, "Charles and Henry and Susan, you may now all come to me together;" at the same time her hand was put into her work-bag. We were at her side in an instant, and in that time she held in her hand—what? Not three little picture books, but what was to us a surprising novelty, viz.: three little birds wrought from sugar by the confectioner's art. I had never seen or heard or dreamed of such a thing. What a revulsion of delighted feeling now swelled my little bosom! "If I should give you books," said Mary, "you could not read them at present, so I have got for you what you will like better perhaps, and there will be time enough for you to have books, when you shall be able to read them. So, take these little birds, and see how long you can keep them." We were perfectly satisfied, and even felt ourselves distinguished above the rest. My bird was more to me than all the songsters in

the air, although it could not fly, or sing, or open its mouth. I kept it for years, until by accident it was crushed to pieces, and was no longer a bird."

It must be confessed that all the "schools of the olden time" in New England were not taught by "Mary Smiths," and some of the worthy "school-ma'ams," continued to "board round" long after they had passed out of "their teens." The following stanzas which were first published in the *Maine Farmer*, describe a class of schools and teachers, which many graduates of common schools will recognize as their own.

The Schools—the schools of other days!
  Those were the schools for me;
When, in a frock and trousers dressed,
  I learned my A B C.

When, with my dinner in my hat,
  I trudged away to school;
Nor dared to stop, as boys do now,—
  For school-ma'ams had a *rule*.

With locks well combed, and face so clean,
  (Boys washed their faces then,)
And a "stick horse" to ride upon—
  What happy little men.

And if a traveler we met,
  We threw no sticks and stones
To fright the horses as they passed,
  Or break good people's bones.

But, with our hats beneath our arms,
  We bent our heads full low;
For ne'er the school-ma'am failed to ask,
  "Boys, did you make a bow?"

And all the little girls with us
  Would courtesy full low;
And hide their ankles 'neath their gowns—
  Girls don't have ankles now.

We stole no fruit, nor tangled grass;
  We played no noisy games,
And when we spoke to older folks,
  Put *handles on their names*.

And when the hour for school had come—
  Of bell we had no need—
The school-ma'am's rap upon the glass
  Each one would quickly heed.

The school-ma'am—Heaven bless her name—
  When shall we meet her like?
She always wore a green calash,
  A calico vandyke.

She never sported pantelets,
  No silks on her did rustle;
Her dress hung gracefully all round—
  She never wore a bustle.

With modest mien and loving heart
  Her daily task was done,
And, true as needle to the pole,
  The next one was begun.

The days were all alike to her,
  The evenings just the same,
And neither brought a change to us
  Till Saturday forenoon came.

And then we had a "spelling match,"
  And learned the sounds of A—
The months and weeks that made the year,
  The hours that made the day.

And on that day we saw her smile—
  No other time smiled she—
'Twas then she told us learnedly
  When next "leap-year" would be.

Alas, kind soul, though leap-year came
  And went full many a time,
In "single-blessedness" she toiled
  Till far beyond her prime.

But now indeed her toils are o'er,
  Her lessons all are said,
Her rules well learned, her words well spelled—
  She's *gone up to the head.*

We now return to our English authorities for the character and social standing of the schoolmistress of former days.

HENRY KIRKE WHITE thus commemorates the "village matron," of Nottingham, Mrs. Garrington, who introduced him into the mysteries of alphabetic lore:

In yonder cot, along whose mouldering walls,
In many a fold the mantling woodbine falls,
The village matron kept her little school—
Gentle of heart, yet knowing well to rule.
Staid was the dame, and modest was the mien,
Her garb was coarse, yet whole and nicely clean;
Her neatly border'd cap, as lily fair,
Beneath her chin was pinn'd with decent care;
And pendant ruffles of the whitest lawn
Of ancient make her elbows did adorn.
Faint with old age, and dim were grown her eyes;
A pair of spectacles their want supplies.
These does she guard secure in leather case,
From thoughtless wights in some unweeted place.
  Here first I entered, though with toil and pain,
The low vestibule of learning's fane—
Entered with pain, yet soon I found the way,
Though sometimes toilsome, many a sweet display.
Much did I grieve on that ill-fated morn
When I was first to school reluctant borne;
Severe I thought the dame, though oft she tried
To soothe my swelling spirits when I sighed,
And oft, when harshly she reproved, I wept—
To my lone corner broken-hearted crept—
And thought of tender home, where anger never kept;
But, soon inured to alphabetic toils,
Alert I met the dame with jocund smiles—
First at the form, my task for ever true,
A little favorite rapidly I grew;

And oft she strok'd my head, with fond delight
Held me a pattern to the dunce's sight;
And, as she gave my diligence its praise,
Talked of the honors of my future days.

Rev George Crabbe, the poet of homely life, in his description of the Borough, in speaking of the "Poor and their Dwellings," pays a passing tribute of respect and gratitude to his first teacher:

At her old house, her dress, her air the same,
I see mine ancient letter-loving dame:
"Learning, my child," said she, "shall fame command;
Learning is better worth than house or land—
For houses perish, lands are gone and spent;
In learning then excel, for that's most excellent."
"And what her learning?"—'Tis with awe to look
In every verse throughout one sacred book
From this her joy, her hope, her peace is sought;
This she has learned, and she is nobly taught.
If aught of mine have gained the public ear;
If Rutland deigns these humble Tales to hear,
If critics pardon, what my friends approved;
Can I mine ancient Widow pass unmoved?
Shall I not think what pains the matron took,
When first I trembled o'er the gilded book?
How she, all patient, both at eve and morn,
Her needle pointed at the guarding horn;
And how she soothed me, when with study sad,
I labored on to reach the final zad?
Shall I not grateful still the dame survey,
And ask the Muse the poet's debt to pay?
Nor I alone, who hold a trifler's pen,
But half our bench of wealthy, weighty men,
Who rule our Borough, who enforce our laws;
They own the matron as the leading cause,
And feel the pleasing debt, and pay the just applause.
To her own house is borne the week's supply;
There she in credit lives, there hopes in peace to die.

Again, in his Parish Register he gives us a pleasing picture of the Good Schoolmistress, out of school hours:

————With due respect and joy,
I trace the matron at her loved employ;
What time the striplings wearied down with play,
Part at the closing of the summers' day,
And each by different path returned the well-known way.
Then I behold her at the cottage door,
Frugal of light;—her Bible laid before,
When on her double duty she proceeds,
Of time as frugal; knitting as she reads
Her idle neighbors, who approach to tell
Of news or nothing, she by looks compels
To hear reluctant, while the lads who pass
In pure respect walk silent on the grass:
Then sinks the day, but not to rest she goes,
Till solemn prayers the daily duties close.

(2.) "*And all in sight doth rise a birchen tree.*"

THE BIRCH has attained a place in English life and literature hardly surpassed by any other tree. It figures in name and in fact—in prose and verse—in matters sacred and profane. Our readers, many of whom, must have a traditional reverence for this emblem of magisterial authority in the school-room, may be pleased with a few of the many references to its manifold uses and virtues as described by the classic authors of our language, as well as with specimens of the wit and poetry which it has inspired.

It had place in the popular festivities of May-day, and of Mid-Summer's Eve, and Christmas. Owen, in his Welsh Dictionary defines *Bedwen*, a birch tree, by "a May-pole, because it is always made of birch." Stowe, in his "Survey of London," tells us "that on the vigil of St. John Baptist, every man's door being shadowed with *green birch*, long fennel, &c., garnished with garlands of beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass with oil burning in them all night." Coles, in his "Adam in Eden," says—"I remember once as I rid through little Brickhill in Buckinghamshire, every sign-post in the towne almost, was bedecked with green birch," on Mid-Summer Eve. Coles quaintly observes among the civil uses of the birch tree, "the punishment of children, both at home and at school; for it hath an admirable influence on them when they are out of order, and therefore some call it *make peace*." In some sections, on Christmas Eve, a nicely bound bundle of birchen twigs with one end immersed in cake or frosted sugar, was placed in the stockings of naughty boys.

In "Whimsies," or a New Cast of Characters, (1631,) mention is made of the *birch-pole*, as having been set up before ale-houses for a sign,—as a *bush* of some kind was formerly hung over the door of wine-shops,—whence came the proverb, "good wine needs no bush."

Pope introduces one of his heroes with

"His beaver'd brow a *birchen* garland bears."

Roger Ascham, in his "Toxophilus: or Schole of Shootinge," enumerates it among "the kinde of wood, whereof the shaft is made"—"being both strong enough to stand in a bowe, and light enough to fly far." Of its use in archery, Spencer, in the "Faerie Queene," speaks of "the birch for shafts" in the equipment of one of his characters.

Shakspeare has not forgot its disciplinary use, (*in Measure for Measure, Act I., Sen. 2d.*)

——— "Now as fond fathers,
Having bound up the threatening *twigs of birch*,
Only to stick it in their childrens' sight
For terror, not for use: in time the rod
Becomes more mocked than used."

The scholastic uses of the birch have been celebrated not only in occasional stanzas, but constitute the inspiration and burden of poems devoted exclusively to its praise.

Rev. Henry Layng, Fellow of New College, Oxford, published in 1754, Oxford, a poem entitled "*The Rod*, a poem in three cantos, 4to, 46 pages." It has an advertisement of three pages, deprecating the imputation of any personal allusions or designs to encourage school rebellions. It has also a frontispiece, representing two youths, one standing, the other sitting on a form, and before them the figure of an ass, erect on his hind legs, clothed in a pallium (the dress of a Doctor at Oxford.) A birch, doctorial hat, and books, lettered Priscian and Lycophron, form the base; and on the ribbon above is the legend, "An ass in the Greek pallium teaching."

The following is a specimen of the spirit and humor of the poem, being a description of the birch tree.

"A tree there is, such was Apollo's will,
That grows uncultured on the Muses' Hill,
Its type in Heav'n the blest Immortals know,
There call'd the tree of Science, Birch below.

These characters observ'd thy guide shall be,
Unerring guide to the mysterious tree.
Smooth like its kindred Poplar, to the skies
The trunk ascends and quivering branches rise;
By teeming seeds it propagates its kind,
And with the year renew'd it casts the rind;
Pierc'd by the matron's hand, her bowl it fills,
Scarce yielding to the vine's nectareous rills.
Of this select full in the Moon's eclipse,
Of equal size thrice three coeval slips,
Around the Osier's flexile band entwine,
And all their force in strictest union join.
Each Muse shall o'er her favorite twig preside,
Sacred to Phœbus, let their band be tied;
With this when sloth and negligence provoke,
Thrice let thy vengeful arm impress the stroke,
Then shalt thou hear loud clamors rend the breast,
Attentive hear, and let the sound be blest;
So when the priestess at the Delphic shrine,
Roar'd loud, the listening votary hail'd the sign."

We find in the London Notes and Queries—from which the above notice and extract is taken, the following lines.

THE BIRCH: A POEM.

Written by a Youth of thirteen.

Though the *Oak* be the prince and the pride of the grove,
The emblem of power and the fav'rite of Jove;
Though Phœbus his temples with *Laurel* has bound,
And with chaplets of *Poplar* Alcides is crown'd;
Though Pallas the *Olive* has graced with her choice,
And old mother Cybel in *Pines* may rejoice,
Yet the Muses declare, after diligent search,
That no tree can be found to compare with the *Birch.*
The Birch, they affirm, is the true tree of knowledge,
Revered at each school and remember'd at college.
Though Virgil's famed tree might produce, as its fruit,
A crop of vain dreams, and strange whims on each shoot,
Yet the Birch on each bough, on the top of each switch,
Bears the essence of grammar and eight parts of speech.
'Mongst the leaves are conceal'd more than mem'ry can mention,
All cases, all genders, all forms of declension.
Nine branches, when cropp'd by the hands of the Nine,
And duly arranged in a parallel line,
Tied up in nine folds of a mystical string
And soak'd for nine days in cold Helicon spring,
Form a sceptre composed for a pedagogue's hand,
Like the Fasces of Rome, a true badge of command.
The sceptre thus finish'd, like Moses's rod,
From flints could draw tears, and give life to a clod.
Should darkness Egyptian, or ignorance, spread
Their clouds o'er the mind, or envelop the head,
The rod, thrice applied, puts the darkness to flight,
Disperses the clouds, and restores us to light.
Like the Virga Divina, 'twill find out the vein
Where lurks the rich metal, the ore of the brain,

Should Genius a captive in sloth be confined,
Or the witchcraft of Pleasure prevail o'er the mind,
This magical wand but apply—with a stroke,
The spell is dissolved, the enchantment is broke.
Like Hermes' caduceus, these switches inspire
Rhetorical thunder, poetical fire:
And if Morpheus our temple in Lethe should steep,
Their touch will untie all the fetters of sleep.
Here dwells strong conviction—of Logic the glory,
When applied with precision *a posteriori*.
I've known a short lecture most strangely prevail,
When duly convey'd to the head through the tail;
Like an electrical shock, in an instant 'tis spread,
And flies with a jerk from the tail to the head;
Promotes circulation, and thrills through each vein
The faculties quickens, and purges the brain.
By sympathy thus, and consent of the parts,
We are taught, *fundamentally* classics and arts.
The Birch, *a priori*, applied to the palm,
Can settle disputes and a passion becalm.
Whatever disorders prevail in the blood,
The birch can correct them, like guaiacum wood:
It sweetens the juices, corrects our ill humors,
Bad habits removes, and disperses foul tumors.
When applied to the hand it can cure with a switch,
Like the salve of old Molyneux, used in the itch
As the famed rod of Circe to brutes could turn men,
So the twigs of the Birch can unbrute them again.
Like the wand of the Sybil, that branch of pure gold,
These sprays can the gates of Elysium unfold—
The Elysium of learning, where pleasures abound,
Those sweets that still flourish on classical ground.
Prometheus's rod, which, mythologists say,
Fetch'd fire from the sun to give life to his clay,
Was a rod well applied his men to inspire
With a taste for the arts, and their genius to fire.
This bundle of rods may suggest one reflection,
That the arts with each other maintain a connection.
Another good moral this bundle of switches
Points out to our notice and silently teaches;
Of peace and good fellowship these are a token,
For the twigs, well united, can scarcely be broken.
Then, if such are its virtues, we'll bow to the tree,
And THE BIRCH, like the Muses, immortal shall be."

This poem was written by Rev. Thomas Wilson, B. D., Head-master of Clitheroe Grammar School, Lancashire, in 1784, and first published in *Adam's Weekly Courant*, July 25, 1786. See *Notes and Queries*, Vol. x. p. 432.

HOOD, in his whimsical and comic stanzas indulges in frequent allusions to the school where he "was *birched*," and contrives to extract some sweet out of the bitter discipline of his school days:

"Ay, though the very birch's smart
Should mark those hours again;
I'd kiss the rod, and be resigned
Beneath the stroke, and even find
Some *sugar* in the *cane*."

(3.) "*Their books of stature small they take in hand,*
Which with pellucid horn secured are,
To save from fingers wet the letters fair."

A HORNBOOK was the earliest form of the Primer—or first book to teach children to read—being a card or table, set in a frame, on which the letters were inscribed, and covered with a thin plate of *horn* to prevent the paper being soiled, and thumbed to pieces by rough and frequent use.

A writer in "*Notes and Queries*," Vol. III. p. 151, describes a *Hornbook* in the British Museum, as follows: "It contains on one side the 'Old English Alphabet'—the capitals in two lines, the small letters in one. The fourth line contains the vowels twice repeated, (perhaps to *doubly* impress upon the pupil the necessity of learning them.) Next follow in two columns, our ancient companions, 'ab, eb, ib,' &c., and 'ba, be, bi,' &c. After the formula of exorcism comes the 'Lord's Prayer,' (which is given somewhat differently to our present version,) winding up with 'i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. vii viii ix. x.' On the other side is the following whimsical piece of composition :—

"*What more could be wished for, even by a literary gourmand under the Tudors, than to be able to Read and Spell; To repeat that holy charm before which fled all unholy Ghosts, Goblins, or even the old Gentleman himself to the very bottom of the Red Sea, and to say that immortal prayer, which secures heaven to all who* exanimo *use it, and those mathematical powers, by knowing units, from which spring countless myriads.*"'

Shakspeare, in "Love's Labor's Lost," introduces the schoolmaster, (Holofernes,) as being "lettered" because "he teaches boys the *hornbook*."

It appears from a stanza of Prior, that children were sometimes served with a hornbook, far more palatable and easily digested than that described by Shenstone.

To master John the English maid
A *hornbook* gives of gingerbread;
And, that the child may learn the better,
As he can name, he eats the letter.

Locke was one of the earliest English writers on Education to recommend the abandonment of hornbooks, or any arrangement of the letters in horizontal or perpendicular columns, as in the old fashioned Primers, to be learned by the direst repetitions at school, for some game, in which the letters should be pasted on the sides of the dice, or on blocks, and that the shape and name of each should be acquired by familiarity at home.

(4.) "To loose the brogues," &c.

The word *brogue* is used in Scotland to mean a coarse kind of shoe, stitched together by thongs of leather. Shenstone adopts some provincial use of the word for *breeches*. But be the origin of the word what it may, the schoolmistress was not the first or last to act on the maxim—

"*Spare the rod and spoil the child.*"

Samuel Butler who is the author of this line makes the hero of his satirical poem say—

'Whipping, that's virtue's governess,
Tutoress of Arts and Sciences;
That mends the gross mistakes of nature,
And puts new life into dead matter;
That lays foundation for renown,
And all the heroes of the gown."

Byron, in a satirical stanza urges the unsparing use of the rod.

"Oh ye! who teach the ingenious youth of nations,
Holland, France, England, Germany or Spain,
I pray ye flog them upon all occasions
It mends their morals, never mind the pain."

(5.) 'A little bench of heedless bishops here,
And there a chancellor in embryo,
Or bard sublime, if bard may e'er be so,
As Milton, Shakspeare—names that ne'er shall die," &c.

These lines, are thought by Mr. D'Israeli, to have suggested to Gray, the lines in his Elegy—

Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood, &c.

Chambers thinks the conception of Shenstone—that in the undeveloped minds of these young children there may slumber the powers of poet or statesman far more natural, than that of Gray, that the peasant should have grown up to be a man, and to have gone to his grave, without having given indications of the existence of these powers.

(6.) *Embowered in trees, and hardly known to fame,*
There dwells in lowly shed," *&c.*

For the illustration of Sarah Lloyd's thatched cottage, near Hales-Owen, Shropshire, we are indebted to J. P. Jewett & Co., Boston, the publishers of "*Rural Poetry,*" a royal octavo volume of 544 pages of the best poetry which has been inspired by the charms of nature, the occupations of the garden and the field, and the genius of domestic life. The cut is copied from one introduced by Shenstone in the original edition of his poem—which was printed in red letter, and illustrated by designs of his own. The last edition published by Shenstone contains seven stanzas more than the first, with several omissions and verbal alterations. To the first edition was appended a "*ludicrous index,*" so styled by Shenstone himself, in one of his letters, "purely to show fools that I am in jest." As a contribution to the literature of Education, we publish this Index, from Mr. D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature, second series.*"

Stanza.

Introduction, ... 1
The subject proposed, ... 2
A circumstance in the situation of the MANSION OF EARLY DISCIPLINE, discovering the surprising influence of the connections of ideas, . . . 3
A simile; introducing a deprecation of the joyless effects of BIGOTRY and SUPERSTITION, ... 4
Some peculiarities indicative of a COUNTRY SCHOOL, with a short sketch of the SOVEREIGN presiding over it, . 5
Some account of her NIGHT CAP, APRON, and a tremendous description of her BIRCHEN SCEPTRE, . . . 6
A parallel instance of the advantages of LEGAL GOVERNMENT with regard to children and the wind, ... 7
Her gown, ... 8
Her TITLES, and punctilious nicety in the ceremonious assertion of them, 9
A digression concerning her HEN's presumptuous behavior, with a circumstance tending to give the cautious reader a more accurate idea of the officious diligence and economy of an old woman, ... 10
A view of this RURAL POTENTATE as seated in her chair of state, conferring HONORS, distributing BOUNTIES, and dispersing PROCLAMATIONS, . 16
Her POLICIES, ... 17
The ACTION of the poem commences with a general summons, follows a particular description of the artful structure, decoration, and fortifications of an HORN-BIBLE, ... 18
A surprising picture of sisterly affection by way of episode, 20, 21
A short list of the methods now in use to avoid a whipping—which nevertheless follows, ... 22
The force of example, ... 23
A sketch of the particular symptoms of obstinacy as they discover themselves in a child, with a simile illustrating a blubbered face, ... 24, 25, 26
A hint of great importance, ... 27
The piety of the poet in relation to that school-dame's memory, who had the first formation of a CERTAIN patriot,
[This stanza has been left out in the later editions; it refers to the Duke of Argyle.]
The secret connection between WHIPPING and RISING IN THE WORLD, with a view as it were, through a perspective, of the same LITTLE FOLK in the highest posts and reputation, 28
An account of the nature of an EMBRYO FOX-HUNTER, ...
[Another stanza omitted.]
A deviation to an huckster's shop, . 32
Which being continued for the space of three stanzas, gives the author an opportunity of paying his compliments to a particular county, which he gladly seizes; concluding his piece with respectful mention of the ancient and loyal city of SHREWSBURY. . . .

THE SCHOOL AND TEACHER IN LITERATURE.

THOMAS GRAY. 1716—1771.

THOMAS GRAY, of all English poets the most finished artist, was born in London, in 1716, and was the only one of twelve children who survived the period of infancy. His father was a money-scrivener, and of harsh and violent disposition, whose wife was forced to separate from him; and to the exertions of this excellent woman, as partner with her sister in a millinery business, the poet owed the advantages of a learned education, toward which his father had refused all assistance. He was sent to be educated at Eton, where a maternal uncle, named Antrobus, was one of the assistant-masters. He remained here six years, and made himself a good classic; he was an intimate associate of the accomplished Richard West, this being one of the most interesting school-friendships on record. West went to Oxford, whence he thus wrote to Gray:—

"You use me very cruelly: you have sent me but one letter since I have been at Oxford, and that too agreeable not to make me sensible how great my loss is in not having more. Next to seeing you is the pleasure of seeing your handwriting; next to hearing you is the pleasure of hearing from you. Really and sincerely, I wonder at you, that you thought it not worth while to answer my last letter. I hope this will have better success in behalf of your quondam school-fellow; in behalf of one who has walked hand in hand with you, like the two children in the wood,

> Thro' many a flow'ry path and shelly grot,
> Where learning lull'ed her in her private maze.

The very thought, you see, tips my pen with poetry, and brings Eton to my view."

Another of Gray's associates at Eton was Horace Walpole; they removed together to Cambridge; Gray resided at Peterhouse from 1735 to 1738, when he left without a degree. The spirit of Jacobitism and its concomitant hard-drinking, which then prevailed at Cambridge, ill-suited the taste of Gray; nor did the uncommon proficiency he had made at Eton hold first rank, for he complains of college impertinences, and the endurance of lectures, daily and hourly. "Must I pore into metaphysics?" asks Gray. "Alas, I can not see in the dark; nature has not furnished me with the optics of a cat. Must I pore upon mathematics? Alas, I can not see in too much light; I am no eagle. It is very possible that two and two make four, but I would

not give four farthings to demonstrate this ever so clearly; and if these be the profits of life, give me the amusements of it." Yet Gray subsequently much regretted that he had never applied his mind to the study of mathematics; and once, rather late in life, had an intention to undertake it. His time at Cambridge was devoted to classics, modern languages, and poetry; and a few Latin poems and English translations were made by him at this period. In "the agonies of leaving college," he complains of "the dust, the old boxes, the bedsteads, and tutors," that were about his ears. "I am coming away," he says, "all so fast, and leaving behind me, without the least remorse, all the beauties of Stourbridge Fair. Its white bears may roar, its apes may wring their hands, and crocodiles cry their eyes out, all's one for that; I shall not once visit them, nor so much as take my leave."

In a letter to Mr. West, he says: "I learn Italian like any dragon, and in two months am got through the 16th Book of Tasso, whom I hold in great admiration; I want you to learn too, that I may know your opinion of him; nothing can be easier than that language to any one who knows Latin and French already, and there are few so copious and expressive."

In 1739, Gray accompanied Horace Walpole on a tour through France and Italy; but, as they could not agree, Gray being, as Walpole has it, "too serious a companion," the former returned to England in 1741. He next went to Cambridge, to take his degree in Civil Law. He now devoted himself to the classics, and at the same time cultivated his muse. At Cambridge he was considered an unduly fastidious man, and the practical jokes and "incivilities" played off upon him by his fellow-inmates at Peterhouse—one of which was a false alarm of fire, through which he descended from his window to the ground by a rope—was the cause of his migrating to Pembroke Hall. He subsequently obtained the professorship of Modern History in the University. He usually passed the summer with his mother, at Stoke, near Eton, in which picturesque locality he composed his two most celebrated poems—the Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College, and his Elegy written in a Country Churchyard.

Gray continued to reside at Cambridge, and prosecuted his studies in natural history, as well as in almost every department of learning, until 1771, when he died, and was buried, according to his desire, by the side of his mother, at Stoke.

There scattered oft, the earliest of the year,
By hands unseen, are showers of violets found.
The little red-bird builds and warbles there,
And fairy foot-steps lightly print the ground.

ON A DISTANT PROSPECT OF ETON COLLEGE.

Ye distant spires, ye antique towers,
  That crown the wat'ry glade,
Where grateful science still adores
  Her Henry's holy shade;
And ye, that from the stately brow
Of Windsor's heights th' expanse below
Of grove, of lawn, of mead survey,
  Whose turf, whose shade, whose flowers among
  Wanders the hoary Thames along
His silver winding way!

Ah happy hills! ah pleasing shade!
  Ah fields beloved in vain,
Where once my careless childhood stray'd
  A stranger yet to pain!
I feel the gales that from ye blow
A momentary bliss bestow,
As waving fresh their gladsome wing,
  My weary soul they seem to sooth,
  And, redolent of joy and youth,
To breathe a second spring.

Say, Father Thames, for thou hast seen
  Full many a sprightly race
Disporting on thy margent green
  The paths of pleasure trace,
Who foremost now delight to cleave
With pliant arm thy glassy wave?
The captive linnet which enthrall?
  What idle progeny succeed
  To chase the rolling circle's speed,
Or urge the flying ball?

While some on earnest business bent
  Their murmuring labors ply
'Gainst graver hours, that bring constraint
  To sweeten liberty:
Some bold adventurers disdain
The limits of their little reign,
And unknown regions dare descry:
  Still as they run they look behind,
  They hear a voice in every wind,
And snatch a fearful joy.

Gay hope is theirs, by fancy fed,
  Less pleasing when possest;
The tear forgot as soon as shed,
  The sunshine of the breast:
Theirs buxom health of rosy hue,
Wild wit, invention ever-new,
And lively cheer of vigor born;
  The thoughtless day, the easy night,
  The spirits pure, the slumbers light,
That fly th' approach of morn.

Alas! regardless of their doom,
  The little victims play!
No sense have they of ills to come,
  Nor care beyond to-day:
Yet see how all around 'em wait
The Ministers of human fate,
And black Misfortune's baleful train!
  Ah, show them where in ambush stand
  To seize their prey the murth'rous band!
Ah, tell them they are men!

These shall the fury Passions tear,
  The vultures of the mind,
Disdainful Anger, pallid Fear,
  And Shame that sculks behind;
Or pining Love shall waste their youth,
Or Jealousy with rankling tooth,
That inly knaws the secret heart,
  And Envy wan, and faded Care,
  Grim-visaged comfortless Despair,
And Sorrow's piercing dart.

Ambition this shall tempt to rise,
  Then whirl the wretch from high,
To bitter Scorn a sacrifice,
  And grinning Infamy.
The stings of Falsehood, those shall try,
And hard unkindness' alter'd eye,
That mocks the tear it forced to flow;
  And keen Remorse with blood defiled,
  And moody Madness laughing wild
Amid severest woe.

Lo, in the vale of years beneath
  A griesly troop are seen,
The painful family of Death,
  More hideous than their Queen:
This racks the joints, this fires the veins,
That every laboring sinew strains,
Those in the deeper vitals rage:
  Lo, Poverty, to fill the band,
  That numbs the soul with icy hand,
And slow-consuming Age.

To each his suff'rings: all are men,
  Condemn'd alike to groan;
The tender for another's pain,
  Th' unfeeling for his own.
Yet ah! why should they know their fate?
Since sorrow never comes too late,
And happiness too swiftly flies.
  Thought would destroy their paradise.
  No more; where ignorance is bliss,
'Tis folly to be wise.

THE ALLIANCE OF EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT.

A FRAGMENT.

As sickly plants betray a niggard earth,
Whose barren bosom starves her gen'rous birth,
Nor genial warmth, nor genial juice retains
Their roots to feed, and fill their verdant veins;
And as in climes, where Winter holds his reign,
The soil, though fertile, will not teem in vain,
Forbids her gems to swell, her shades to rise,
Nor trusts her blossoms to the churlish skies:
So draw mankind in vain the vital airs,
Unform'd, unfriended, by those kindly cares,
That health and vigour to the soul impart,
Spread the young thought, and warm the opening heart:
So fond Instruction on the growing powers
Of nature idly lavishes her stores,
If equal Justice with unclouded face
Smile not indulgent on the rising race,
And scatter with a free, though frugal hand
Light golden showers of plenty o'er the land:
But Tyranny has fix'd her empire there,
To check their tender hopes with chilling fear,
And blast the blooming promise of the year.
  This spacious animated scene survey,
From where the rolling orb, that gives the day,
His sable sons with nearer course surrounds
To either pole, and life's remotest bounds.
How rude soe'er th' exterior form we find,
Howe'er opinion tinge the varied mind,
Alike, to all the kind, impartial Heav'n
The sparks of truth and happiness has giv'n;
With sense to feel, with memory to retain,
They follow pleasure, and they fly from pain;
Their judgment mends the plan their fancy draws,
Th' event presages, and explores the cause;
The soft returns of gratitude they know,
By fraud elude, by force repel the foe;
While mutual wishes, mutual woes endear
The social smile and sympathetic tear.
  Say, then, through ages by what fate confined
To different climes seem different souls assign'd?
Here measured laws and philosophic ease
Fix, and improve the polish'd arts of peace.
There industry and gain their vigils keep,
Command the winds, and tame th' unwilling deep.
Here force and hardy deeds of blood prevail;
There languid pleasure sighs in every gale.
Oft o'er the trembling nations from afar
Has Scythia breathed the living cloud of war;
And, where the deluge burst, with sweepy sway
Their arms, their kings, their gods were roll'd away.
As oft have issued, host impelling host,
The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast.
The prostrate South to the destroyer yields
Her boasted titles and her golden fields:

With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and heavens of azure hue,
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.
Proud of the yoke, and pliant to the rod,
Why yet does Asia dread a monarch's nod,
While European freedom still withstands
Th' encroaching tide, that drowns her lessening lands;
And sees far off with an indignant groan
Her native plains, and empires once her own.
Can opener skies and suns of fiercer flame
O'erpower the fire that animates our frame;
As lamps, that shed at eve a cheerful ray,
Fade and expire beneath the eye of day?
Need we the influence of the northern star
To string our nerves and steel our hearts to war?
And, where the face of nature laughs around,
Must sick'ning virtue fly the tainted ground?
Unmanly thought! what seasons can control,
What fancied zone can circumscribe the soul,
Who, conscious of the source from whence she springs,
By reason's light, on resolution's wings,
Spite of her frail companion, dauntless goes
O'er Lybia's deserts and through Zembla's snows?
She bids each slumb'ring energy awake,
Another touch, another temper take,
Suspends th' inferior laws, that rule our clay:
The stubborn elements confess her sway;
Their little wants, their low desires, refine,
And raise the mortal to a height divine.
  Not but the human fabric from the birth
Imbibes a flavour of its parent earth.
As various tracts enforce a various toil,
The manners speak the idiom of their soil.
An iron race the mountain-cliffs maintain,
Foes to the gentler genius of the plain:
For where unwearied sinews must be found
With side-long plough to quell the flinty ground,
To turn the torrent's swift-descending flood,
To brave the savage rushing from the wood,
What wonder, if to patient valour train'd
They guard with spirit, what by strength they gain'd?
And while their rocky ramparts round they see,
The rough abode of want and liberty,
(As lawless force from confidence will grow)
Insult the plenty of the vales below?
What wonder, in the sultry climes, that spread,
Where Nile redundant o'er his summer-bed
From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings,
If with advent'rous oar and ready sail
The dusky people drive before the gale;
Or on frail floats to neighb'ring cities ride,
That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide.

* * * * * *

THE SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER IN LITERATURE.

WILLIAM COWPER. 1731—1796.

WILLIAM COWPER,* the most popular poet of his generation and the best of English letter-writers was the son of Rev. John Cowper, D.D., rector of Great Barkhampstead, Herts, and was born at the parsonage house in 1731. His mother died when he was six years old, and her sweet presence, and his happy childhood, he has embalmed forever in the "Lines" suggested by his mother's picture, a gift from his cousin later in life.

"Oh that those lips had language! Life has pass'd
With me but roughly since I heard thee last.
Those lips are thine—thy own sweet smile I see,
The same that oft in childhood solaced me;
Voice only fails, else how distinct they say,
'Grieve not, my child, chase all thy fears away!'
* * * * * *
My mother! when I learn'd that thou wast dead,
Say, wast thou conscious of the tears I shed?
I heard the bell toll'd on thy burial day,
I saw the hearse that bore thee slow away,
And, turning from my nursery window, drew
A long, long sigh, and wept a last adieu!
But was it such?—It was.—Where thou art gone,
Adieus and farewells are a sound unknown.
May I but meet thee on that peaceful shore,
The parting word shall pass my lips no more!
Thy maidens, grieved themselves at my concern,
Oft gave me promise of thy quick return.
What ardently I wish'd, I long believed,
And, disappointed still, was still deceived.
By expectation every day beguiled,
Dupe of to-morrow even from a child.
Thus many a sad to-morrow came and went,
Till, all my stock of infant sorrows spent,
I learn'd at last submission to my lot,
But, though I less deplored thee, ne'er forgot.
Where once we dwelt our name is heard no more.
Children not thine have trod my nursery floor.
And where the gardener Robin, day by day,
Drew me to school along the public way,
Delighted with my bauble coach, and wrapp'd
In scarlet mantle warm, and velvet-capp'd,
'Tis now become a history little known,
That once we call'd the pastoral house our own.
Short-lived possession! but the record fair,
That memory keeps of all thy kindness there,
Still outlives many a storm, that has effaced
A thousand other themes less deeply traced.
Thy nightly visits to my chamber made,
That thou might'st know me safe and warmly laid;

* This sketch is taken substantially from Timb's "*School-days of Eminent Men.*"

Thy morning bounties ere I left my home,
The biscuit, or confectionery plum;
The fragrant waters on my cheeks bestow'd
By thy own hand, till fresh they shone and glow'd:
All this. and more endearing still than all,
Thy constant flow of love, that knew no fall,
Ne'er roughen'd by those cataracts and breaks,
That humor interposed too often makes;
All this still legible in memory's page,
And still to be so to my latest age,
Adds joy to duty, makes me glad to pay
Such honors to thee as my numbers may
Perhaps a frail memorial, but sincere,
Not scorn'd in heaven, though little noticed here."

In the year of his mother's death, he was, as he himself describes it, "taken from the nursery, and from the immediate care of a most indulgent mother," and sent out of his father's house to a considerable school kept by a Dr. Pitman, at Market-street. Here for two years he suffered much from ill-treatment by his rough companions: his sensibility and delicate health were the objects of their cruelty and ridicule; and one boy so relentlessly persecuted him that he was expelled, and Cowper was removed from the school. Cowper retained in late years a painful recollection of the terror with which this boy inspired him. "His savage treatment to me," he says, "impressed such a dread of his figure on my mind, that I well remember being afraid to lift my eyes upon him higher than his knees; and that I knew him better by his shoe-buckle than by any other part of his dress." To the brutality of this boy's character, and the general impression left upon Cowper's mind by the tyranny he had undergone at Dr. Pitman's, may be traced Cowper's prejudice against the whole system of public education, so forcibly expressed in his poem called "*Tirocinium; or, a Review of Schools.*"

About this time Cowper was attacked with an inflammation in the eyes, and was placed in the house of an oculist, where he remained two years, and was but imperfectly cured.

At the end of this time, at the age of ten, he was removed to Westminster School. The sudden change from the isolation of the oculist's house to the activity of a large public school, and the collision with its variety of characters and tempers, helped to feed and foster the moods of dejection to which Cowper was subject. His constitutional despondency was deepened by his sense of solitude in being surrounded by strangers; and thus, thrown in upon himself, he took refuge in brooding over his spiritual condition. This tendency had first manifested itself at Dr. Pitman's school, and next at Westminster. Passing one evening through St. Margaret's churchyard, he saw a light glimmering at a distance from the lantern of a grave-digger, who, as Cowper approached, threw up a skull that struck

him on the leg. "This little incident," he observes, "was an alarm to my conscience; for the event may be remembered among the best religious documents I received at Westminster." He sought hope in religious consolations, and then hopelessly abandoned them; and he was struck with lowness of spirits, and intimations of a consumptive habit, which the watchful sympathies of home might possibly have averted or subdued.

Nevertheless, Cowper appears to have been sufficiently strong and healthy to excel at cricket and football; and he persevered so successfully in his studies, that he stood in high favor with the master for his scholarship. Looking back many years afterward on this part of his life, he only regretted the lack of his religious instruction. Latin and Greek, he complains, were all that he acquired. The duty of the school-boy absorbed every other, with the single exception of the periodical preparations for confirmation, to which we find this interesting testimony in his Letters:

"That I may do justice to the place of my education, I must relate one mark of religious discipline, which, in my time, was observed at Westminster; I mean the pains which Dr. Nichols took to prepare us for confirmation. The old man acquitted himself of this duty like one who had a deep sense of its importance; and I believe most of us were struck by his manner, and affected by his exhortations."

Cowper translated twenty of Vinny Bourne's poems into English, and his allusions to his old favorite usher of the fifth form at Westminster are frequent.*

"I remember (says Cowper) seeing the Duke of Richmond set fire to Vinny's greasy locks, and box his ears to put it out again." And again writing to Mr. Rose, Cowper says: "I shall have great pleasure in taking now and then a peep at my old friend, Vincent Bourne; the neatest of all men in his versification, though, when I was under his ushership at Westminster, the most slovenly in his person. He was so inattentive to his boys, and so indifferent whether they brought good or bad exercises, or none at all, that he seemed determined, as he was the best, so he should be the last, Latin poet of the Westminster line; a plot, which I believe he exercised very successfully; for I have not heard of any one who has at all deserved to be compared with him." Even in the timo of his last illness, we find that Cowper's dreary thoughts were, for the moment, charmed away by the poems of his old favorite, Vincent Bourne.

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* Vincent or Vinny Bourne, the elegant Latin poet and usher of Westminister School, where he was educated, died in 1747. Cowper has left also this feeling tribute to his old tutor:—

"I love the memory of Vinny Bourne. I think him a better Latin poet than Tibullus, Propertius, Ausonius, or any of the writers in *his* way, except Ovid, and not at all inferior *to him*. * * * * It is not common to meet with an author who can make you smile, and yet at nobody's expense; who is always entertaining, and yet always harmless; and who, though always elegant, and classical in a degree not always found even in the classics themselves, charms more by the simplicity and playfulness of his ideas than by the neatness and purity of his verse: yet such was poor Vinny."

TIROCINIUM; OR, A REVIEW OF SCHOOLS.*

But the principal thing is, the right education of youth.—*Plato.*
The basis of every state is, the education of the young.—*Diog. Laert.*

TO THE REV. WILLIAM CAWTHORNE UNWIN,

RECTOR OF STOCK IN ESSEX, THE TUTOR OF HIS TWO SONS, THE FOLLOWING POEM, RECOMMENDING PRIVATE TUITION IN PREFERENCE TO AN EDUCATION AT SCHOOL, IS INSCRIBED, BY HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

Olney, Nov. 6, 1784. WILLIAM COWPER.

It is not from his form in which we trace
Strength join'd with beauty, dignity with grace,
That man, the master of this globe, derives
His right of empire over all that lives.
That form, indeed, the associate of a mind
Vast in its powers, ethereal in its kind,
That form, the labour of Almighty skill,
Framed for the service of a freeborn will,
Asserts precedence, and bespeaks control,
But borrows all its grandeur from the soul.
Hers is the state, the splendour, and the throne,
An intellectual kingdom, all her own.
For her the memory fills her ample page
With truths pour'd down from every distant age;
For her amasses an unbounded store,
The wisdom of great nations, now no more;
Though laden, not encumber'd with her spoil;
Laborious, yet unconscious of her toil;
When copiously supplied, then most enlarged;
Still to be fed, and not to be surcharged.
For her the Fancy, roving unconfined,
The present muse of every pensive mind,
Works magic wonders, adds a brighter hue
To nature's scenes than Nature ever knew.
At her command winds rise and waters roar,
Again she lays them slumbering on the shore;
With flower and fruit the wilderness supplies,
Or bids the rocks in ruder pomp arise.
For her the Judgment, umpire in the strife
That Grace and Nature have to wage through life,
Quick-sighted arbiter of good and ill,
Appointed sage preceptor to the Will,

---

* In this poem the author would be very sorry to stand suspected of having aimed his censure at any particular school. His objections are such as naturally apply themselves to schools in general. If there were not, as for the most part there is, willful neglect in those who manage them, and an omission even of such discipline as they are susceptible of, the objects are yet too numerous for minute attention; and the aching hearts of ten thousand parents, mourning under the bitterest of all disappointments, attest the truth of the allegation. His quarrel, therefore, is with the mischief at large, and not with any particular instance of it.—*Original Preface.*

Condemns, approves, and with a faithful voice
Guides the decision of a doubtful choice.
  Why did the fiat of a God give birth
To yon fair Sun and his attendant Earth?
And, when descending he resigns the skies,
Why takes the gentler Moon her turn to rise,
Whom Ocean feels through all his countless waves
And owns her power on every shore he laves?
Why do the seasons still enrich the year,
Fruitful and young as in their first career?
Spring hangs her infant blossoms on the trees,
Rock'd in the cradle of the western breeze;
Summer in haste the thriving charge receives
Beneath the shade of her expanded leaves,
Till Autumn's fiercer heats and plenteous dews
Dye them at last in all their glowing hues.—
'Twere wild profusion all, and bootless waste,
Power misemploy'd, munificence misplaced,
Had not its Author dignified the plan,
And crown'd it with the majesty of man.
Thus form'd, thus placed, intelligent, and taught,
Look where he will, the wonders God has wrought,
The wildest scorner of his Maker's laws
Finds in a sober moment time to pause,
To press the important question on his heart,
"Why form'd at all, and wherefore as thou art?"
If man be what he seems, this hour a slave,
The next mere dust and ashes in the grave;
Endued with reason only to descry
His crimes and follies with an aching eye;
With passions, just that he may prove, with pain,
The force he spends against their fury vain;
And if, soon after having burnt, by turns,
With every lust with which frail Nature burns,
His being end where death dissolves the bond,
The tomb take all, and all be blank beyond;
Then he, of all that Nature has brought forth,
Stands self-impeach'd the creature of least worth,
And, useless while he lives, and when he dies,
Brings into doubt the wisdom of the skies.
  Truths that the learn'd pursue with eager thought
Are not important always as dear-bought,
Proving at last, though told in pompous strains,
A childish waste of philosophic pains;
But truths on which depends our main concern,
That 'tis our shame and misery not to learn,
Shine by the side of every path we tread
With such a luster, he that runs may read.
'Tis true that, if to trifle life away
Down to the sunset of their latest day,
Then perish on futurity's wide shore
Like fleeting exhalations, found no more,
Were all that heaven required of human kind,
And all the plan their destiny design'd,
What none could reverence all might justly blame,
And man would breathe but for his Maker's shame.

But reason heard, and nature well perused,
At once the dreaming mind is disabused.
If all we find possessing earth, sea, air,
Reflect his attributes who placed them there,
Fullfil the purpose, and appear design'd
Proofs of the wisdom of the all-seeing mind,
'Tis plain the creature, whom he chose to invest
With kingship and dominion o'er the rest,
Received his nobler nature, and was made
Fit for the power in which he stands arrayed;
That first, or last, hereafter, if not here,
He too might make his author's wisdom clear,
Praise him on earth, or obstinately dumb,
Suffer his justice in a world to come.
This once believed, 'twere logic misapplied
To prove a consequence by none denied,
That we are bound to cast the minds of youth
Betimes into the mould of heavenly truth,
That taught of God they may indeed be wise,
Nor ignorantly wandering miss the skies.
  In early days the conscience has in most
A quickness, which in later life is lost:
Preserved from guilt by salutary fears,
Or guilty soon relenting into tears.
Too careless often, as our years proceed,
What friends we sort with, or what books we read,
Our parents yet exert a prudent care
To feed our infant minds with proper fare;
And wisely store the nursery by degrees
With wholesome learning, yet acquired with ease.
Neatly secured from being soil'd or torn
Beneath a pane of thin translucent horn,
A book (to please us at a tender age
'Tis call'd a book, though but a single page)
Presents the prayer the Saviour deign'd to teach,
Which children use, and parsons—when they preach.
Lisping our syllables, we scramble next
Through moral narrative, or sacred text;
And learn with wonder how this world began,
Who made, who marr'd, and who has ransom'd man:
Points which, unless the Scripture made them plain,
The wisest heads might agitate in vain.
O thou, whom, borne on Fancy's eager wing
Back to the season of life's happy spring,
I pleased remember, and, while memory yet
Holds fast her office here, can ne'er forget;
Ingenious dreamer, in whose well-told tale
Sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail;
Whose humorous vein, strong sense, and simple style
May teach the gayest, make the gravest smile;
Witty, and well employ'd, and, like thy Lord,
Speaking in parables his slighted word;
I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame;
Yet e'en in transitory life's late day,
That mingles all my brown with sober gray,

Revere the man whose PILGRIM marks the road,
And guides the PROGRESS of the soul to God.
'Twere well with most, if books that could engage
Their childhood pleased them at a riper age;
The man, approving what had charm'd the boy,
Would die at last in comfort, peace, and joy,
And not with curses on his heart, who stole
The gem of truth from his unguarded soul.
The stamp of artless piety, impress'd
By kind tuition on his yielding breast,
The youth, now bearded and yet pert and raw,
Regards with scorn, though once received with awe;
And warp'd into the labyrinth of lies,
That babblers, call'd philosophers, devise,
Blasphemes his creed, as founded on a plan
Replete with dreams, unworthy of a man.
Touch but his nature in its ailing part,
Assert the native evil of his heart,
His pride resents the charge, although the proof*
Rise in his forehead, and seem rank enough:
Point to the cure, describe a Saviour's cross
As God's expedient to retrieve his loss,
The young apostate sickens at the view,
And hates it with the malice of a Jew.
How weak the barrier of mere nature proves,
Opposed against the pleasures Nature loves!
While self-betray'd, and willfully undone,
She longs to yield, no sooner woo'd than won.
Try now the merits of this blest exchange
Of modest truth for wit's eccentric range.
Time was, he closed as he began the day,
With decent duty, not ashamed to pray;
The practice was a bond upon his heart,
A pledge he gave for a consistent part;
Nor could he dare presumptuously displease
A power, confess'd so lately on his knees.
But now farewell all legendary tales,
The shadows fly, philosophy prevails;
Prayer to the winds, and caution to the waves;
Religion makes the free by nature slaves.
Priests have invented, and the world admired
What knavish priests promulgate as inspired,
Till Reason, now no longer overawed,
Resumes her powers, and spurns the clumsy fraud;
And, common sense diffusing real day,
The meteor of the Gospel dies away.
Such rhapsodies our shrewd discerning youth
Learn from expert inquirers after truth;
Whose only care, might truth presume to speak,
Is not to find what they profess to seek.
And thus, well tutor'd only while we share
A mother's lectures and a nurse's care;
And taught at schools much mythologic stuff,†
But sound religion sparingly enough;

* See 2 Chron. xxvi. 19.

† The author begs leave to explain.—Sensible that, without such knowledge, neither the an-

Our early notices of truth, disgraced,
Soon loose their credit, and are all effaced.
Would you your son should be a sot or dunce,
Lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once;
That in good time the stripling's finish'd taste
For loose expense and fashionable waste
Should prove your ruin, and his own at last;
Train him in public with a mob of boys,
Childish in mischief only and in noise,
Else of a mannish growth, and five in ten
In infidelity and lewdness men.
There shall he learn, ere sixteen winters old,
That authors are most useful pawn'd or sold;
That pedantry is all that schools impart,
But taverns teach the knowledge of the heart;
There waiter Dick, with bacchanalian lays,
Shall win his heart, and have his drunken praise,
His counsellor and bosom friend shall prove,
And some street-pacing harlot his first love.
Schools, unless discipline were doubly strong,
Detain their adolescent charge too long;
The management of tiros of eighteen
Is difficult, their punishment obscene.
The stout tall captain, whose superior size
The minor heroes view with envious eyes,
Becomes their pattern, upon whom they fix
Their whole attention, and ape all his tricks.
His pride, that scorns to obey or to submit,
With them is courage; his effrontery wit.
His wild excursions, window-breaking feats,
Robbery of gardens, quarrels in the streets,
His hairbreadth 'scapes, and all his daring schemes,
Transport them, and are made their favourite themes.
In little bosoms such achievments strike
A kindred spark: they burn to do the like.
Thus, half accomplish'd ere he yet begin
To show the peeping down upon his chin;
And, as maturity of years comes on,
Made just the adept that you design'd your son;
To ensure the perseverence of his course,
And give your monstrous project all its force,
Send him to college. If he there be tamed,
Or in one article of vice reclaim'd,
Where no regard of ordinances is shown
Or look'd for now, the fault must be his own.
Some sneaking virtue lurks in him no doubt,
Where neither strumpets' charms, nor drinking bout,
Nor gambling practices can find it out.
Such youths of spirit, and that spirit too,
Ye nurseries of our boys, we owe to you:
Though from ourselves the mischief more proceeds,
For public schools 'tis public folly feeds,

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cient poets nor historians can be tasted, or indeed understood, he does not mean to censure the pains that are taken to instruct a schoolboy in the religion of the heathen, but merely that neglect of Christian culture which leaves him shamefully ignorant of his own.

The slaves of custom and establish'd mode,
With packhorse constancy we keep the road,
Crooked or straight, through quags or thorny dells,
True to the jingling of our leader's bells.
To follow foolish precedents, and wink
With both our eyes, is easier than to think:
And such an age as our's balks no expense,
Except of caution and of common sense;
Else sure notorious fact, and proof so plain,
Would turn our steps into wiser train.
I blame not those who, with what care they can,
O'erwatch the numerous and unruly clan;
Or, if I blame, 'tis only that they dare
Promise a work of which they must despair.
Have ye, ye sage intendants of the whole,
A ubiquarian presence and control,
Elisha's eye, that, when Gehazi stray'd,
Went with him, and saw all the game he play'd?
Yes—ye are conscious; and on all the shelves
Your pupils strike upon have struck yourselves.
Or if, by nature sober, ye had then,
Boys as ye were, the gravity of men,
Ye knew at least, by constant proofs address'd
To ears and eyes, the vices of the rest.
But ye connive at what ye cannot cure,
And evils not to be endured endure,
Lest power exerted, but without success,
Should make the little ye retain still less.
Ye once were justly famed for bringing forth
Undoubted scholarship and genuine worth;
And in the firmament of fame still shines
A glory, bright as that of all the signs,
Of poets raised by you, and statesmen, and divines.
Peace to them all! those brilliant times are fled,
And no such lights are kindling in their stead.
Our striplings shine indeed, but with such rays
As set the midnight riot in a blaze;
And seem, if judged by their expressive looks,
Deeper in none than in their surgeons' books.
Say, muse, (for education made the song,
No muse can hesitate, or linger long,)
What causes move us, knowing, as we must,
That these *ménageries* all fail their trust,
To send our sons to scout and scamper there,
While colts and puppies cost us so much care!
Be it a weakness, it deserves some praise,
We love the play-place of our early days;
The scene is touching, and the heart is stone
That feels not at that sight, and feels at none.
The wall on which we tried our graving skill,
The very name we carved subsisting still;
The bench on which we sat while deep employ'd,
Though mangled, hack'd, and hew'd, not yet destroy'd;
The little ones, unbutton'd, glowing hot,
Playing our games, and on the very spot;

As happy as we once, to kneel and draw
The chalky ring, and knuckle down at taw;
To pitch the ball into the grounded hat,
Or drive it devious with a dextrous pat;
The pleasing spectacle at once excites
Such recollections of our own delights,
That, viewing it, we seem almost to obtain
Our innocent sweet simple years again.
This fond attachment to the well-known place,
Whence first we started into life's long race,
Maintains its hold with such unfailing sway,
We feel it e'en in age, and at our latest day.
Hark! how the sire of chits, whose future share
Of classic food begins to be his care,
With his own likeness placed on either knee,
Indulges all a father's heartfelt glee;
And tells them, as he strokes their silver locks,
That they must soon learn Latin, and to box;
Then turning, he regales his listening wife
With all the adventures of his early life;
His skill in coachmanship, or driving chaise,
In bilking tavern-bills, and spouting plays;
What shifts he used, detected in a scrape,
How he was flogg'd, or had the luck to escape;
What sums he lost at play, and how he sold
Watch, seals, and all—till all his pranks are told.
Retracing thus his frolics, ('tis a name
That palliates deeds of folly and of shame,)
He gives the local bias all its sway;
Resolves that where he play'd, his sons shall play,
And destines their bright genius to be shown
Just in the scene where he display'd his own.
The meek and bashful boy will soon be taught
To be as bold and forward as he ought;
The rude will scuffle though with ease enough,
Great schools suit best the sturdy and the rough.
Ah, happy designation, prudent choice,
The event is sure; expect it, and rejoice!
Soon see your wish fulfill'd in either child,
The pert made perter, and the tame made wild.
The great indeed, by titles, riches, birth,
Excused the encumbrance of more sordid worth,
Are best disposed of where with most success
They may acquire that confident address,
Those habits of profuse and lewd expense,
That scorn of all delights but those of sense,
Which, though in plain plebians we condemn,
With so much reason, all expect from them.
But families of less illustrious fame,
Whose chief distinction is their spotless name,
Whose heirs, their honours none, their income small,
Must shine by true desert, or not at all,
What dream they of, that, with so little care
They risk their hopes, their dearest treasure, there?
They dream of little Charles or William graced
With wig prolix, down flowing to his waist;

They see the attentive crowds his talents draw,
They hear him speak—the oracle of law.
The father, who designs his babe a priest,
Dreams him episcopally such at least;
And, while the playful jockey scours the room
Briskly, astride upon the parlour broom,
In fancy sees him more superbly ride
In coach with purple lined, and mitres on its side.
Events improbable and strange as these,
Which only a parental eye foresees,
A public school shall bring to pass with ease.
But how? resides such virtue in that air,
As must create an appetite for prayer?
And will it breathe into him all the zeal
That candidates for such a prize should feel,
To take the lead and be the foremost still
In all true worth and literary skill?
"Ah, blind to bright futurity, untaught
The knowledge of the World, and dull of thought!
Church-ladders are not always mounted best
By learned clerks and Latinists profess'd.
The exalted prize demands an upward look,
Not to be found by poring on a book.
Small skill in Latin, and still less in Greek,
Is more than adequate to all I seek.
Let erudition grace him, or not grace
I give the bauble but the second place;
His wealth, fame, honours, all that I intend,
Subsist and center in one point—a friend.
A friend, whate'er he studies or neglects,
Shall give him consequence, heal all defects.
His intercourse with peers and sons of peers—
There dawns the splendour of his future years:
In that bright quarter his propitious skies
Shall blush betimes, and there his glory rise.
Your Lordship, and Your Grace! what school can teach
A rhetoric equal to those parts of speech?
What need of Homer's verse or Tully's prose.
Sweet interjections! if he learn but those?
Let reverend churls his ignorance rebuke,
Who starve upon a dog-ear'd Pentateuch.
The parson knows enough who knows a duke."
Egregious purpose! worthily begun
In barbarous prostitution of your son;
Press'd on his part by means that would disgrace
A scrivener's clerk, or footman out of place,
And ending if at last its end be gain'd,
In sacrilege, in God's own house profan'd.
It may succeed; and if his sins should call
For more than common punishment, it shall;
The wretch shall rise, and be the thing on earth
Least qualified in honour, learning, worth,
To occupy a sacred, awful post,
In which the best and worthiest tremble most.
The royal letters are a thing of course,
A king, that would, might recommend his horse;

And deans, no doubt, and chapters, with one voice,
As bound in duty, would confirm the choice.
Behold your Bishop! well he plays his part,
Christian in name, and infidel in heart,
Ghostly in office, earthly in his plan,
A slave at court, elsewhere a lady's man.
Dumb as a senator, and as a priest
A piece of mere church furniture at best;
To live estranged from God his total scope,
And his end sure, without one glimpse of hope.
But, fair although and feasible it seem,
Depend not much upon your golden dream;
For Providence, that seems concern'd to exempt
The hallow'd bench from absolute contempt,
In spite of all the wrigglers into place,
Still keeps a seat or two for worth and grace;
And therefore 'tis, that, though the sight be rare,
We sometimes see a Lowth or Bagot there.
Besides, school friendships are not always found,
Though fair in promise, permanent and sound;
The most disinterested and virtuous minds,
In early years connected, time unbinds;
New situations give a different cast
Of habit, inclination, temper, taste;
And he, that seem'd our counterpart at first,
Soon shows the strong similitude reversed.
Young heads are giddy, and young hearts are warm,
And make mistakes for manhood to reform.
Boys are, at best, but pretty buds unblown,
Whose scent and hues are rather guess'd than known;
Each dreams that each is just what he appears,
But learns his error in maturer years,
When disposition, like a sail unfurl'd,
Shows all its rents and patches to the world.
If, therefore e'en when honest in design,
A boyish friendship may so soon decline,
'Twere wiser sure to inspire a little heart
With just abhorrence of so mean a part,
Than set your son to work at a vile trade
For wages so unlikely to be paid.

Our public hives of puerile resort,
That are of chief and most approved report,
To such base hopes, in many a sordid soul,
Owe their repute in part but not the whole.
A principle, whose proud pretensions pass
Unquestion'd though the jewel be but glass—
That with a world, often not over-nice,
Ranks as a virtue, and is yet a vice;
Or rather a gross compound, justly tried,
Of envy, hatred, jealousy, and pride—
Contributes most perhaps to enhance their fame
And emulation is its specious name.
Boys, once on fire with that contentious zeal
Feel all the rage that female rivals feel;
The prize of beauty in a woman's eyes
Not brighter than in theirs the scholar's prize.

The spirit of that competition burns
With all varieties of ill by turns;
Each vainly magnifies his own success,
Resents his fellow's, wishes it were less,
Exults in his miscarriage if he fail,
Deems his reward too great if he prevail,
And labours to surpass him day and night,
Less for improvement than to tickle spite.
The spur is powerful, and I grant its force;
It pricks the genius forward in its course,
Allows short time for play, and none for sloth;
And felt alike by each, advances both:
But judge, where so much evil intervenes,
The end, though plausible, not worth the means.
Weigh, for a moment, classical desert
Against a heart depraved and temper hurt;
Hurt too perhaps for life; for early wrong
Done to the nobler part affects it long;
And you are stanch indeed in learning's cause
If you can crown a discipline, that draws
Such mischiefs after it with much applause.
Connexion form'd for interest, and endear'd
By selfish views, thus censured and cashier'd;
And emulation, as engendering hate,
Doom'd to a no less ignominious fate:
The props of such proud seminaries fall,
The Jachin and the Boaz of them all.
Great schools rejected then as those that swell
Beyond a size that can be managed well,
Shall royal institutions miss the bays,
And small academies win all the praise?
Force not my drift beyond its just intent,
I praise a school as Pope a government;
So take my judgment in his language dress'd,
"Whate'er is best administer'd is best."
Few boys are born with talents that excel,
But all are capable of living well;
Then ask not whether limited or large?
But, watch they strictly, or neglect their charge?
If anxious only that their boys may learn,
While morals languish, a despised concern,
The great and small deserve one common blame,
Different in size, but in effect the same.
Much zeal in virtue's cause all teachers boast,
Though motives of mere lucre sway the most;
Therefore in towns and cities they abound,
For there the game they seek is easiest found,
Though there, in spite of all that care can do,
Traps to catch youth are most abundant too.
If shrewd, and of a well-constructed brain,
Keen in pursuit, and vigorous to retain,
Your son come forth a prodigy of skill;
As, wheresoever taught, so form'd he will;
The pedagogue, with self-complacent air,
Claims more than half the praise as his due share.

But if, with all his genius, he betray,
Not more intelligent than loose and gay,
Such vicious habits as disgrace his name,
Threaten his health, his fortune, and his fame;
Though want of due restraint alone have bred
The symptoms that you see with so much dread;
Unenvied there, he may sustain alone
The whole reproach, the fault was all his own.
  Oh! 'tis a sight to be with joy perused,
By all whom sentiment has not abused;
New-fangled sentiment, the boasted grace
Of those who never feel in the right place;
A sight surpass'd by none that we can show,
Though Vestris on one leg still shine below;
A father blest with an ingenious son,
Father, and friend, and tutor, all in one.
How!—turn again to tales long since forgot,
Æsop, and Phædrus, and the rest?—Why not?
He will not blush, that has a father's heart,
To take in childish plays a childish part;
But bends his sturdy back to any toy
That youth takes pleasure in, to please his boy:
Then why resign into a stranger's hand
A task as much within your own command,
That God and nature, and your interest too,
Seem with one voice to delegate to you?
Why hire a lodging in a house unknown
For one whose tenderest thoughts all hover round your own?
This second weaning, needless as it is,
How does it lacerate both your heart and his!
The indented stick, that loses day by day
Notch after notch, till all are smooth'd away,
Bears witness, long ere his dismission come,
With what intense desire he wants his home.
But though the joys he hopes beneath your roof
Bid fair enough to answer in the proof,
Harmless, and safe, and natural, as they are,
A disappointment waits him even there:
Arrived, he feels an unexpected change;
He blushes, hangs his head, is shy and strange,
No longer takes, as once, with fearless ease,
His favourite stand between his father's knees,
But seeks the corner of some distant seat,
And eyes the door, and watches a retreat,
And, least familiar, where he should be most,
Feels all his happiest privileges lost.
Alas, poor boy!—the natural effect
Of love by absence chill'd into respect.
Say, what accomplishments, at school acquired,
Brings he, to sweeten fruits so undesired?
Thou well deserv'st an alienated son,
Unless thy conscious heart acknowledge—none;
None that, in thy domestic snug recess,
He had not made his own with more address,

Though some, perhaps, that shock thy feeling mind,
And better never learn'd, or left behind.
Add too, that thus estranged, thou canst obtain
By no kind arts his confidence again;
That here begins with most that long complaint
Of filial frankness lost, and love grown faint,
Which, oft neglected, in life's waning years
A parent pours into regardless ears.
  Like caterpillars, dangling under trees
By slender threads, and swinging in the breeze,
Which filthily bewray and sore disgrace
The boughs in which are bred the unseemly race;
While every worm industriously weaves
And winds his web about the rivell'd leaves;
So numerous are the follies that annoy
The mind and heart of every sprightly boy;
Imaginations noxious and perverse,
Which admonition can alone disperse.
The encroaching nuisance asks a faithful hand,
Patient, affectionate, of high command,
To check the procreation of a breed
Sure to exhaust the plant on which they feed.
'Tis not enough that Greek or Roman page,
At stated hours, his freakish thoughts engage;
E'en in his pastimes he requires a friend
To warn, and teach him safely to unbend;
O'er all his pleasures gently to preside,
Watch his emotions, and control their tide;
And levying thus, and with an easy sway,
A tax of profit from his very play,
To impress a value not to be erased,
On moments squander'd else, and running all to waste.
And seems it nothing in a father's eye
That unimproved those many moments fly?
And is he well content his son should find
No nourishment to feed his growing mind,
But conjugated verbs and nouns declined?
For such is all the mental food purvey'd
By public hackneys in the schooling trade;
Who feeds a pupil's intellect with store
Of syntax, truly, but with little more;
Dismiss their cares when they dismiss their flock,
Machines themselves, and govern'd by a clock.
Perhaps a father, blest with any brains,
Would deem it no abuse, or waste of pains,
To improve this diet, at no great expense,
With savoury truth and wholesome common sense;
To lead his son, for prospects of delight,
To some not steep, though philosophic, height,
Thence to exhibit to his wondering eyes,
Yon circling worlds, their distance, and their size,
The moons of Jove, and Saturn's belted ball,
And the harmonious order of them all;
To show him in an insect or a flower
Such microscopic proof of skill and power,

As, hid from ages past, God now displays
To combat atheists with in modern days;
To spread the earth before him, and commend,
With designation of the finger's end,
Its various parts to his attentive note,
Thus bringing home to him the most remote;
To teach his heart to glow with generous flame,
Caught from the deeds of men of ancient fame;
And, more than all, with commendation due,
To set some living worthy in his view,
Whose fair example may at once inspire
A wish to copy what he must admire.
Such knowledge, gain'd betimes, and which appears,
Though solid, not too weighty for his years,
Sweet in itself, and not forbidding sport,
When health demands it, of athletic sort,
Would make him—what some lovely boys have been,
And more than one perhaps that I have seen—
An evidence and reprehension both
Of the mere schoolboy's lean and tardy growth.
Art thou a man professionally tied,
With all thy faculties elsewhere applied,
Too busy to intend a meaner care
Than how to enrich thyself, and next thine heir;
Or art thou (as, though rich, perhaps thou art)
But poor in knowledge, having none to impart:
Behold that figure, neat, though plainly clad;
His sprightly mingled with a shade of sad;
Not of a nimble tongue, though now and then
Heard to articulate like other men;
No jester, and yet lively in discourse,
His phrase well chosen, clear, and full of force;
And his address, if not quite French in ease,
Not English stiff, but frank and formed to please;
Low in the world, because he scorns its arts;
A man of letters, manners, morals, parts;
Unpatronized, and therefore little known;
Wise for himself, and his few friends alone—
In him thy well-appointed proxy see,
Arm'd for a work too difficult for thee;
Prepared by taste, by learning and true worth,
To form thy son, to strike his genius forth;
Beneath thy roof, beneath thine eye, to prove
The force of discipline when back'd by love;
To double all thy pleasure in thy child,
His mind inform'd, his morals undefiled,
Safe under such a wing, the boy shall show
No spots contracted among grooms below,
Nor taint his speech with meannesses, design'd
By footman Tom for witty and refined.
There, in his commerce with the liveried herd,
Lurks the contagion chiefly to be fear'd;
For since (so fashion dictates) all, who claim
A higher than a mere plebeian fame,

Find it expedient, come what mischief may,
To entertain a thief or two in pay,
(And they that can afford the expense of more,
Some half a dozen, and some half a score,)
Great cause occurs to save him from a band,
So sure to spoil him, and so near at hand;
A point secured, if once he be supplied
With some such Mentor always at his side.
Are such men rare? perhaps they would abound
Were occupation easier to be found,
Were education, else so sure to fail,
Conducted on a manageable scale,
And schools, that have outlived all just esteem,
Exchanged for the secure domestic scheme.—
But, having found him, be thou duke or earl,
Show thou hast sense enough to prize the pearl,
And, as thou wouldst the advancement of thine heir
In all good faculties beneath his care,
Respect, as is but rational and just,
A man deem'd worthy of so dear a trust.
Despised by thee, what more can he expect
From youthful folly than the same neglect?
A flat and fatal negative obtains
That instant upon all his future pains;
His lessons tire, his mild rebukes offend,
And all the instructions of thy son's best friend
Are a stream choked, or trickling to no end.
Doom him not then to solitary meals;
But recollect that he has sense. and feels,
And that, possessor of a soul refined,
An upright heart, and cultivated mind,
His post not mean, his talents not unknown,
He deems it hard to vegetate alone.
And, if admitted at thy board he sit,
Account him no just mark for idle wit;
Offend not him, whom modesty restrains
From repartee, with jokes that he disdains;
Much less transfix his feelings with an oath;
Nor frown, unless he vanish with the cloth—
And, trust me, his utility may reach
To more than he is hired or bound to teach;
Much trash unutter'd, and some ills undone,
Through reverence of the censor of thy son.
But, if thy table be indeed unclean,
Foul with excess, and with discourse obscene,
And thou a wretch, whom following her old plan,
The world accounts an honourable man,
Because forsooth thy courage has been tried,
And stood the test, perhaps on the wrong side;
Though thou hadst never grace enough to prove
That any thing but vice could win thy love;—
Or hast thou a polite, card-playing wife,
Chain'd to the routs that she frequents for life;
Who, just when industry begins to snore,
Flies, wing'd with joy, to some coach-crowded door;

And thrice in every winter throngs thine own
With half the chariots and sedans in town,
Thyself meanwhile e'en shifting as thou mayst;
Not very sober though, nor very chaste;
Or is thine house, though less superb thy rank,
If not a scene of pleasure, a mere blank,
And thou at best, and in thy soberest mood,
A trifler vain, and empty of all good;—
Though mercy for thyself thou canst have none,
Hear Nature plead, show mercy to thy son.
Saved from his home, where every day brings forth
Some mischief fatal to his future worth,
Find him a better in a distant spot,
Within some pious pastor's humble cot,
Where vile example (yours I chiefly mean,
The most seducing, and the oftenest seen)
May never more be stamp'd upon his breast,
Not yet perhaps incurably impress'd.
Where early rest makes early rising sure,
Disease or comes not, or finds easy cure,
Prevented much by diet neat and plain;
Or, if it enter, soon starved out again:
Where all the attention of his faithful host,
Discreetly limited to two at most,
May raise such fruits as shall reward his care,
And not at last evaporate in air:
Where, stillness aiding study, and his mind
Serene, and to his duties much inclined,
Not occupied in day dream, as at home,
Of pleasures past, or follies yet to come,
His virtuous toil may terminate at last
In settled habit and decided taste.—
But whom do I advise? the fashion-led,
The incorrigibly wrong, the deaf, the dead!
Whom care and cool deliberation suit
Not better much than spectacles a brute;
Who, if their sons some slight tuition share,
Deem it of no great moment whose, or where;
Too proud to adopt the thoughts of one unknown,
And much too gay to have any of their own.
But courage, man! methought the Muse replied,
Mankind are various, and the world is wide:
The ostrich, silliest of the feather'd kind,
And form'd of God without a parent's mind,
Commits her eggs, incautious, to the dust,
Forgetful that the foot may crush the trust;
And, while on public nurseries they rely,
Not knowing, and too oft not caring, why,
Irrational in what they thus prefer,
No few, that would seem wise, resemble her.
But all are not alike. Thy warning voice
May here and there prevent erroneous choice;
And some, perhaps, who, busy as they are,
Yet make their progeny their dearest care,

(Whose hearts will ache, once told what ills may reach
Their offspring, left upon so wild a beach,)
Will need no stress of argument to enforce
The expedience of a less adventurous course:
The rest will slight thy counsel, or condemn;
But they have human feelings—turn to them.
To you, then, tenants of life's middle state,
Securely placed between the small and great,
Whose character, yet undebauch'd, retains
Two-thirds of all the virtue that remains,
Who, wise yourselves, desire your sons should learn
Your wisdom and your ways—to you I turn.
Look round you on a world perversely blind;
See what contempt is fallen on human kind;
See wealth abused, and dignities misplaced,
Great titles, offices, and trusts disgraced,
Long lines of ancestry, renown'd of old,
Their noble qualities all quench'd and cold;
See Bedlam's closeted and handcuff'd charge
Surpass'd in frenzy by the mad at large;
See great commanders making war a trade,
Great lawyers, lawyers without study made;
Churchmen, in whose esteem their best employ
Is odious, and their wages all their joy,
Who, far enough from furnishing their shelves
With gospel lore, turn infidels themselves;
See womanhood despised, and manhood shamed
With infamy too nauseous to be named,
Fops at all corners, ladylike in mien,
Civeted fellows, smelt ere they are seen,
Else coarse and rude in manners, and their tongue
On fire with curses, and with nonsense hung,
Now flushed with drunkenness, now with whoredom pale,
Their breath a sample of last night's regale
See volunteers in all the vilest arts,
Men well endow'd of honourable parts,
Design'd by Nature wise, but self-made fools;
All these, and more like these, were bred at schools.
And if it chance, as sometimes chance it will,
That though school-bred the boy be virtuous still;
Such rare exceptions, shining in the dark,
Prove, rather than impeach, the just remark:
As here and there a twinkling star descried
Serves but to show how black is all beside.
Now look on him, whose very voice in tone
Just echoes thine, whose features are thine own,
And stroke his polished cheek of purest red,
And lay thine hand upon his flaxen head,
And say, My boy, the unwelcome hour is come,
When thou, transplanted from thy genial home,
Must find a colder soil and bleaker air,
And trust for safety to a stranger's care;
What character, what turn thou wilt assume
From constant converse with I know not whom;

Who there will court thy friendship, with what views,
And, artless as thou art, whom thou wilt choose;
Though much depends on what thy choice shall be,
Is all chance-medley, and unknown to me.
Canst thou, the tear just trembling on thy lids,
And while the dreadful risk foreseen forbids;
Free too, and under no constraining force,
Unless the sway of custom warp thy course;
Lay such a stake upon the losing side,
Merely to gratify so blind a guide?
Thou canst not! Nature, pulling at thine heart,
Condemns the unfatherly, the imprudent part.
Thou wouldst not, deaf to Nature's tenderest plea,
Turn him adrift upon a rolling sea,
Nor say, Go thither, conscious that there lay
A brood of asps, or quicksands in his way;
Then, only govern'd by the self-same rule
Of natural pity, send him not to school.
No—guard him better. Is he not thine own,
Thyself in miniature, thy flesh, thy bone?
And hopest thou not, ('tis every father's hope,)
That, since thy strength must with thy years elope,
And thou wilt need some comfort to assuage
Health's last farewell, a staff of thine old age,
That then, in recompense of all thy cares,
Thy child shall show respect to thy gray hairs,
Befriend thee, of all other friends bereft,
And give thy life its only cordial left?
Aware then how much danger intervenes,
To compass that good end, forecast the means.
His heart, now passive, yields to thy command;
Secure it thine, its key is in thine hand;
If thou desert thy charge, and throw it wide,
Nor heed what guests there enter and abide,
Complain not if attachments lewd and base
Supplant thee in it, and usurp thy place.
But if thou guard its sacred chambers sure
From vicious inmates and delights impure,
Either his gratitude shall hold him fast,
And keep him warm and filial to the last;
Or, if he prove unkind, (as who can say
But, being man, and therefore frail, he may?)
One comfort yet shall cheer thine aged heart,
Howe'er he slight thee, thou hast done thy part.
Oh, barbarous! wouldst thou with a Gothic hand
Pull down the schools—what!—all the schools i'th' land;
Or throw them up to livery nags and grooms,
Or turn them into shops and auction-rooms?
A captious question, sir, (and yours is one,)
Deserves an answer similar, or none.
Wouldst thou, possessor of a flock, employ
(Apprised that he is such) a careless boy,
And feed him well, and give him handsome pay,
Merely to sleep, and let them run astray?
Survey our schools and colleges, and see
A sight not much unlike my simile.

From education, as the leading cause,
The public character its colour draws;
Thence the prevailing manners take their cast,
Extravagant or sober, loose or chaste.
And, though I would not advertise them yet,
Nor write on each—*This Building to be Let*,
Unless the world were all prepared to embrace
A plan well worthy to supply their place;
Yet, backward as they are, and long have been,
To cultivate and keep the MORALS clean,
(Forgive the crime,) I wish them, I confess,
Or better managed, or encouraged less.

DISCIPLINE.

From the TASK. BOOK II. *The Time-Piece.*

In colleges and halls, in ancient days,
When learning, virtue, piety, and truth
Were precious and inculcated with care,
There dwelt a sage call'd Discipline. His head,
Not yet by time completely silver'd o'er,
Bespoke him past the bounds of freakish youth,
But strong for service still, and unimpair'd.
His eye was meek and gentle, and a smile
Play'd on his lips; and in his speech was heard
Paternal sweetness, dignity, and love.
The occupation dearest to his heart
Was to encourage goodness. He would stroke
The head of modest and ingenuous worth,
That blush'd at its own praise; and press the youth
Close to his side that pleased him. Learning grew
Beneath his care a thriving vigorous plant;
The mind was well inform'd, the passions held
Subordinate, and diligence was choice.
If e'er it chanced, as sometimes chance it must,
That one among so many overleap'd
The limits of control, his gentle eye
Grew stern, and darted a severe rebuke
His frown was full of terror, and his voice
Shook the delinquent with such fits of awe
As left him not, till penitence had won
Lost favor back again, and closed the breach.
But Discipline, a faithful servant long,
Declined at length into the vale of years:
A palsy struck his arm; his sparkling eye
Was quench'd in rheums of age; his voice, unstrung,
Grew tremulous, and moved derision more
Than reverence in perverse rebellious youth.
So colleges and halls neglected much
Their good old friend; and Discipline at length,
O'er look'd and unemploy'd, fell sick, and died.
Then Study languish'd, Emulation slept,
And Virtue fled. The schools became a scene
Of solemn farce, where Ignorance in stilts,
His cap well lined with logic not his own,
With parrot tongue perform'd the scholar's part,
Proceeding soon a graduated dunce.
Then compromise had place, and scrutiny
Became stone blind; precedence went in truck,
And he was competent whose purse was so

A dissolution of all bonds ensued;
The curbs invented for the mulish mouth
Of headstrong youth were broken; bars and bolts
Grew rusty by disuse; and massy gates
Forgot their office, opening with a touch;
Till gowns at length are found mere masquerade,
The tassel'd cap and the spruce band a jest,
A mockery of the world! What need of these
For gamesters, jockeys, brothelers impure,
Spendthrifts, and booted sportsmens oftener seen
With belted waist and pointers at their heels
Than in the bounds of duty? What was learn'd
If aught was learn'd in childhood, is forgot;
And such expense as pinches parents blue,
And mortifies the liberal hand of love,
Is squander'd in pursuit of idle sports
And vicious pleasures; buys the boy a name
That sits a stigma on his father's house,
And cleaves through life inseparably close
To him that wears it. What can after-games
Of riper joys, and commerce with the world,
The lewd vain world, that must receive him soon,
Add to such erudition, thus acquired,
Where science and where virtue are profess'd?
They may confirm his habits, rivet fast
His folly, but to spoil him is a task
That bids defiance to the united powers
Of fashion, dissipation, taverns, stews.
Now blame we most the nurslings or the nurse
The children, crook'd, and twisted, and deform'd,
Through want of care; or her, whose winking eye
And slumbering oscitancy mars the brood?
The nurse, no doubt. Regardless of her charge,
She needs herself correction; needs to learn
That it is dangerous sporting with the world,
With things so sacred as a nation's trust,
The nurture of her youth, her dearest pledge.
All are not such. I had a brother once—*
Peace to the memory of a man of worth,
A man of letters, and of manners too!
Of manners sweet as Virtue always wears,
When gay good-nature dresses her in smiles.
He graced a college,† in which order yet
Was sacred; and was honor'd, loved, and wept
By more than one, themselves conspicuous there.
Some minds are temper'd happily, and mix'd
With such ingredients of good sense and taste
Of what is excellent in man, they thirst
With such a zeal to be what they approve,
That no restraints can circumscribe them more
Than they themselves by choice, for wisdom's sake.
Nor can example hurt them; what they see
Of vice in others, but enhancing more
The charms of virtue in their just esteem
If such escape contagion, and emerge
Pure from so foul a pool to shine abroad,
And give the world their talents and themselves,
Small thanks to those, whose negligence or sloth
Exposed their inexperience to the snare,
And left them to an undirected choice.

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*Rev. William Cowper. †Benet College, Cambridge.

THE SCHOOL AND TEACHER IN LITERATURE.

GEORGE CRABBE, 1754—1832.

GEORGE CRABBE was born at Oldborough, in Suffolk county, December 24, 1754,—and, with such early training as the Dame and the Latin school of the Borough afforded, was apprenticed to a surgeon and apothecary, at fourteen, and in due time essayed practice—*but* failing to obtain it, in 1775 went to London to try his fortune as a writer—was, in the hour of his utmost need, domesticated in the family of Edmund Burke, and encouraged by him in the publication of the *Library*,—in 1781, showing a strong partiality for the ministry, he was appointed chaplain to the Duke of Rutland, at Beloni Castle, and afterward a curate of his native village,—in 1783, appeared his poem, the *Village*,—in 1807, his *Parish Register*,—in 1810, the *Boroughs*,—in 1813, *Tales in Verse*, and in 1817 and '18, the *Tales of the Hall*. He died at Trowbridge, in February, 1832. His pictures of humble life—of the trials and sufferings of the poor—his tenderness and practical wisdom, will secure him a permanent place in English literature. He has not forgotten his early dame school and schoolmistress, nor the schools of the borough where he was born, whose characters and local history he thus reproduces.

SCHOOLS OF THE BOROUGH.

Schools of every Kind to be found in the Borough—The School for Infants—The School Preparatory: the sagacity of the Mistress in foreseeing Character—Day-Schools of the lower Kind—A Master with Talents adapted to such Pupils: one of superior Qualifications—Boarding-Schools: that for young ladies: one going first to the Governess, one finally returning Home—School for Youth: Master and Teacher; various Dispositions and Capacities—The Miser Boy—The Boy-Bully—Sons of Farmers: how amused—What Study will effect, examined—A College Life: one sent from his College to a Benefice; one retained there in Dignity—The Advantages in either Case not considerable—Where, then, the Good of a literary Life—Answered—Conclusion.

To every class we have a School assign'd, (1.)
Rules for all ranks and food for every mind:
Yet one there is, that small regard to rule
Or study pays, and still is deem'd a School;
That where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits,
And awes some thirty infants as she knits;
Infants of humble, busy wives, who pay (2)
Some trifling price for freedom through the day.
At this good matron's hut the children meet,
Who thus becomes the mother of the street.
Her room is small, they can not widely stray,—
Her threshold high, they can not run away:
Though deaf, she sees the rebel-heroes shout,—

Though lame, her white rod nimbly walks about;
With band of yarn she keeps offenders in,
And to her gown the sturdiest rogue can pin;
Aided by these, and spells, and tell-tale birds,
Her power they dread and reverence her words.
  To Learning's second seats we now proceed,
Where humming students gilded primers read;
Or books with letters large and pictures gay,
To make their reading but a kind of play—
"Reading made Easy," so the titles tell:
But they who read must first begin to spell: (3)
There may be profit in these arts, but still,
Learning is labor, call it what you will;
Upon the youthful mind a heavy load,
Nor must we hope to find the royal road.
Some will their easy steps to science show,
And some to heav'n itself their by-way know;
Ah! trust them not,—who fame or bliss would share,
Must learn by labor, and must live by care.
  Another matron, of superior kind,
For higher schools prepares the rising mind;
Preparatory she her learning calls, (4)
The step first made to colleges and halls.
  She early sees to what the mind will grow,
Nor abler judge of infant-powers I know;
She sees what soon the lively will impede,
And how the steadier will in turn succeed;
Observes the dawn of wisdom, fancy, taste,
And knows what parts will wear, and what will waste;
She marks the mind too lively, and at once
Sees the gay coxcomb and the rattling dunce.
  Long has she lived, and much she loves to trace
Her former pupils, now a lordly race;
Whom when she sees rich robes and furs bedeck,
She marks the pride which once she strove to check.
A Burgess comes, and she remembers well
How hard her task to make his worship spell:
Cold, selfish, dull, inanimate, unkind,
'T was but by anger he display'd a mind:
Now civil, smiling, complaisant, and gay,
The world has worn th' unsocial crust away;
That sullen spirit now a softness wears,
And, save by fits, e'en dullness disappears:
But still the matron can the man behold,
Dull, selfish, hard, inanimate, and cold.
A Merchant passes,—"Probity and truth,
Prudence and patience, mark'd thee from thy youth."
Thus she observes, but oft retains her fears
For him, who now with name unstain'd appears;
Nor hope relinquishes, for one who yet
Is lost in error and involved in debt;
For latent evil in that heart she found, (5)
More open here, but here the core was sound.
  Various our Day-Schools; here behold we one
Empty and still:—the morning duties done.

Soil'd, tatter'd, worn, and thrown in various heaps,
Appear their books, and there confusion sleeps
The workmen all are from the Babel fled,
And lost their tools, till the return they dread;
Meantime the master, with his wig awry,
Prepares his books for business by-and-by:
Now all th' insignia of the monarch laid
Beside him rest, and none stand by afraid;
He, while his troop light-hearted leap and play,
Is all intent on duties of the day;
No more the tyrant stern or judge severe,
He feels the father's and the husband's fear.
Ah! little think the timid trembling crowd,
That one so wise, so powerful, and so proud,
Should feel himself, and dread the humble ills
Of rent-day charges and of coal-man's bills;
That while they mercy from their judge implore,
He fears himself—a knocking at the door;
And feels the burthen as his neighbor states
His humble portion to the parish-rates.
They sit th' allotted hours, then eager run,
Rushing to pleasure when the duty's done;
His hour of leisure is of different kind,
Then cares domestic rush upon his mind,
And half the ease and comfort he enjoys,
Is when surrounded by slates, books, and boys.
Poor *Reuben Dixon* has the noisiest school (6)
Of ragged lads, who ever bow'd to rule;
Low in his price—the men who heave our coals,
And clean our causeways, send him boys in shoals.
To see poor Reuben, with his fry beside,—
Their half-check'd rudeness and his half-scorn'd pride,—
Their room, the sty in which th' assembly meet,
In the close lane behind the Northgate-street;
T' observe his vain attempts to keep the peace,
Till tolls the bell, and strife and troubles cease,—
Calls for our praise; his labor praise deserves,
But not our pity; Reuben has no nerves:
'Mid noise, and dirt, and stench, and play, and prate,
He calmly cuts the pen or views the slate.
But *Leonard*;—yes, for Leonard's fate I grieve. (7)
Who loathes the station which he dares not leave;
He can not dig, he will not beg his bread,
All his dependence rests upon his head;
And deeply skill'd in sciences and arts,
On vulgar lads he wastes superior parts.
Alas! what grief that feeling mind sustains,
In guiding hands and stirring torpid brains;
He whose proud mind from pole to pole will move,
And view the wonders of the worlds above;
Who thinks and reasons strongly:—hard his fate,
Confined forever to the pen and slate.
True he submits, and when the long dull day
Has slowly pass'd in weary tasks away,
To other worlds with cheerful view he looks,
And parts the night between repose and books.

Amid his labors, he has sometimes tried
To turn a little from his cares aside:
Pope, Milton, Dryden, with delight has seized
His soul engaged and of his trouble eased:
When, with a heavy eye and ill-done sum,
No part conceived, a stupid boy will come;
Then Leonard first subdues the rising frown,
And bids the blockhead lay his blunders down;
O'er which disgusted he will turn his eye,
To his sad duty his sound mind apply,
And, vex'd in spirit, throw his pleasures by.

Turn we to Schools which more than these afford—
The sound instruction and the wholesome board;
And first our School for Ladies: (8) pity calls
For one soft sigh, when we behold these walls,
Placed near the town, and where, from window high,
The fair, confined, may our free crowds espy,
With many a stranger gazing up and down,
And all the envied tumult of the town;
May, in the smiling summer-eve, when they
Are sent to sleep the pleasant hours away,
Behold the poor (when they conceive the bless'd)
Employ'd for hours, and grieved they can not rest.

Here the fond girl, whose days are sad and few
Since dear mamma pronounced the last adieu,
Looks to the road, and fondly thinks she hears
The carriage-wheels, and struggles with her tears.
All yet is new, the misses great and small,
Madam herself, and teachers, odious all;
From laughter, pity, nay command, she turns,
But melts in softness, or with anger burns;
Nauseates her food, and wonders who can sleep
On such mean beds, where she can only weep:
She scorns condolence—but to all she hates
Slowly at length her mind accommodates;
Then looks on bondage with the same concern
As others felt, and finds that she must learn
As others learn'd—the common lot to share,
To search for comfort and submit to care.

There are, 't is said, who on these seats attend,
And to these ductile minds destruction vend; (9)
Wretches—(to virtue, peace, and nature, foes)—
To these soft minds, their wicked trash expose;
Seize on the soul, ere passions take the sway,
And let the heart, ere yet it feels, astray.
Smugglers obscene! and can there be who take
Infernal pains, the sleeping vice to wake?
Can there be those, by whom the thoughts defiled
Enters the spotless bosom of a child?
By whom the ill is to the heart convey'd,
Who lend the foe, not yet in arms, their aid,
And sap the city-walls before the siege be laid?

Oh! rather skulking in the by-ways steal,
And rob the poorest traveler of his meal;
Burst through the humblest trader's bolted door;

Bear from the widow's hut her winter-store;
With stolen steed, on highways take your stand,
Your lips with curses arm'd, with death your hand;—
Take all but life—the virtuous more would say,—
Take life itself, dear as it is, away,
Rather than guilty thus the guileless soul betray.
  Years pass away—let us suppose them past,
Th' accomplish'd nymph for freedom looks at last;
All hardships over, which a school contains,
Th' spirit's bondage and the body's pains;
Where teachers make the heartless, trembling set
Of pupils suffer for their own regret;
Where winter's cold, attack'd by one poor fire,
Chills the fair child, commanded to retire;
She felt it keenly in the morning air,
Keenly she felt it at the evening prayer.
More pleasant summer; but then walks were made,
Not a sweet ramble, but a slow parade;
They moved by pairs beside the hawthorn-hedge,
Only to set their feelings on an edge;
And now at eve, when all their spirits rise,
Are sent to rest, and all their pleasure dies;
Where yet they all the town alert can see,
And distant plough-boys pacing o'er the lea
  These and the tasks successive masters brought—
The French they con'd, the curious works they wrought:
The hours they made their taper fingers strike
Note after note, all due to them alike;
Their drawings, dancings on appointed days,
Playing with globes, and getting parts of plays;
The tender friendships made 'twixt heart and heart,
When the dear friends had nothing to impart:—
  All! all! are over;—now th' accomplish'd maid
Longs for the world, of nothing there afraid:
Dreams of delight invade her gentle breast,
And fancied lovers rob the heart of rest;
At the paternal door a carriage stands,
Love knits their hearts and Hymen joins their hands.
Ah!—world unknown! how charming is thy view,
Thy pleasures many, and each pleasure new:
Ah!—world experienced! what of thee is told?
How few thy pleasures, and those few how old!
  Within a silent street, and far apart
From noise of business, from a quay or mart,
Stands an old spacious building, and the din
You hear without, explains the work within;
Unlike the whispering of the nymphs, this noise
Loudly proclaims a "Boarding-School for Boys; (10)
The master heeds it not, for thirty years
Have render'd all to his familiar ears;
He sits in comfort, 'mid the various sound
Of mingled tones for ever flowing round;
Day after day he to his task attends,—
Unvaried toil, and care that never ends,—
Boys in their works proceed; while his employ

Admits no change, or changes but the boy;
Yet time has made it easy;—he beside
Has power supreme, and power is sweet to pride;
But grant him pleasure;—what can teachers feel,
Dependent helpers always at the wheel?
Their power despised, their compensation small,
Their labor dull, their life laborious all!
Set after set the lower lads to make
Fit for the class which their superiors take;
The road of learning for a time to track
In roughest state, and then again go back:
Just the same way on other troops to wait,—
Attendants fix'd at Learning's lower gate.
  The day-tasks now are over,—to their ground
Rush the gay crowd with joy-compelling sound;
Glad to illude the burthens of the day,
The eager parties hurry to their play:
Then in these hours of liberty we find
The native bias of an opening mind;
They yet posses not skill the mask to place,
And hide the passions glowing in the face;
Yet some are found—the close, the sly, the mean,
Who know already all must not be seen.
Lo! one who walks apart, although so young,
He lays restraint upon his eye and tongue;
Nor will he into scrapes or danger get,
And half the school are in the stripling's debt:
Suspicious, timid, he is much afraid
Of trick and plot:—he dreads to be betray'd:
He shuns all friendship, for he finds they lend,
When lads begin to call each other friend:
Yet self with self has war; the tempting sight
Of fruit on sale provokes his appetite;—
See! how he walks the sweet seduction by;
That he is tempted, costs him first a sigh,—
'T is dangerous to indulge, 't is grievous to deny!
This he will choose, and whispering asks the price,
The purchase dreadful, but the portion nice;
Within the pocket he explores the pence;
Without, temptation strikes on either sense,
The sight, the smell;—but then he thinks again
O money gone! while fruit nor taste remain.
Meantime there comes an eager thoughtless boy,
Who gives the price and only feels the joy:
Example dire! the youthful miser stops,
And slowly back the treasured coinage drops:
Heroic deed! for should he now comply,
Can he to-morrow's appetite deny?
Beside, these spendthrifts who so freely live,
Cloy'd with their purchase, will a portion give!
Here ends debate, he buttons up his store,
And feels the comfort that it burns no more.
  Unlike to him the Tyrant boy, whose sway
All hearts acknowledge; him the crowds obey:
At his command they break through every rule;

Whoever governs, he controls the school:
'T is not the distant emperor moves their fear,
But the proud viceroy who is ever near. (11)
Verres could do that mischief in a day,
For which not Rome, in all its power, could pay
And these boy-tyrants will their slaves distress,
And do the wrongs no master can redress:
The mind they load with fear: it feels disdain
For its own baseness; yet it tries in vain
To shake th' admitted power;—the coward comes again:
'T is more than present pain these tyrants give,
Long as we've life some strong impression live;
And these young ruffians in the soul will sow
Seeds of all vices that on weakness grow.
Hark! at his word the trembling younglings flee,
Where he is walking none must walk but he;
See! from the winter-fire the weak retreat,
His the warm corner, his the favorite seat,
Save when he yields it to some slave to keep
Awhile, then back, at his return, to creep:
At his command his poor defendants fly,
And humbly bribe him as a proud ally;
Flatter'd by all, the notice he bestows
Is gross abuse, and bantering, and blows;
Yet he's a dunce, and, spite of all his fame
Without the desk, within he feels his shame:
For there the weaker boy, who felt his scorn,
For him corrects the blunders of the morn;
And he is taught, unpleasant truth! to find
The trembling body has the prouder mind.
Hark! to that shout, that burst of empty noise,
From a rude set of bluff, obstreperous boys,
They who, like colts let loose, with vigor bound,
And thoughtless spirit, o'er the beaten ground;
Fearless they leap, and every youngster feels
His Alma active in his hands and heels.
These are the sons of farmers, and they come (12)
With partial fondness for the joys of home;
Their minds are coursing in their fathers' fields,
And e'en the dream a lively pleasure yields;
They, much enduring, sit th' allotted hours,
And o'er a grammar waste their sprightly powers;
They dance; but them can measured steps delight,
Whom horse and hounds to daring deeds excite?
Nor could they bear to wait from meal to meal,
Did they not slyly to the chamber steal,
And there the produce of the basket seize,
The mother's gift! still studious of their ease.
Poor Alma, thus oppress'd, forbears to rise,
But rests or revels in the arms and thighs.
"But is it sure that study will repay
The more attentive and forbearing?"—Nay!
The farm, the ship, the humble shop have each
Gains which severest studies seldom reach.
At College place a youth, who means to raise (13)

His state by merit and his name by praise;
Still much he hazards; there is serious strife
In the contentions of a scholar's life:
Not all the mind's attention, care, distress,
Nor diligence itself, insure success:
His jealous heart a rival's power may dread,
Till its strong feelings have confused his head,
And, after days and months, nay, years of pain,
He finds just lost the object he would gain.
But grant him this and all such life can give,
For other prospects he begins to live;
Begins to feel that man was form'd to look
And long for other objects than a book:
In his mind's eye his house and glebe he sees,
And farms and talks with farmers at his ease;
And time is lost, till fortune sends him forth
To a rude world unconscious of his worth;
There in some petty parish to reside,
The college-boat, then turn'd the village guide:
And though awhile his flock and dairy please,
He soon reverts to former joys and ease,
Glad when a friend shall come to break his rest,
And speak of all the pleasures they possess'd,
Of masters, fellows, tutors, all with whom
They shared those pleasures, never more to come;
Till both conceive the times by bliss endear'd,
Which once so dismal and so dull appear'd.

But fix our Scholar, and suppose him crown'd
With all the glory gain'd on classic ground;
Suppose the world without a sigh resign'd,
And to his college all his care confined;
Give him all honors that such states allow,
The freshman's terror and the tradesman's bow;
Let his apartments with his taste agree,
And all his views be those he loves to see;
Let him each day behold the savory treat,
For which he pays not, but is paid to eat;
These joys and glories soon delight no more,
Although, withheld, the mind is vex'd and sore:
The honor too is to the place confined,
Abroad they know not each superior mind;
Strangers no *wranglers* in these figures see,
Nor give they worship to a high degree;
Unlike the prophet's is the scholar's case,
His honor all is in his dwelling-place;
And there such honors are familiar things;
What is a monarch in a crowd of kings?
Like other sovereigns he's by forms address'd,
By statutes govern'd and with rules oppress'd.

When all these forms and duties die away,
And the day passes like the former day,
Then of exterior things at once bereft,
He's to himself and one attendant left;
Nay, John too goes; nor aught of service more
Remains for him; he gladly quits the door,

And, as he whistles to the college-gate,
He kindly pities his poor master's fate.
Books can not always please, however good;
Minds are not ever craving for their food;
But sleep will soon the weary soul prepare
For cares to-morrow that were this day's care;
For forms, for feasts, that sundry times have past,
And formal feasts that will for ever last.
"But then from Study will no comforts rise?"
Yes! such as studious minds alone can prize;
Comforts, yea!—joys ineffable they find,
Who seek the prouder pleasures of the mind:
The soul, collected in those happy hours,
Then makes her efforts, then enjoys her powers;
And in those seasons feels herself repaid,
For labors past and honors long delay'd.
No! 't is not worldly gain, although by chance
The sons of learning may to wealth advance;
Nor station high, though in some favoring hour
The sons of learning may arrive at power;
Nor is it glory, though the public voice
Of honest praise will make the heart rejoice:
But 't is the mind's own feelings give the joy,
Pleasures she gathers in her own employ—
Pleasures that gain or praise can not bestow,
Yet can dilate and raise them when they flow.
For this the Poet looks the world around,
Where form and life and reasoning man are found;
He loves the mind, in all its modes, to trace,
And all the manners of the changing race;
Silent he walks the road of life along,
And views the aims of its tumultuous throng;
He finds what shapes the Proteus-passions take,
And what strange waste of life and joy they make,
And loves to show them to their varied ways,
With honest blame or with unflattering praise;
'T is good to know, 't is pleasant to impart,
These turns and movements of the human heart;
The stronger features of the soul to paint,
And make distinct the latent and the faint;
MAN AS HE IS, to place in all men's view,
Yet none with rancor, none with scorn pursue;
Nor be it ever of my Portraits told—
"Here the strong lines of malice we behold."

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

1772—1834.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, was the youngest son of Rev. John Coleridge, Vicar of St. Mary Ottery, Devonshire, where he was born on the 21st of October, 1772. In 1782 he was sent to Christ's Hospital School, London, where he was a contemporary of Charles Lamb, who has given an account of his appearance as a school-boy. In 1791 he entered Jesus College, Cambridge, which he quitted in 1794, without taking his degree, having made himself obnoxious to the college authorities by his avowal of radical political opinions. He soon after, in great pecuniary distress, enlisted in the 15th dragoons, but was soon discharged and repaired to Bristol, where he became acquainted with Robert Southey. In the autumn of 1795, he married Miss Sarah Fricker, whose sister, the same day was married to Mr. Southey. In 1796, he published a volume of poems, and in 1797, wrote the "Ancient Mariner," a portion of "Christabel," and "Remorse." In 1798 to 1800, he resided in Germany; in 1800, published "Wallenstein;" in 1808, the "Friend;" in 1816, the "Statesman Manual;" in 1817, his "Literary Life;" and in 1825, "Aids to Reflection;" and died in 1834.

LOVE, HOPE, AND PATIENCE.

"O'er wayward childhood would'st thou hold firm rule,
And sun thee in the light of happy faces,
Love, Hope, and Patience, these must be thy graces,
And in thine own heart let them first keep school.
For as old Atlas on his broad neck places
Heaven's starry globe, and there sustains it;—so
Do these upbear the little world below,
Of education,—Patience, Love, and Hope.
Methinks I see them grouped in seemly show,
The straitened arms upraised, the palms aslope,
And robes that, touching as adown they flow,
Distinctly blend, like snow embossed in snow.
O part them never! If Hope prostrate lie,
Love too will sink and die.
But Love is subtle, and doth proof derive
From her own life that hope is yet alive;
And bending o'er, with soul-transfusing eyes,
And the soft murmur of the mother dove,
Woos back the fleeting spirit, and half supplies;
Thus Love repays to Hope what Hope first gave to love.
Yet haply there will come a weary day,
When overtasked at length
Both Love and Hope beneath the load give way.
Then with a statue's smile, a statue's strength,
Stands the mute sister, Patience, nothing loth,
And both supporting does the work of both."

THE SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER IN LITERATURE.

THOMAS HOOD. 1798—1845.

THOMAS HOOD, the son of a bookseller, was born in London, in 1798. He entered the counting-house of a Russian merchant as clerk,—which he left on account of his health, for the business of engraving, but in 1821, became sub-editor of the London Magazine, and afterward was an author, by profession, till his death in 1845. His "Whims and Oddities," "Comic Almanac," &c., have established his reputation for wit and comic power, and his "Song of a Shirt," "Eugene Aram's Dream," &c., indicate the possession of more serious and higher capacities.

His "*Irish Schoolmaster*," "The *Schoolmaster Abroad*," "The *Schoolmaster's Motto*," abound in whimsical allusions to the peculiarities of Irish and English schools and the teachers of our day—greatly exaggerated, we would fain believe.

THE IRISH SCHOOLMASTER.

ALACK! 'tis melancholy theme to think
How Learning doth in rugged states abide,
And, like her bashful owl, obscurely blink,
In pensive glooms and corners, scarcely spied;
Not, as in Founders' Halls and domes of pride,
Served with grave homage, like a tragic queen,
But with one lonely priest compell'd to hide,
In midst of foggy moors and mosses green,
In that clay cabin hight the College of Kilreen!

This College looketh South and West alsoe,
Because it hath a cast in windows twain;
Crazy and crack'd they be, and wind doth blow
Thorough transparent holes in every pane,
Which Dan, with many paines, makes whole again,
With nether garments, which his thrift doth teach
To stand for glass, like pronouns, and when rain
Stormeth, he puts, "once more unto the breach,"
Outside and in, tho' broke, yet so he mendeth each.

And in the midst a little door there is,
Whereon a board that doth congratulate
With painted letters, red as blood I wis,
Thus written,
"CHILDREN TAKEN IN TO BATE:"
And oft, indeed, the inward of that gate,
Most ventriloque, doth utter tender squeak,

And moans of infants that bemoan their fate,
In midst of sounds of Latin, French, and Greek,
Which, all i 'the Irish tongue, he teacheth them to speak.

For some are meant to right illegal wrongs,
And some for Doctors of Divinitie,
Whom he doth teach to murder the dead tongues,
And soe win academical degree;
But some are bred for service of the sea,
Howbeit, their store of learning is but small,
For mickle waste he counteth it would be
To stock a head with bookish wares at all,
Only to be knock'd off by ruthless cannon ball.

Six babes he sways,—some little and some big,
Divided into classes six;—alsoe,
He keeps a parlour boarder of a pig,
That in the College fareth to and fro,
And picketh up the urchins' crumbs below,
And eke the learned rudiments they scan,
And thus his A, B, C, doth wisely know,—
Hereafter to be shown in caravan,
And raise the wonderment of many a learned man.

Alsoe, he schools for some tame familiar fowls,
Whereof, above his head, some two or three
Sit darkly squatting, like Minerva's owls,
But on the branches of no living tree,
And overlook the learned family;
While, sometimes, Partlet, from her gloomy perch,
Drops feather on the nose of Dominie,
Meanwhile with serious eye, he makes research
In leaves of that sour tree of knowledge—now a birch.

No chair he hath, the awful Pedagogue,
Such as would magisterial hams imbed,
But sitteth lowly on a beechen log,
Secure in high authority and dread;
Large, as a dome for Learning, seems his head,
And, like Apollo's, all beset with rays,
Because his locks are so unkempt and red,
And stand abroad in many several ways;—
No laurel crown he wears, howbeit his cap is baize.

And, underneath, a pair of shaggy brows
O'erhang as many eyes of gizzard hue,
That inward giblet of a fowl, which shows
A mongrel tint, that is ne brown ne blue;
His nose,—it is a coral to the view;
Well nourish'd with Pierian Potheen,—
For much he loves his native mountain dew;—
But to depict the dye would lack, I ween,
A bottle-red, in terms, as well as bottle-green.

As for his coat, 'tis such a jerkin short
As Spenser had, ere he composed his Tales;
But underneath he had no vest, nor aught.

So that the wind his airy breast assails;
Below, he wears the nether garb of males,
Of crimson plush, but non-plushed at the knee;—
Thence further down the native red prevails,
Of his own naked fleecy hosierie:—
Two sandals, without soles, complete his cap-a-pee.

Nathless, for dignity, he now doth lap
His function in a magisterial gown,
That shows more countries in it than a map,—
Blue tinct, and red and green, and russet brown,
Besides some blots, standing for country-town;
And eke some rents, for streams and rivers wide;
But, sometimes, bashful when he looks adown,
He turns the garment of the other side,
Hopeful that so the holes may never be espied!

And soe he sits, amidst the little pack,
That look for shady or for sunny noon,
Within his visage, like an almanack,—
His quiet smile fortelling gracious boon:
But when his mouth droops down, like rainy moon,
With horrid chill each little heart unwarms,
Knowing, that infant show'rs will follow soon,
And with forebodings of near wrath and storms
They sit, like timid hares, all trembling on their forms.

Ah! luckless wight, who can not then repeat
"Corduroy Colloquy,"—or "Ki, Kœ, Kod,"—
Full soon his tears shall make his turfy seat
More sodden, tho' already made of sod,
For Dan shall whip him with the word of God,—
Severe by rule, and not by nature mild,
He never spoils the child and spares the rod,
But spoils the rod and never spares the child,
And soe with holy rule deems he is reconcil'd.

But, surely, the just sky will never wink
At men who take delight in childish throe,
And stripe the nether-urchin like a pink
Or tender hyacinth, inscribed with woe;
Such bloody Pedagogues, when they shall know,
By useless birches, that forlorn recess,
Which is no holiday, in Pit below,
Will hell not seem design'd for their distress,—
A melancholy place that is all bottomlesse?

Yet would the Muse not chide the wholesome use
Of needful discipline, in due degree.
Devoid of sway, what wrongs will time produce,
Whene'er the twig untrained grows up a tree,
This shall a Carder; that a Whiteboy be,
Ferocious leaders of atrocious bands,
And Learning's help be used for infamie,
By lawless clerks, that, with their bloody hands,
In murder'd English write Rock's murderous commands

But ah! what shrilly cry doth now alarm
The sooty fowls that dozed upon the beam,
All sudden fluttering from the brandish'd arm,
And cackling chorus with the human scream,
Meanwhile, the scourge plies that unkindly seam
In Phelim's brogues, which bares his naked skin,
Like traitor gap in warlike fort, I deem,
That falsely let the fierce besieger in,
Nor seeks the Pedagogue by other course to win.

No parent dear he hath to heed his cries;—
Alas! his parent dear is far aloof,
And deep in Seven-Dial cellar lies,
Killed by kind cudgel-play, or gin of proof,
Or climbeth, catwise, on some London roof,
Singing, perchance, a lay of Erin's Isle,
Or, whilst he labors, weaves a fancy-woof,
Dreaming he sees his home,—his Phelim smile;—
Ah me! that luckless imp, who weepeth all the while!

Ah! who can paint that hard and heavy time,
When first the scholar lists in Learning's train,
And mounts her rugged steep, enforc'd to climb,
Like sooty imp, by sharp posterior pain,
From bloody twig, and eke that Indian cane,
Wherein, alas! no sugar'd juices dwell,
For this, the while one stripling's sluices drain,
Another weepeth over childblains fell,
Always upon the heel, yet never to be well!

Anon a third, for this delicious root,
Late ravish'd from his tooth by elder chit,
So soon is human violence afoot,
So hardly is the harmless bitter bit!
Meanwhile, the tyrant, with untimely wit
And mouthing face, derides the small one's moan,
Who, all lamenting for his loss, doth sit,
Alack,—mischance comes seldomtimes alone,
But aye the worried dog must rue more curs than one.

For lo! the Pedagogue, with sudden drub,
Smites his scald-head, that is already sore,—
Superfluous wound,—such is Misfortune's rub!
Who straight makes answer with redoubled roar,
And sheds salt tears twice faster than before,
That still, with backward fist, he strives to dry;
Washing, with brackish moisture, o'er and o'er,
His muddy cheek, that grows more foul thereby,
Till all his rainy face looks grim as rainy sky.

So Dan, by dint of noise, obtains a peace,
And with his natural untender knack,
By new distress, bids former grievance cease,
Like tears dried up with rugged huckaback,
That sets the mournful visage all awrack;
Yet soon the childish countenance will shine

Even as thorough storms the soonest slack,
For grief and beef in adverse ways incline,
This keeps, and that decays, when duly soaked in brine.

Now all is hushed, and, with a look profound,
The Dominie lays ope the learned page;
(So be it called) although he doth expound
Without a book, both Greek and Latin sage;
Now telleth he of Rome's rude infant age,
How Romulus was bred in savage wood,
By wet-nurse wolf, devoid of wolfish rage;
And laid foundation-stone of walls of mud,
But watered it, alas! with warm fraternal blood.

Anon, he turns to that Homeric war,
How Troy was sieged like Londonderry town;
And stout Achilles, at his jaunting-car,
Dragged mighty Hector with a bloody crown:
And eke the bard, that sung of their renown.
In garb of Greece, most beggar-like and torn,
He paints, with colly, wand'ring up and down.
Because, at once, in seven cities born;
And so, of parish rights, was, all his days, forlorn,

Anon, through old Mythology he goes,
Of gods defunct, and all their pedigrees,
But shuns their scandalous amours, and shows
How Plato wise, and clear-ey'd Socrates,
Confess'd not to those heathen hes and shes;
But thro' the clouds of the Olympic cope
Beheld St. Peter, with his holy keys,
And own'd their love was naught, and bow'd to Pope,
Whilst all their purblind race in Pagan mist did groupe!

From such quaint themes he turns, at last aside,
To new philosophies, that still are green,
And shows what railroads have been track'd, to guide
The wheels of great political machine;
If English corn should grow abroad, I ween,
And gold be made of gold, or paper sheet;
How many pigs be born, to each spalpeen;
And, ah! how man shall thrive beyond his meat,—
With twenty souls alive, to one square sod of peat!

Here, he makes end; and all the fry of youth,
That stood around with serious look intense,
Close up again their gaping eyes and mouth,
Which they had opened to his eloquence,
As if their hearing were a three-fold sense.
But now the current of his words is done,
And whether any fruits shall spring from thence,
In future time, with any mother's son!
It is a thing, God wot! that can be told by none.

Now by the creeping shadows of the noon,
The hour is come to lay aside their lore;
The cheerful pedagogue perceives it soon,

And cries, "Begone!" unto the imps,—and four
Snatch their two hats and struggle for the door,
Like ardent spirits vented from a cask,
All blythe and boisterous,—but leave two more,
With Reading made Uneasy for a task,
To weep, whilst all their mates in merry sunshine bask,

Like sportive Elfins, on the verdent sod,
With tender moss so sleekly overgrown,
That doth not hurt, but kiss the sole unshod,
So soothly kind is Erin to her own!
And one, at Hare and Hound, plays all alone,—
For Phelim's gone to tend his step-dame's cow;
Ah! Phelim's step-dame is a canker'd crone!
Whilst other twain play at an Irish row,
And, with shillelah small, break one another's brow!

But careful Dominie, with ceaseless thrift;
Now changeth ferula for rural hoe;
But, first of all, with tender hand doth shift
His college gown, because of solar glow,
And hangs it on a bush, to scare the crow:
Meanwhile, he plants in earth the dappled bean,
Or trains the young potatoes all a-row,
Or plucks the fragrant leek for pottage green,
With that crisp curly herb, call'd Kale in Aberdeen.

And so he wisely spends the fruitful hours,
Linked each to each by labour, like a bee;
Or rules in Learning's hall, or trims her bow'rs;—
Would there were many more such wights as he,
To sway each capital academie
Of Cam and Isis, for alack! at each
There dwells, I wot, some dronish Dominie,
That does no garden work, nor yet doth teach,
But wears a floury head, and talks in flow'ry speech!

THE NEW ENGLAND COUNTRY SCHOOL.

THE following sketch of a Country School in New England—"*as it was*," is copied from the "*Columbian Muse*, a selection of American Poetry, from various authors—published by Matthew Carey, Philadelphia, 1794,"—where it is credited to the *New Hampshire Spy*.

THE COUNTRY SCHOOL

"PUT to the door—the school's begun—
Stand in your places every one,—
Attend,———"
* * * *
"Read in the bible,—tell the place—"
"Job twentieth and the seventeenth verse—
"Caleb, begin." "And—he—shall—suck—
Sir,—Moses got a pin and stuck———"
"Silence,—stop Caleb—Moses! here!"
"What's this complaint?" "I didn't, Sir,"—
"Hold up your hand,—What is't a pin?"
"O dear, I won't do so agin."
"Read on." "The increase of his b—b—borse—"
"Hold: H, O, U, S, E, spells house."
"Sir, what's this word? for I can't tell it."
"Can't you indeed! Why spell it." "Spell it."
"Begin yourself, I say." "Who, I?"
"Yes, try. Sure you can spell it." "Try."
"Go, take your seats and primers, go,
You sha'n't abuse the bible so."

"Will pray Sir Master mend my pen?"
"Say, Master, that's enough. Here Ben,
Is this your copy?" "Can't you tell?"
"Set all your letters parallel."
"I've done my sum—'tis just a groat—"
"Let's see it." "Master, m' I g' out?
"Yes,—bring some wood in—What's that noise?"
"It isn't I, Sir, it's them boys."

"Come Billy, read—What's that!" "That's A—"
"Sir, Jim has snatch'd my rule away—"
"Return it, James. Here, rule with this—
Billy, read on,"—"That's crooked S."
"Read in the Spelling-book—Begin."
"The boys are out"—"Then call them in—"
"My nose bleeds, mayn't I get some ice,
And hold it in my breeches?"—"Yes."
"John, keep your seat." "My sum is more—"
"Then do't again—Divide by four,
By twelve, and twenty—Mind the rule.
Now speak, Manassah, and spell tool."
"I can't"—"Well try"—"T, W, L."
"Not wash'd your hands yet, booby, ha?
You had your orders yesterday.
Give me the ferrule, hold your hand."
"Oh! Oh!" "There,—mind my next command."

"The grammar read. Tell where the place is."
"C sounds like K in cat and cases."
"My book is torn." "The next." "Here not—"
"E final makes it long—say note.
What are the stops and marks, Susannah?"
"Small points, Sir."—"And how many, Hannah?"
"Four, Sir." "How many, George? You look:"
"Here's more than fifty in my book."
"How's this? Just come, Sam?" "Why I've been—"
"Who knocks?" "I don't know, Sir." "Come in."
"Your most obedient, Sir?" "And yours."
"Sit down, Sir." "Sam, put to the doors."
"What do you bring to tell that's new!"
"Nothing, that's either strange or true.
What a prodigious school! I'm sure
You've got a hundred here, or more.
A word, Sir, if you please." "I will—
You girls, till I come in be still."

"Come, we can dance to night—so you
Dismiss your brain distracting crew,
And come—For all the girls are there.
We'll have a fiddle and a player."
"Well, mind and have the sleigh-bells sent,
I'll soon dismiss my regiment."

"Silence! The second class must read
As quick as possible—proceed.
Not found your book yet? Stand—be fix'd—
The next read, stop—the next—the next.
You need not read again, 'tis well."
"Come Tom and Dick, chuse sides to spell.
"Will this word do?" "Yes, Tom spell dunce.
Sit still there all you little ones."
"I've got a word," "Well, name it." "Gizzard."
"You spell it Sampson." "G, I, Z."
"Spell conscience, Jack." "K, O, N,-
S, H, U, N, T, S." "Well done!"
"Put out the next"—"mine is folks."
"Tim, spell it"—"P, H, O, U, X."
"O shocking! Have you all try'd?" "No."
"Say Master, but no matter, go—
Lay by your books—and you, Josiah,
Help Jed to make the morning fire."

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